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HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

Dr. CHARLES HASE,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA.

Translated from the Seventh and much improved German Edition,

BY

CHARLES E. BLUMENTHAL,

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN DICKINSON COLLEGE,

AND

CONWAY P. WING,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

This translation was undertaken because its authors knew of no work in English which precisely corresponded with it. The histories of Milner, Waddington, Milman, Stebbing, Hardwicke and Robertson, and the translations of Mosheim, Neander, Dollinger, Thiersch and Schaff, have severally specific merits with reference to the objects of their composition; but many of them are incomplete as general histories, most of them were written so as to give undue prominence to some single aspect of the characters and events of which they treat, and all of them are too large to be used either as manuals for the scholar, as text-books for the instructor, or as compendiums for the general reader. Some attempts to supply the deficiency by Palmer, Timpson, Foulkes, Hinds, Goodrich and Ruter, have met with no very general acceptance. A miniature representation of a vast mass of facts, in which each personage and event shall appear in their individual freshness and relative proportions, requires for its execution peculiar talents and rare opportunities. The Germans appear to possess these in a greater degree than any other people. Their learned men highly appreciate the value of such manuals, and their literature abounds in them. One of these, by Dr. Gieseler, has been translated, and is almost invaluable. But its text is a mere epitome of results, and bears no proportion to the vast materials in the notes; and the narrative awakens no interest. It would be difficult to find a graphic picture, or an ex-

pression of feeling in the whole work. Even the posthumous volume which has been promised, will leave the history incomplete.

The delay which has taken place in the appearance of this work has afforded many opportunities of learning how much this deficiency was appreciated by competent scholars in England and America. From the letters we have received, and from public journals, we might present many testimonies, not only that such a work was needed, but that nothing in the literature of the present day was so likely to supply the deficiency as a translation of the work we had announced. The style of our author is especially adapted to the Anglo-Saxon mind; his astonishing power of condensed expression,—his æsthetic, if not religious sympathies, with every variety of intellectual and moral greatness,—his skilful daguerreotypes of characters by means of the transmitted light of contemporary language,—the delicate irony and genial humor which pervade his descriptions,—the picturesque liveliness with which a single character or incident brings out the manners and spirit of an age,—the precision with which his scientific arrangement is preserved, the critical judgment with which the minutest results of recent investigations are introduced,—and the graceful proportion and animation with which the whole stands out before us, render his history attractive to all kinds of readers. He throws away every name or event which has no historical utility or organic life; he appreciates an heroic spirit wherever it appears, and each period is estimated as nearly as possible in its own light. His is not merely a history of the hierarchy, of the nobility, or of great men, but of the *Church*. His descriptions, therefore, embrace especially traits of common life, the progress of the arts, and indications of advancement in social freedom. If his theological opinions do not quite coincide with our own, he seldom, at least in this work, obtrudes them upon our attention. His object seems to have been to maintain historical accuracy, rather than to exhibit his own opinions; and if sometimes our favorite characters, or views, do not appear in the light in which we have usually contemplated them, his uniform impartiality and intelligence make us suspect our earlier judgments. None but those who observe the structure rather than the particular dogmatic expressions of this work, will be

likely to detect the author's peculiar views, and such readers can afford to give them whatever consideration they deserve. A striking comparison has been drawn between him and a living English historian and essayist, but the reference can be only to the liveliness and brilliancy of his historical scenes, and not to the minute space in which the picture of more than eighteen centuries is presented.

As soon as we had determined to translate the work, the author was informed of our intention, and we publish his reply to our communication. Unforeseen difficulties, however, delayed the publication of our work, and when more than a hundred pages had been stereotyped, we received a copy of the seventh edition, with numerous corrections and additions. We have certainly no reason to regret such an occurrence, although it imposed on us the necessity of recalling and rewriting a large portion of our manuscript. We submitted, however, with cheerfulness to the necessity, since we are now able to present an edition in which some errors have been corrected, the results of recent research, especially with respect to the second and third centuries, have been incorporated, and the eventful history of the last seven years has been added. In an Appendix, we present every thing of importance added by the author in the part which had been already struck off. But as we were obliged in this first part to retain the numbers of the sections used in the sixth edition, and subsequently to adopt those used in the seventh, some confusion has necessarily been created. Should a new edition be called for, we hope not only to remove this defect, but to adapt the work to an American position. The section on America (§ 462) has been already, with the author's concurrence, rewritten and enlarged. Considerable pains have also been taken to adapt the references and authorities to the present state of English literature, and some references to German translations of English and French works have been omitted, but every addition is indicated by brackets. We are well aware that our work has many faults after all our revisions and efforts to correct them, but, like the author, we see no end to the labor which might be bestowed on that which is, by its nature, necessarily imperfect. Dr. Hase has given a large part of his atten-

tion to the original history for more than twenty years. He was born in the year 1800 at Steinbach. In 1823, he was a private instructor in Theology at Tubingen ; in 1829, he was elected a Professor of Philosophy in Leipsic ; and in 1830, he became a Professor of Theology in Jena, where he still continues. His other works are : The Old Pastor's Testament, Tub. 1824 ; The Murder of Justice, a Vow of the Church, Lps. 1826 ; A Manual of Evang. Dogmatik, Lps. 1826, 4th and much enlarged edit., Lps. 1850 ; Gnosis, Lps. 1827–29, 3 vols. ; Hutterus Redivivus, or Dogmatik of the Evang. Luth. Church, Lps. 1829, 7 ed. in 1848 (a work whose purely historical account involved him in a controversy with Rohr, the great champion of Rationalism, and led to a series of polemical works on that subject) ; The Life of Christ, Lps. 1829, 4th imp. edit. 1854 ; Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Evangelicae sive Concordia, of which the 3d ed. appeared in Lps. 1846 ; The Two Archbishops, (referring to the difficulties in the dioceses of Cologne and Posen,) Lps. 1839 ; The Good Old Law of the Church, two academical discourses, 2d ed. Lps. 1847 ; The Evang. Prot. Church of the German Empire, on Ecclesiastical Law, 2d ed. Lps. 1852 ; The Modern Prophets, three Lectures on the Maid of Orleans, Savonarola, and the Kingdom of the Anabaptists, Lps. 1851. He has also recently been engaged in the publication of Didot's new edition of Stephanus' Thesaurus Grecae Linguae, of which the seventh part has just appeared.

AUTHOR'S LETTER TO THE TRANSLATORS.

To Prof. C. E. Blumenthal and Rev. C. P. Wing:—

Dear Sirs:—Between him who incorporates in a book the results of his most serious and profound mental labors, and those who from a cordial preference endeavor to introduce and interpret it to a foreign nation, must naturally spring up such an intimate intellectual sympathy, that it would seem surprising for them, if contemporaries, to remain strangers to each other. I, therefore, hail with grateful feelings the kind letter you have sent me across the ocean, and in imagination grasp the hand of fraternal fellowship extended to me from the land of William Penn.

You have doubtless already discovered that no ordinary obstacles were to be surmounted before a good translation of my Church History could be made, as my object was to compress the most perfect picture of the religious life developed in the Church into the smallest frame; and hence I was compelled to be very parsimonious in the use of words, and to refer to the original authorities for many things plain to the learned, but obscure to the learner. A French translation, once attempted, split upon this rock. I hope, however, that in a sister language, so essentially Germanic as the English, these difficulties may be more easily overcome, and such a confidence is encouraged by the fact, that in a Danish translation they have been completely vanquished.

If I remember correctly, an attempt to translate my work was once made in England, but was abandoned on account of its supposed inconsistency with the views of the Established Church. You have doubtless considered how far this objection should prevail with reference to the Church of your country, if the numerous and varied communities which have pitched their tents under the banner of the stars and stripes may

be truly spoken of as a single Church. I trust, however, that among those who study history from a higher position than that of a party, an assimilation of views will gradually prevail respecting the silent opinions and facts which lie behind us in the past. I have at least honestly aimed to recognize in its proper light every element in any way drawn around our common Lord. I have thus endeavored to approach as nearly as possible that exalted position from which the history of his Church will be regarded by Christ himself, not merely as the Judge of quick and dead, but as the faithful Shepherd seeking the lost lamb.

May my poor book, therefore, be dressed once more in a language spoken on every ocean and coast, and so come back to me from a world to which, as to another holy land, hosts of peaceful crusaders are annually pouring to plant anew their hopes, and to realize their long-cherished ideals in subsequent generations. The brief notice of the Church in the United States you propose to substitute for my section on that subject, will doubtless better adapt the work to your country. Whenever the universal interest of the Church was the topic, I have myself given more space to the Church of my fathers. I have no doubt that the alliance commenced between German and American theology will prove a blessing to both. Both nations have certainly a great mission assigned them in ecclesiastical history, which each must accomplish in its own peculiar manner.

The sixth edition made its appearance just before the storm which has since broken over central Europe. Pius IX., having been driven from his beautiful Babylon by an insurrection which he could not allay by kindness, has been restored by republican France, to substitute a government of priests and Jesuits for a Roman Republic. The French clergy have also hastily concluded to send up the petition "Domine, salvam fac rempublicam," as long as a democratic republic can be maintained in France. In Germany, our national Assembly at Frankfort not only proclaimed the gospel of liberty for the Church, and the fundamental rights of the German nation, but going beyond the people whom they professed to regard as their model, they threatened to divest the state of all Christian or religious character. The more considerate of our nation sent forth their warnings against such a rupture with all historical traditions, and painful political events have since shown that the immediate object of the Protestant German Church should be much more cautious and consonant with the national spirit This object unquestionably is, to give to the Church the administration of its own affairs, in alliance with a state under which the right of citizenship shall depend upon no creed, and the gospel of Christ shall be proclaimed as the highest principle of right.

In the Catholic Church, the independence of the state secured to the hierarchy by the revolution, was made subservient to such an enormous increase of its powers, that the freedom of the inferior clergy and of the congregations is seriously endangered. What was called German Catholicism, has shown, as the more sagacious perceived from the commencement, that it lacked the religious energy necessary to effect a reform in the Christian Church. Since it has ceased to be harassed by political obstructions it has dwindled into an insignificant sect. But in the contest between a merely prescriptive Christianity, and the progressive spirit of modern improvement, many a severe conflict must doubtless yet take place, before Christ in this respect also will manifest himself as the Mediator.

KARL HASE.

JENA, *May 7th*, 1850.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In composing the following work, my intention was to present a text-book to the public, and to accomplish this, I resolved to devote to it all the severe labor and concentration of effort which such an object requires. But I was aware that however the general outline might be condensed, the living freshness which we find in the original monuments and documents of each historical period, should be preserved unimpaired. Instead, therefore, of endeavoring, like most of those who have prepared such works, to present only that which is general and indefinite, I have continually aimed to hold up that which in each age possessed most of individual and distinct character; and when it became indispensable that some general grand features should be rendered prominent, I have sought to make these so suggestive of the particular facts, that recollections of the most minute circumstances should throng the mind of the instructor. In this way, the attention will be aroused while in the process of preparation, and the memory will be strengthened in its recollections, since whatever is characteristic awakens sympathy, and fastens itself in the memory. In this respect, it may be said that what belongs to a good text-book, is also an essential part of every historical representation. In every century many noble spirits have found their principal delight, and expended all their energies, in investigating subjects connected with ecclesiastical history. And yet for a long time the composition of ecclesiastical history seems by no means to have retained the eminent relative position which it held in former days. Without referring to historians of an earlier period, where have we any works upon Church History whose excellence as historical compositions can be compared with those of Machiavel, Hume, and John Müller? Even among the most recent ecclesiastical histories, that of Spittler is the only work which can stand the test of a critical examination by the contemporary literary world; but its Christian character is so obviously one-sided, that every one perceives that in this respect it is far inferior

to that of Neander. In thus expressing my general design, my object is to show what has been my aim, however far I have come short of attaining it. In these remarks, however, I have had very little reference to the mere literary style; for, with respect to this, we in Germany generally need, and actually receive, much allowance for the dry form of a compendium. I rather refer to such a careful study of original authorities that the objects and events assume the living freshness of reality, and to a complete intellectual apprehension of the facts. I have also bestowed some attention upon a peculiar department of history, which, though it has in former times been noticed by all genuine ecclesiastical historians, never became prominent until the appearance of the venerable Neander's History of the Christian Religion. I do not, however, by any means expect that my present work will receive very decided favor from those who, in a peculiar sense, belong to the school of Neander, since it was certainly not so much my special object to search out what was spiritual and devotional among the people, as it was always to seize upon what was characteristic of the popular religion. In the greatness and completeness of such a representation, there must of course always be much adapted to inspire devotional feelings, and, accordingly, I have constantly felt that I was writing the history of the actual kingdom of God on earth. But as men have often turned that which was really sublime into a caricature, many individual points must necessarily be far enough from edifying.

There are some subjects not usually introduced into an ecclesiastical history, to which I have awarded a right to a position there, because they had their origin in the Church. Indeed, in most of the larger Church Histories, nearly all of them have had a certain kind of consideration already bestowed upon them. Such is, *e. g.*, the treatment which Schroeckh has given to the subject of Christian art, although the style in which he has written must be confessed to have been singularly awkward. In his Encyclopedia, Rosenkranz has also assigned a due degree of importance to the subject of ecclesiastical architecture. On the other hand, I have omitted many things ordinarily mentioned even in the smallest compendiums. I have, however, so little disposition to offer an apology for this, that I am rather inclined to reproach myself that, especially on the subject of Patristics, I so far yielded to usage that I allowed many topics to retain their ordinary position, which certainly have no right to a place in history. On various occasions it has recently been asserted that ecclesiastical history ought, at least in a course of academical instruction, to throw out a portion of its ballast. And yet we can hardly think that a proper remedy for our difficulties would be found in the plan proposed by Tittmann, according to which

our future histories must be confined to an account of the promulgation of Christianity, and of the internal constitution of the Church. For, it must readily be perceived, that no true representation of the actual condition of the Church could ever be made by one who confined himself to such arbitrary restrictions. If, indeed, an ecclesiastical history should attempt merely to present a connected account of all theological literature, it would go beyond its peculiar province, and become an encyclopedia of theological knowledge. No particular event connected with theological science ever needs to be noticed, except when it becomes important as a prominent circumstance belonging to the age, and may properly be regarded as characteristic of the times. We cannot, however, entirely dispense with some account of the received doctrines of the Church. Although a separate history of these is of the highest importance to the interests of theological science, the ecclesiastical historian cannot on that account omit all reference to the subject; for how could the ecclesiastical movements of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries be adequately described without noticing the various forms and processes through which the doctrinal views of the Church, and its different sects, then passed, and by which the character of those great movements was determined? Indeed, how could a clear representation be given of any period of the Church, unless it included some account of the system of faith which animates and sustains the whole. There is, in reality, only a formal distinction between the history of doctrines as a special science, and as an element in the general history of the Church; for, aside from the difference in the outward extent with which the subject is necessarily treated, they only refer to the different poles of the same axis,—the former presenting the doctrine rather as an idea unfolding its own self, and the latter exhibiting it in its relation to surrounding events. But the principal method by which ecclesiastical history was to be simplified, was by discarding a mass of useless material. Nothing is a part of history which has not at some period possessed actual life, and consequently become immortal, by exhibiting in itself a true refraction of the Christian spirit; for, as God is only the God of the living, so history is not a record of that which is lifeless and dead, but of that which has a perpetual life. We have, however, hitherto dragged along a vast multitude of these still-born trifles. Of what benefit can it be, at least for students, to have it in their power to repeat the names of all those persons who have been only remotely connected with the different events mentioned in history,—of Synods which decided upon nothing, of popes who never governed, and of authors who wrote nothing of importance. A veneration for the names of these silent personages, of whom nothing is recorded but the year of their death, has induced many even of our

greatest ecclesiastical historians to fill whole pages of their works with the useless catalogue. Should any one think that it is the business of the instructor to quicken these dry bones by giving an account of their works, he certainly has very little idea of the range of topics embraced in the academic lecture; and I appeal to the experience of any one who has ever gone through with the text-book of Stäudlin or of Muenscher, and inquire whether he has found it possible to animate the masses found in them; or if he has been successful in this, whether he has found any advantages worth the trouble? I have endeavored, as far as possible, to avoid such useless verbiage in the text, for, although a manual should be expected to require much explanation from the living teacher, it should also possess some character of its own. By adopting this plan, opportunity has been acquired for a more extensive notice of those matters which were really important, and it will sometimes be found that I have given to such topics as much space as they ordinarily receive in larger works. It is possible, indeed, that a degree of disproportion may be discovered between the attention bestowed upon different individual subjects; but it was never intended that the most diffuse portions should take the place of the oral lecture, but rather excite the reader to examine more thoroughly into the minutest particulars. The principle on which this has been done may be found expressed in the third section of the work. The academic instruction will at least assist the student in gaining a complete view of an age, if it only presents that age most thoroughly in the lives of its individual men; and it is precisely by such a concrete representation of exalted particular agents that the most distinct impression is produced upon the memory. Shakspeare says, in one of his prologues, "I pray you, look upon the broil of a few players as if it were a real battle!" In like manner, the historian may request his readers to regard the intellectual chiefs and representatives of a particular period as the age itself. Such a course is not one which I have myself originally discovered, but it is the necessary result of the multiplication of those admirable biographies of which Neander has given us such eminent specimens, and to the composition of which his example has so much contributed.

The reader will sometimes meet with very peculiar expressions, such as no one would reasonably have expected from my own pen. The experienced reader of history will readily perceive that these are quotations which I have taken as a kind of catch-words from the original authorities. I might frequently have designated them as such by some mark, but they are generally so interwoven and imperceptibly blended with my own words, that if I had attempted to distinguish the words of other

authors from my own, my history would have had almost the aspect of mosaic work.

Although I have never concealed my own opinions, I have generally preferred to let the facts of the narrative speak for themselves. I was also far more anxious to show why any particular event came to pass, and how it was regarded when it took place, than to indulge in those pedantic reflections, in which men every where attempt to act as judges. And yet even with respect to secular matters, I have never shrunk from calling every thing by its right name. In the very darkest times, those who occupied positions purely ecclesiastical, were allowed freely to call that unchristian which was really so. But probably most persons will think that when judging of things inconsistent with true religion, I have used the full liberty which naturally belongs to my position and my character more frequently on the side of leniency than of severity. I have no doubt, however, that in both respects I have given ample grounds for offence to those who apply to other ages the standard of intelligence and improvement to which their own has attained, or who judge them by the contracted rules of piety which they have adopted; in whose eyes Catharine of Siena was merely "a silly kind of woman," and Julius II. "il novum monstrum;" and who say of Cardinal Hildebrand, that, "the scoundrel even pretended to work miracles;" or who, on the other side, relate that the word of the cross was ecclesiastically abolished in Weimar in the year 1833. But judicious men will not fail to recognize the same disposition in all the apparent changes of opinion which have taken place. They can regard the same words as seasonable, and indicative of an exalted mind, when used by Gregory VII., which are nothing but the helpless lamentations of a feeble old age when they appear in a Bull of Gregory XVI. With regard to the bright side of the mediaeval hierarchy, and the dark side of the Reformation, I do not suppose I need, in a purely theological circle of readers, to guard against misconstructions with a solicitude like that which Van Raumer recently exhibited, when writing for the more general body of the people. I might, indeed, allege that the Reformation was so pure, and so exalted in its nature, that it needs no concealment of its darker passages; but even if this were untrue, I should nevertheless withhold nothing from the light. Something may be exacted from those for whom the present work is intended; for, though they may be young, they should be trained to take independent and comprehensive views of history. I have, therefore, in every instance expressed the whole truth so far as I have myself known it. The only sections in which I have allowed any restrictions were those which contain notices of doctrinal history. Among students with whom I am acquainted, it is always a rule to attend lectures upon

Ecclesiastical History before those upon Didactic Theology; and it appears to me right that this should always be the case. I have, therefore, in some instances sacrificed something of the profundity of a scientific investigation, that I might address myself more intelligibly to the popular mind.

I have also taken some liberty in the general arrangement. No one conversant with the subject would require that each historical period should be accommodated to the same immutable framework. Who would think of bringing the apostolic Church into the same frame which has been found so appropriate to the age of the Reformation? And if some exceptions must be conceded by those who are most zealous in behalf of an invariable system, we shall not hesitate to abandon this phantom of uniform periods. Neither have I thought it necessary when no change had taken place in some particular state of affairs, in all instances to announce in a formal manner, that such was the fact, or to introduce the most unimportant details as I should have felt obliged to do, if I had had just so many spaces to fill in each period. If an event appears not to have possessed much influence until a period after that in which it had its commencement, it will be mentioned only in that in which it became fully developed. In all cases, I have recognized no other law than that which requires that each age should be so presented that the clearest view of it may be obtained, and most firmly fixed in the memory. In some instances, especially in modern history, I was doubtful what arrangement would be best adapted to my purpose. In such cases, my final decision was determined by a very slight preponderance of reasons in its favor, and I shall not, therefore, be surprised if others should come to a different conclusion. If, however, they actually consider all the advantages and results of each method, they will at least appreciate the motives by which I was directed in my selection.

A selected literature is the only thing, in itself of no importance, which is yet essential to a text-book. Where it has been possible, I have distinguished between original authorities and revised editions. I have referred to particular passages at the bottom of the page, not often as proof-passages, but merely as significant and distinct expressions of the age in which they were written, and to be communicated verbally by the lecturer himself. The small number of them will certainly not be imputed to my indolence by those who are aware how easily such citations are now to be obtained, and how trifling an evidence they are of genuine study. They will be found most abundant in the present work with reference to recent times (though without regard to the views of the contemporary writers), because it was then more difficult to refer to general original authorities, or to revised editions of them.

It is, indeed, possible, that if I had waited ten years longer, I could have established some of my positions with more circumspection. But if I had done so, I might at that time have had neither the opportunity nor the inclination to write such a work as is needed for a text-book; and as I shall be just as able then to make any improvements within my power upon the present work, I hope my friends will kindly accept what I now have to present them, although from the nature of such a work the writer is likely to console himself at its close with the hope that he will at some future day be able to improve and perfect it.

JENA, *Ascension Day*, 1834.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THIS Church History has been every where so kindly appreciated and noticed, that I have nothing but my thanks to offer, as I present to the public another edition. With regard to the division into periods, and some minor details, I have recently had occasion to explain my views to a considerable extent in the second number of my polemic treatises.

JENA, *March 9th*, 1836.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

I CERTAINLY have reason to rejoice in the reception with which this book has been favored, as it has been circulated far beyond the sphere for which it was originally intended. Such a result is especially pleasing, as it indicates that the interest recently awakened in ecclesiastical and kindred subjects is not confined to matters pertaining exclusively to the present generation, but that men are anxious to become thoroughly acquainted with the condition of things in earlier times, and to become animated by the rich life of the Church during its whole past existence. But while this is true, literature itself certainly gains but little by this rapid succession of new editions, and it has really been a source of vexation to me that I was obliged to allow so fine an opportunity to pass without contributing more to the perfection of this work. The improvements introduced have generally been in matters of no great importance, and even where some considerable changes have been made, they have not been the result of any comprehensive investigations of my own, but

rather of the labors of others. Thus, the section which relates to Savonarola has received some accession to its materials from the researches pursued for a while in Florence, by my former beloved colleague *Meier*, and the history of the Popes since the Reformation has gained something from the ingenious examinations and careful extracts from original documents lately made by *Ranke*. Although the brevity of a text-book has not allowed frequent references to the German Mythology of *Grimm*, this work has afforded me much valuable assistance when attempting to gain a complete view of the history of the Germanic Church.

Prof. *Krabbe*, in the Literary Advertiser (1837. N. 10–12.), besides giving a detail of individual facts, which is instructive to any one, and is especially worthy of my particular thanks, has passed a judgment upon the spirit of my book, by comparing it with Neander's Church History as a standard. In this respect, we Germans are a very strange people. If any one has succeeded in accomplishing any thing excellent in his own peculiar way, we always think that if another attempts any thing in the same department, he must set about it in precisely the same style. But the very fact that this particular kind of historical writing has had for its representative and cultivator one so eminently endowed as Neander confessedly is, renders it comparatively needless that others should enter the same field, and unlikely that any should equal him. We can only hope that he may have health sufficient, and life long enough, to complete his great work. If, however, it is thought that a text-book in his style is desirable, Dr. Guerike has certainly made the most diligent use of his pages, and should it be objected that Guerike's orthodoxy is extreme, Neander himself has trained up a number of clever pupils, of whom more than one is competent to write a text-book. I have received in my own way much advantage from Neander, but my original constitution is so different from his, and my mind has passed through a process of development so very different, that I should have gained but little, whatever efforts I had made to imitate him. No one should expect to gather grapes of thorns, though possibly roses might be found upon them.

The judgment of the Hegelian school has been expressed in a review by Prof. *Hasse*, in the Annual Register of Scientific Criticism (1836. N. 66–68.). The liberal spirit of true science, and the friendly disposition of the writer, cannot be mistaken in the piece, in spite of the severe terms in which that judgment is expressed. He has, however, done me some injustice when he asserts that I attempted in my remarks respecting general and indefinite expressions in my first preface, to escape from the universal principles of philosophical thought. I

only intended there to speak against those indefinite phrases which are so common in our ordinary text-books, as, *e. g.*, the very example which I then adduced, where whole pages are filled with names distinguished only by a cross and a date, which give to them the appearance of a Moravian cemetery, rather than of an abundant and varied individual life. Against the objection that I indulged too much in the description of minute details, which might be urged more correctly against historical representations, I will not reply that it certainly requires more labor to collect such minor particulars from the original authorities than it does to make general reflections upon the events, for I am well aware that my worthy opponent would contend for the former as a part of his own plan, and that he really would require such an earnest investigation of facts, as cannot be performed without a severe exercise of thought. But this earnest inquiry into the origin and nature of things, I have in no instance avoided. With regard to the general principles contained in the *facts of history*, it will be found that the summaries prefixed to the periods contain nothing else, and that the subsequent details of particular and distinct events may really be regarded as a more extended illustration of them. But his account of my method of procedure in this matter is not altogether correct. He says; "The author, *e. g.*, instead of giving us the true origin of monasticism, presents us with a description of St. Anthony; and even of him, we have merely a series of peculiar traits of character expressed in the most pithy style." And yet just before the section alluded to, a complete general view of the origin and spirit of that whole theory of religious life out of which necessarily proceeded a style of living, of which that of the anchorets was an extreme form, had been presented (now § 64.), and in the next period, when that which properly may be called the monastic life came before us, a similar general representation of the true object and spirit of this style of life is given (now § 134.). The reviewer proceeds: "We are then presented in a similar style with a portraiture of Cyprian (now § 84.), as the representative of the whole ecclesiastical life of his age, and a characteristic incident in the life of Leo the Great is given as a specimen of the mode in which the Roman bishops drew into their own hands the administration of the government of the whole Church" But in the first instance here mentioned, the account of Cyprian was preceded by a history of the process by which the legal relations of the Church had been formed, and by some notice of the general characteristics of the ecclesiastical life; and in the other case, all the antecedent principles had already been mentioned by means of which the Roman see had gained a consciousness of its future destiny. Cyprian and Leo are described to a greater extent than others, because they were re-

garded as the natural representatives of this peculiar phase of the ecclesiastical life. My object was in this way to bring the abstract principles which I had laid down into a concrete representation by means of these important individual characters, inasmuch as I had certainly supposed this to be the proper method in which history should be written. I suppose I must submit when our critic condescends to impute every thing which he approves in this history to what he calls "the happy tact of the writer, which enables him to discover things as it were by instinct or divination," because he did not find them proceeding from Hegelian principles, and they were not embellished with the well-known formulae of his own school. I am not, indeed, one of those who strive to affect ignorance of those results of the Hegelian philosophy which have had so general an influence upon the history of our world. But with respect to historical writing, Marheineke's History of the Reformation has put the question beyond all doubt, that a man can be an eminent historian, and at the same time a friend of the Hegelian philosophy; and yet there are already some symptoms that a zealous Hegelian may pretty thoroughly ruin the history which he attempts to write. Indeed, there can be no doubt that if a history of the Church were written, even by a writer as profound as Daub himself, on the principles and method lately recommended by him in the Journal for Speculative Theology, it would turn out to be utterly unreadable to most of our race. At any rate, we may console ourselves with the recollection, that since the time of Thucydides there have been some writers who, by a happy tact, or by divination, have been able to produce something like tolerable histories, although it does not appear that they were guided by Hegelian principles, or used Hegelian formulae.

It has been pleasant to me to find that some learned men of the Catholic Church have recognized my honest intention to be uniformly just toward their Church, and to declare the whole truth in every case. It would hardly be candid in the different parties generally to expect from each other more than such acknowledgments of good will, since it must necessarily be a condition of their different ecclesiastical positions that the same events should have a different aspect in the view of each, and that one should always find something of which it disapproves in the accounts of the other. But it is no small gain when both are convinced of each other's good will. I refer particularly to a criticism by Prof. *Hefele*, in the Quarterly Journal of Tubingen, (1836, N. 4.) He is entirely correct when he says, that what I have written in § 333, where it is said, "the idols were burned," was not intended to express my own view. Nor is it precisely meant as an expression of what Zwingle himself believed on the subject. It is rather the view and the

language of the whole generation in that vicinity from which this destruction of the images proceeded; and although the expression is rather rude, it was selected as the briefest by which the motives of the actors could be made known. In the passage in which Amsdorf's installation as Bishop of Naumburg (now § 337), is mentioned, I am better agreed with the honored Reviewer than he seems to have suspected. For when it is there said, "The elector could not resist the temptation to provide an apostolic bishop for that see," it is not merely intended that such was the purpose of the elector and his counsellors, and such the reason by which they satisfied their own consciences in this proceeding, but a slight touch of irony is blended with the whole, and is indicated in the expression, that the elector could not resist such a *temptation*, since the apostolic character of this bishop, in the opinion of the court, consisted principally in the fact, that the new incumbent would draw but a small salary, and consequently the electoral treasury would be enriched by the ample revenues of the bishopric. I confess, too, that I can see very little of a more apostolic character in our Lutheran zealot Amsdorf than in the mild and learned Julius von Pflug. But whatever one may think with regard to these points, the whole proceeding was in violation of long established rights. Although a little surprised that he should have called the style of my work *enigmatical*, I was happy to find that this Reviewer fully appreciated the view which I had expressed with regard to the relation of a text-book to the oral lecture. It would seem, however, from the historical examples which he adduces, that he at least succeeded in completely understanding my meaning when I remarked, that the subjects which are more generally treated, and barely hinted at, in the text-book, are founded upon distinct historical views, and are so presented as to invite the instructor, who is well informed on the minute details, to communicate and enlarge upon them. The style required for this I should not call enigmatic, merely because those who have not become familar with the original authorities of the history may find something not properly obscure, but to be passed over more superficially than other subjects, and without a complete exhaustion of its contents. A germ, or a bud, cannot, indeed, be fully seen until it has become expanded in the flower; but whoever sees the bud, has before him not merely an enigma, but what is already an intelligible reality. This is very much like the comparison which the Reviewer made between the Florentine and the Roman schools of painting, to illustrate the distinction between Catholic history and my own, or the ordinary orthodox histories of the Church. Every well-educated person will readily perceive the import, and the striking nature of this comparison. But any one familar with the peculiarities of the two schools,

and has a vivid conception of their productions, will appreciate the profound truth, and the extensive applicability of this ingenious comparison.

JENA, *June 4th*, 1837.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

DURING the years which have elapsed while the previous editions have been given to the public, I have had time and inclination enough not only more thoroughly to investigate many particulars (though I must not withhold my heartiest thanks from those who have assisted me), but also to revise the whole, without, however, changing the essential character of the book. The object for which it was originally intended would allow of no augmentation of its size. The vastness of its subject rendered all attempts to render the contents themselves more perfect in their relations and in their distinctness an absolutely interminable task. But on this anniversary of the morning on which, seven years ago, the first preface of this work was written, I am painfully oppressed by the recollection, that a large part of the most vigorous and most tranquil portion of my life has been spent in efforts to improve a work of such a limited extent; and I cannot venture upon any further promises with regard to future efforts in this matter.

JENA, *Ascension Day*, 1841.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

THE ten years to which I alluded at the close of the preface to the first edition have now passed, and it is certain that in an animated intercourse with the age in which I live, many of the positions I first assumed have either been more carefully verified, or have been changed. Either in the German, or in a foreign language, this work has found its way through the hands of the youth into the quiet residences of many pastors, and even into palaces. Thus, under the divine blessing, may it proceed onward in its course, producing in the Church a sound consciousness of her historical development until it shall have fulfilled its mission.

JENA, *Jan. 1st*, 1844.

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH EDITION.

Whatever is new in this edition will be found principally in those portions relating to the most ancient and the most modern times. Most of what I have added to the former has been occasioned by the researches of the new school of Tubingen. These were not altogether unknown to me during the composition of the original work, but in consequence of the works of Baur, Paulus and Schwegler, with reference to the period immediately after the apostles, they now appear in more perfect relations. I was in no danger of maintaining an obstinate resistance to the fundamental principles of their historical scheme, to avoid the necessity of taking back my former assertions on the same subject, for, in the first edition, I had maintained that a primary form of ecclesiastical orthodoxy was Ebionism, although afterwards, in consequence of the progress of other views, this was regarded as a heresy. The very earliest theological treatise which I published, as long ago as 1824, and which was quoted by Dr. Schwegler himself, was written to show that the Epistle to the Hebrews belonged to an Ebionite party. And yet I have never been convinced that the struggle between the Jewish and the Pauline parties continued as late as a century after the death of the apostles, and in countries beyond the limits of Palestine, and constituted the great moving principle of the history and literature of that century. It did not belong to a mere text-book to discuss the ingenious arguments which Dr. von Baur has brought forward, but my present revision has certainly gone quite far enough into this matter, and my history of this oldest period of Church history seems almost every where like a quiet conference with the Tubingen school, by adopting or controverting whose positions it has been much benefited. I was, of course, unable to make use at that time of the new edition (4 ed. 1847.) of Neander's history of the apostolic Church. The abundant materials which the last four years have afforded, were easily added, like new annual rings and shoots, to the old trunk of the most modern history.

I have, for this once, spared myself the disagreeable task of reading the proof-sheets for the correction of typographical errors, but an unpleasant mistake has caught my eye in note *b*, under § 8, where my diligent proof-reader, even in opposition to grammatical propriety, has allowed *ab orbe condita* to stand as in the preceding edition.

In quoting from the Fathers, and from some other authors, I was sometimes obliged to give the page, and I therefore here mention the editions to which I referred: Athanasii Opp. Par. 1627. Clementis Alex. Opp. ed. Potter. Oxon. 1715. Cypriani Opp. ed. Fell. Amst.

1713. Epiphanii Opp. ed. Petav. Par. 1622. Hieronymi Opp. ed. Martianay, when that of Vallarsi is not expressly mentioned. Justini Opp. ed. Otto. Jen. 1842s. Leon M. Opp. edd. Ballerini. Origenis Opp. ed. Delarue.—Gerson. ed. Du Pin. Antu. 1706. Guicciardini. Ven. 1583–4. Mattheus Paris. Par. 1644. Melaneth. Epp. in the Corpus Reformatorum ed. Bretschneider. Platina. 1664. Dutch edition. Trithemi Annales Hirsang. S. Galli. 1690.

In the notes to the latest modern history, the abbreviations A. K. Z. mean the (Darmstadt) Allegemeine Kirchen-Zeitung; Ev. K. Z. mean Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung; Brl. A. K. Z. mean Berliner Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung; A. Z. mean Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung; L. A. Z., or D. A. Z., mean Leipziger, afterwards Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. It may be that some public documents which had been published in the religious, are quoted from the political journals, because I had first met with them in the latter, but it is certainly very desirable for future historical purposes, that our religious periodicals should collect in a more perfect manner than they have done the original documents, especially of foreign Churches. This will become especially important, if the Acta historico-ecclesiastica, which poor Rheinwald commenced, should never be continued.

Jena, *First Sunday in Advent*, 1847.

PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH EDITION.

Although I had supposed that I had before neglected nothing, the revision of this work for a new impression has given occasion for so many improvements, or at least alterations, that the immensity of the affair has once more forced itself upon my attention. Hence the necessity, to my present annoyance, of a much enlarged edition. I might very properly excuse myself by saying, as Pascal did, in one of his Provincial Letters, that I have no time to make it briefer. An author ought, indeed, always to take time for a book, since generally he is under no necessity of publishing prematurely. But the publication of a new edition is sometimes beyond his control. When, last Spring, I re-commenced my lectures upon Church History, a sufficient number of copies of this text-book were not to be obtained; I was therefore obliged to supply my pupils with the separate sheets as they came from the press, and to finish the preparation within a limited time.

I have been accustomed generally to correct the last proof-sheets with my own hands, but on the present occasion I spared myself the unpleasant task of reading to find typographical errors; and I committed to my students the work of diligently watching for these marks of human frailty. Their keen young eyes have discovered some mistakes of this kind; and not to mention those which are unimportant, and are easily seen and corrected, I will only notice that instead of *Eugenius VI.*, on p. 279, Eugenius IV., should be inserted; and instead of 1835, in the third line from the bottom of p. 405, 1853 should be printed.

* * * * * * * *

Where quotations are made from the Fathers, and some other writers, and frequently the precise number of the page must be mentioned, I have referred to the following editions: Cypriani Opp. ed. Fell. Amst. 1713. Epiphanii Opp. ed. Petav. Par. 1622. Hieronymi Opp. ed. Martianay, where Villarsi is not expressly mentioned. Justini Opp. ed. Otto, Jen. 1847s. Leon. M. Opp. ed. Ballerinii. Origenis Opp. ed. Delarue.—Gerson, ed. Du Pin. Antu. 1706. Guicciardini; Ven. 1583–4. Mattheus Paris; Par. 1644. Melancth. Epp. in the Corpus Reformatorum. Platina 1664. Dutch edit. Trethemii Annales Hirsaug. S. Galli. 1690. Sleidan. Argent. 1555. Sarpi 1699–4. Seckendorf. Francof. 1688. Ranke, deutsche Gesch. 3. ed.

While the work was passing through the press, and after those sections to which they referred had been printed, many important works have appeared, which might have had an influence upon my statements. I will not mention them here, for after a few months such a list would be as imperfect as before. The author of a monograph must be expected, of course, to understand his subject better than others; but he who writes a general history, must learn from many, and be corrected by almost all.

Jena, *Feb. 27th*, 1854.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.—PLAN.

SECT.		PAGE
1.	The Church and the World,	1
2.	Idea of Church History,	1
3.	Proper Province of Church History,	2
4.	Relation to the General History of Religion,	2
5.	Mode of Treating Church History,	3
6.	Value of Church History,	3
7.	Sources,	3
8.	Auxiliary Sciences,	4
9.	Division	5

CHAP. II.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

10.	Polemical Church History,	7
11.	French Ecclesiastical Historians,	8
12.	Protestant Scientific Church History,	8
13.	Writers of the German Catholic Church,	11

ANCIENT CHURCH HISTORY.

PERIOD I.

FROM CHRIST TO CONSTANTINE.

14.	General View and Original Authorities,	13

DIVISION I.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. I.—INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

I. Classic Heathenism.

15.	Popular Life among the Greeks,	15
16.	Limits of Grecian Refinement,	15
17.	The Religion of the Greeks,	16
18.	Relation of Philosophy to the Popular Religion,	16

SECT. PAGE
19. Rome as a Republic, ... 17
20. Decline of Greece, ... 18
21. Elevation and Decline of Rome, ... 18
22. Decline of the Popular Religion, ... 19

II. JUDAISM.

23. The Religious Life of the People, ... 20
24. The Dispersed Jews, ... 21
25. Hellenism, ... 21
26. The Three Sects, ... 22
27. The Samaritans, ... 23
28. Proselytes, ... 23

CHAP. II.—THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

29. The First Pentecost, ... 24
30. Fortune of the Church of Jerusalem, ... 25
31. Jewish Christianity, ... 26
32. Samaritan Christians and Sects, ... 26
33. Paul, ... 27
34. Peter, ... 30
35. Position of Parties in the time of Paul, ... 31
36. John, ... 33
37. Parties in the Time of John, ... 34
38. Traditions Respecting the Apostles, ... 35
39. Apostolical Fathers of the First Century, ... 36
40. Political Overthrow of Judaism, ... 36
41. The Roman Civil Power, ... 37
42. Constitution of the Local Churches, ... 38
43. Ecclesiastical Life, ... 39
44. Mode of Worship, ... 40
45. Doctrines of the Church, ... 41

DIVISION II.—FORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

CHAP. I.—STRUGGLE OF THE CHURCH FOR ITS OWN EXISTENCE.

46. The Jews, ... 42
47. The Roman People and Empire, ... 43
48. Conduct of the Individual Emperors of the Second and Third Centuries, 44
49. Internal History of Paganism, ... 46
50. New-Platonism, ... 47
51. Literary Controversies of Christianity, ... 49
52. The Christian Apologists, ... 50
53. Religion of Barbarous Nations, ... 53
54. Spread of Christianity, ... 53
55. The Last Persecution, ... 54
56. The Martyrs, ... 55

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

57. Original Documents on Ecclesiastical Law, ... 56
58. The Clergy and the Laity, ... 57
59. Bishops, ... 59
60. Synods, ... 60
61. Metropolitans, ... 60
62. The Three Great Bishops, ... 61
63. The Catholic Church and its Branches, ... 62

SECT. PAGE

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

64. Christian Morals, ... 63
65. St. Anthony, ... 64
66. Ecclesiastical Discipline, ... 65
67. The Montanists, ... 66
68. The Novatians, ... 67
69. Holy Seasons, and the Controversy about Easter, ... 67
70. Sacred Places, and their Decoration, ... 69
71. Sacred Services, ... 69

CHAP. IV.—DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH, AND OPINIONS OPPOSED TO THEM.

72. Sources from which the Church derived its System of Faith, . . 71
73. Apostolic Fathers of the Second Century. Cont. from § 39, . . 72
74. Ecclesiastical Literature and Heresy, ... 73
75. Ebionism. Cont. from § 35, ... 74
76. I. Gnosticism, ... 75
77. II. Syrian Gnostics, ... 77
78. III. Hellenistic Gnostics, ... 78
79. IV. Gnostics, in an especial sense Christian, ... 81
80. V. Judaizing Gnostics, ... 83
81. VI. Influence of Gnosticism upon the Church, ... 85
82. Manichaeism, ... 86
83. Historico-Ecclesiastical Theology, ... 88
84. Thascius Caecilianus Cyprianus, ... 89
85. I. The School of Alexandria, ... 91
86. II. Characteristics of the Alexandrian Theology, ... 93
87. III. Influence of Origen, ... 94
88. Appendix to the Literary History, ... 95
89. Apocryphal Literature, ... 96
90. Subordinationists and Monarchians, ... 98

PERIOD II.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO CHARLES THE GREAT.

91. General View, ... 101

DIVISION I.—THE IMPERIAL CHURCH.

92. Original Authorities, ... 101

CHAP. I.—VICTORY AND DEFEAT OF CHRISTIANITY.

93. Constantine and his Sons, ... 103
94. Julianus Apostata, ... 104
95. The Fall of Paganism, ... 105
96. Massalians and Hypsistarians, ... 107
97. Christianity under the Persians, ... 107
98. Abyssinia and the Diaspora, ... 108
99. Mohammed, ... 108
100. Victories of Islam, ... 110

CHAP. II.—THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE.

101. Conflicts and Sources of the Ecclesiastical Life, ... 110

SECT. PAGE

I. The Arian Controversy.

102. The Synod of Nicaea. Cont. from § 90, ... 112
103. Athanasius and Arius, ... 113
104. Minor Controversies, ... 114
105. The Synod of Constantinople and the Holy Trinity, . . . 115
106. Ecclesiastical Literature, ... 116

II. The Origenistic Controversy.

107. Synesius, Epiphanius, and Hieronymus, ... 119
108. Chrysostom, ... 120

III. The Pelagian Controversy.

109. Pelagianism and Augustinism, ... 122
110. Augustinus, ... 122
111. Victory of Augustinism, ... 124
112. Semipelagianism, ... 124

IV. Controversies respecting the two Natures of Christ.

113. The Nestorian Controversy, ... 126
114. The Eutychian Controversy, ... 127
115. The Monophysites, ... 128
116. Justinian, ... 129
117. The Edict of Peace and the Monophysite Church, . . . 130
118. The Monothelite Controversy, ... 131
119. Ecclesiastical Literature, ... 132

CHAP. III.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

120. Legislation and Books of Law, ... 134
121. The Roman Empire, ... 136
122. Power of the Emperor over the Church, ... 137
123. Power of the Church over the State, ... 137
124. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, ... 138
125. Church Property, ... 139
126. The Congregation and the Clergy, ... 140
127. The Patriarchs, ... 141
128. The Roman Bishopric before Leo, ... 142
129. Leo the Great, ... 143
130. The Papacy after Leo. Gregory the Great, ... 144
131. General Councils and the Catholic Church, ... 146

CHAP. IV.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

132. Religious Spirit of the People and Ecclesiastical Discipline, . . 147
133. Celibacy and Moral Condition of the Clergy, ... 148
134. Monastic Life in the East, ... 149
135. Hermits. Simeon Stylites, ... 150
136. Monasticism in the West. Benedictines, ... 151
137. Veneration for Saints, ... 151
138. Public Worship, ... 153
139. Ecclesiastical Architecture and Works of Art, ... 155
140. Iconoclastic Controversy, ... 156

CHAP. V.—OPPONENTS OF THE ORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM.

141. General View, ... 157
142. The Donatists, ... 157
143. Audians, Massalians, ... 158
144. Priscilianus, ... 158
145. Protesting Ecclesiastical Teachers, ... 159
146. History of the Paulicians, § 1. 159

SECT. PAGE

DIVISION II.—THE GERMANIC CHURCH.

147. Original Authorities, ... 160

CHAP. I.—ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

148. Religion of the Germans, ... 162
149. Religion of the Northern German Nations, ... 163
150. Arianism, ... 165
151. Victory of Catholicism, ... 166
152. British and Anglo-Saxon Church, ... 166
153. Irruption of Islam in the West, ... 168
154. Germany, Bonifacius, ... 168
155. The Saxons, ... 169
156. Overthrow of German Paganism, ... 169

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

157. Original Records of the Canon Law, ... 170
158. Relation of the Church to the State, ... 171
159. Property of the Church and the Clergy, ... 171
160. Ecclesiastical Power of the Pope, ... 172
161. Secular Power of the Pope, ... 173
162. Charles the Great, ... 173

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

163. Religious Spirit of the People, ... 174
164. Ecclesiastical Discipline, ... 175
165. Morals of the Clergy and Canonical Life, ... 176
166. Public Worship, ... 177

CHAP. IV.—ECCLESIASTICAL SCIENCE.

167. Preservation of Literature, ... 178
168. Scientific Education under the Carolingians, ... 179
169. Adoptionists, ... 180

MEDIAEVAL CHURCH HISTORY.

PERIOD III.

FROM CHARLES TO INNOCENT III.

170. General View and Authorities, ... 181

CHAP. I.—GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY.

171. General View, ... 183
172. Donation of Constantine in the Ninth Century, ... 183
173. Pseudo-Isidore, ... 184
174. The Female Pope Joanna, ... 186
175. Nicholas I., 858–867, and Hadrian II., 867–872, ... 187
176. Formosus, 891–896. Stephen VI., 897, ... 188
177. Pornocracy, ... 189
178. The Popes under the Othos, ... 189
179. The Papacy until the Synod of Sutri, ... 191
180. The Popes under Hildebrand, 1048–1073, ... 191

SECT.		PAGE
181.	Gregory VII., April 22, 1073–May 25, 1085,	194
182.	Gregory's Successors, 1085–1099,	197
183.	The Crusades. Conquest of Jerusalem,	198
184.	Paschal II., 1099–1118,	199
185.	Calixtus II., 1119–1124. Concordat of Worms,	200
186.	Arnold of Brescia, and Bernard of Clairvaux,	201
187.	The Crusade of St. Bernard,	202
188.	Frederic I. Barbarossa, 1152–1190,	203
189	Thomas Becket,	205
190.	The Crusade against Salaheddin,	206
191.	Henry VI.	206
192.	Innocent III., Jan. 8, 1198–July 16, 1216,	207

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

193.	Gratian and his Predecessors,	211
194.	The Church and the State,	212
195.	Ecclesiastical Power of the Papacy,	214
196.	The Cardinals,	215
197.	The Bishops, and the Bishops' Chapters,	216
198.	Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,	217
199.	Property of the Church,	218

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

200.	The Religious Spirit of the People,	219
201.	Manners of the Clergy,	221
202.	Church Discipline,	222
203.	Public Worship,	223
204.	Monastic Life,	225
205.	The Congregation of Clugny,	226
206.	Minor Orders of the Eleventh Century,	227
207.	The Cistercians and St. Bernard,	228
208.	Praemonstrants and Carmelites,	229
209.	The Trinitarians,	230
210.	The Humiliates,	231
211.	Establishment of the Orders of Knighthood,	231

CHAP. IV.—STATE OF SCIENCE IN THE CHURCH.

212.	Scientific Education of the Ninth Century,	232
213.	First Eucharistic Controversy,	234
214.	Gottschalk. Cont. from § 12,	235
215.	Literary Interest during the Tenth Century, under the Othos,	235
216.	Academical Studies in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,	236
217.	The Second Eucharistic Controversy,	237
218.	Scholasticism. First Period,	238
219.	Mysticism. First Period,	240
220.	Abelard, 1079–April 21, 1142,	241
221.	The Sacred Scriptures,	243
222.	Commencement of a National Literature in the Twelfth Century,	243

CHAP. V.—EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

223.	The Holy Ansgar, 801–865,	245
224.	Germanic Nations of the North,	246
225.	The Slavic Nations,	248
226.	The Hungarians,	250
227.	The Finns, Livonians, and Esthonians,	250

SECT. PAGE

CHAP. VI.—PARTIES PROTESTING AGAINST THE CHURCH.

228. The Catharists, ... 251
229. Peter of Bruys and Henry. Tanchelm and Eon, . . . 253
230. The Waldenses, ... 254
231. The Albigensian War, ... 255

CHAP. VII.—THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.

232. Extension of the Church, ... 256
233. The Roman Empire and the Church, ... 257
234. Photius, ... 258
235. Division of the Church, ... 259
236. State of Science, ... 260
237. Paulicians. § 2. Cont. from § 146, ... 261

PERIOD IV.

FROM INNOCENT III. TO LUTHER.

238. General View and Historical Writers, ... 263

CHAP. I.—RELATION OF THE PAPACY TO GENERAL AFFAIRS.

239. Frederic II., ... 265
240. Overthrow of the House of Hohenstaufen, ... 267
241. St. Louis, ... 268
242. Termination of the Crusades, ... 269
243. Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273–1291. Sicilian Vespers, . . . 269
244. The Hermit in the Papal Chair, July 5–Dec. 13, 1294, . . 270
245. Boniface VIII., Dec. 24, 1294–Oct. 11, 1303, ... 271
246. Commencement of the Babylonian Exile, ... 272
247. Louis of Bavaria, 1314–1347. Joanna I. of Naples, . . . 273
248. Close of the Babylonian Exile, ... 274
249. The Schism, ... 275
250. Council of Pisa, March 25–Aug. 7, 1409, ... 276
251. Council of Constance, Nov. 5, 1414–April 22, 1418, . . . 277
252. Martin V., Nov. 11, 1417–Feb. 20, 1431, ... 278
253. Council of Basle, 1431–1443 (1449), ... 279
254. The Popes until the End of the Fifteenth Century, . . . 281
255. Alexander VI., Aug. 2, 1492–Aug. 18, 1503, ... 282
256. Julius II., Nov. 1, 1503–Feb. 21, 1513, ... 283
257. Leo X., March 11, 1513–1517 (1521), ... 285

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

258. Corpus Juris Canonici, ... 286
259. The State and the Church, ... 287
260. Ecclesiastical Power of the Papacy, ... 288
261. Ecclesiastical Assemblies, ... 290
262. The National Churches, ... 292
263. The Bishops and their Jurisdiction, ... 292
264. The Inquisition, ... 293

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

265. The Two Great Mendicant Orders, ... 295
266. Public Worship, ... 300
267. Flourishing Period of the Imitative Arts in the Church, . . 302
268. Worship of the Saints, ... 307
269. Miracles and Magic, ... 309
270. Church Discipline and Indulgences, ... 311
271. Flagellants and Dancers, ... 312

SECT. PAGE
272. Morals of the Clergy, ... 314
273. Religious Character of the People, ... 315
274. Survey of the Monastic Life, ... 316
275. More Independent Associations, ... 317
276. The Templars and the Knights of St. John, ... 318

CHAP. IV.—ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

277. Scholasticism. Second Period, ... 320
278. Scholasticism. Third Period, ... 321
279. Mysticism. Second Period, ... 322
280. Excesses and Compromises, ... 324
281. The so-called Revival of Literature, ... 326
282. John Reuchlin, 1455–1522, ... 329
283. Desiderius Erasmus, 1465–1536, ... 330
284. The Holy Scriptures, ... 331
285. The Doctrine of the Church, ... 332
286. Ethics and Casuistry, ... 333

CHAP. V.—EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

287. Apologetics. Islam. Judaism, ... 335
288. Prussia. Lithuania. Lapland, ... 336
289. Prester John and the Mongols, ... 337
290. The New World, ... 338

CHAP. VI.—OPPOSITION AND REFORM.

291. General View, ... 338

I. Hostile Parties.

292. The Stedingers and the Heretical Ghibellines, . . . 339
293. Fraternity of the Free Spirit, ... 340
294. Order of the Apostles, ... 341
295. Termination of the Earlier Sects, ... 342

II. Reform.

296. Reformation in the Head and Members, ... 343
297. John Wycliffe, 1324–Dec. 31, 1381, ... 346
298. John Huss and the Hussites, ... 347
299. The Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, ... 350
300. Learned Precursors of the Reformation in Germany, . . 351
301. Jerome Savonarola, ... 352

CHAP. VII.—THE GREEK CHURCH.

302. Arsenius, ... 354
303. The Light of God and Philosophy, ... 354
304. Attempts at Union. Cont. from § 235, ... 355
305. End of the Greek Empire, ... 356

MODERN CHURCH HISTORY.

PERIOD V.

FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

306. General View, ... 358

CHAP. I.—THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

307. Original Authorities and Literary History, ... 359

SECT. PAGE

I. Establishment of the Lutheran Church till 1532.

308. Luther's Youth, ... 361
309. The Ninety-Five Theses, ... 363
310. Interference of the Pope, ... 363
311. Amicable Negotiations, ... 364
312. Deputation at Leipsic, June 27–July, 16, 1519, ... 365
313. Melancthon. General Affairs, ... 366
314. Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, . . 367
315. Babylonian Captivity and Christian Freedom, . . . 368
316. The Fire-Signal, ... 369
317. Political Relations till 1521, ... 370
318. Diet at Worms, 1521, ... 371
319. The Wartburg, and the Tumult at Wittenberg, 1521, 1522, . . 372
320. System of Doctrines and the Scriptures, ... 373
321. Diet at Nuremberg, 1522, 1523, ... 373
322. Introduction of the Reformation, ... 374
323. Commencement of the Division in Germany, 1524–1526, . . 376
324. The King and the Theologian, ... 377
325. Peasants' War, 1524, 1525, ... 377
326. Erasmus and Luther. Cont. from § 285, ... 379
327. Luther's Domestic Life, and his Colleagues, ... 380
328. Religious Liberty and the Protestation, ... 381
329. Synod of Homburg, 1526. Saxon Church Visitation, 1527–1529, . 382
330. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530, ... 383
331. League of Smalkald and Peace of Nuremberg, ... 383

II. Establishment of the Reformed Church until 1531.

332. Youth and Doctrine of Zwingle, ... 384
333. Introduction of the Reformation, ... 386
334. Division of the Swiss Confederacy, ... 388
335. The Sacramentarian Controversy, ... 389

III. Establishment of the Lutheran Church until 1555.

336. Articles of Smalkald, ... 390
337. Progress and Political Power of the Reformation, . . . 391
338. Negotiations for Peace and Preparations for War, . . . 393
339. Luther's Death and Public Character, ... 394
340. The Smalkaldic War, 1546–7, ... 395
341. The Interim, ... 396
342. Maurice, 1552, ... 397
343. Religious Peace, Sept. 25, 1555, ... 398

IV. Establishment of the Reformed Church until 1564.

344. The Concordium of Wittenberg. Cont. from § 338, . . . 399
345. Italian Switzerland, ... 400
346. John Calvin, July 10, 1509–May 27, 1564, ... 400

CHAP. II.—ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROTESTANT ORTHODOXY.

I. Lutheranism.

347. The Antinomian and Osiandrian Controversies, . . . 402
348. Lutherans and Philippists. General Affairs, ... 404
349. The Synergistic Controversy, ... 405
350. Crypto-Calvinism. Cont. from § 344, ... 407
351. Efforts at Concord, ... 409
352. Reaction of Saxon Calvinism, ... 410
353. Spirit and Result of the Doctrinal Controversy, . . . 411

SECT. PAGE

II. Calvinism.

354. German Reformed Church, ... 412
355. The Netherlands, ... 414
356. The Synod of Dort, Nov. 13, 1618–end of May, 1619, . . . 415

CHAP. III.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION THROUGH EUROPE.

357. The United Austrian States until 1609, ... 416
358. Sweden, ... 418
359. Denmark with Norway and Iceland, ... 419
360. Poland, Livonia, and Koorland, ... 420

I. Great Britain and Ireland.

361. Establishment of the Anglican Church, ... 421
362. Origin of the Puritans and Independents, ... 423
363. Scotland, ... 424
364. Great Britain under the Stuarts, ... 425

II. France.

365. The Night of St. Bartholomew, ... 426
366. The Edict of Nantes, ... 428
367. Spain and Italy, ... 429

CHAP. IV.—FANATICS AND ULTRAISTS OF THE REFORMATION.

368. General Relations of the Reformation, ... 430
369. Anabaptists as Fanatics, ... 431
370. Anabaptists as an Orderly Community. Collegiants, ... 432
371. Antitrinitarians, ... 432
372. Socinians, ... 434
373. Caspar Schwenckfeld, of Ossing. Sebastian Franck, . . . 435

CHAP. V.—CONDITION AND RESULTS OF PROTESTANTISM.

374. Protestantism as a Principle, ... 437
375. Morals, ... 438
376. Law, ... 440
377. The Clergy, and Church Property, ... 443
378. Public Worship and Art, ... 444
379. Humanistic Education and Holy Scriptures. Cont. from § 284, . 446
380. Philosophy and Theosophy. Mysticism and Practical Christianity, . 447

CHAP. VI.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

381. The Popes in the Age of the Reformation, till 1585, ... 450
382. Ignatius de Loyola, 1491–1556, ... 452
383. Development of Jesuitism, ... 453
384. The Council of Trent, Dec. 13, 1545–Dec. 14, 1563, ... 454
385. Sixtus V., April 27, 1585–Aug. 27, 1590, ... 456
386. Popes of the Seventeenth Century, ... 456
387. Law and Political Relations, ... 458
388. Great Change in the Character of Catholicism, ... 460
389. Fraternities for Instruction and Charity, ... 462
390. The Fine Arts, ... 464
391. The Sacred Scriptures. Cont. from §§ 286, 386, ... 465
392. Laws respecting Doctrines and Internal Theological Controversies, . 466
393. Efforts at Reconciliation, and Controversies with the Protestants, . 468
394. The Propaganda, ... 470
395. The East Indies, ... 470

SECT. PAGE
396. Japan, ... 472
397. China, ... 474
398. West Indies. Cont. from § 290, ... 475

CHAP. VII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

399. Occasions, ... 476
400. The Bohemian War. Cont. from § 357, ... 477
401. The German War, ... 478
402. The Peace of Westphalia, ... 479

CHAP. VIII.—THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.

403. Connections with Protestants, ... 480
404. The Russian Church, ... 481
405. The Abyssinians and Maronites, ... 482

PERIOD VI.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE PRESENT TIME.

406. General View, ... 483

CHAP. I.—PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL CHURCH UNTIL 1750.

407. German Orthodoxy, ... 484
408. George Calixtus, 1586–1656, ... 486
409. Pietism. Spener, 1685–1705, ... 487
410. Philosophical Influences. Cartesius to Wolf, ... 489
411. Peaceable Movements in Theology, ... 490
412. Law and Legal Views in the German Church, ... 492
413. Legal Relations to the Catholic Church, ... 492
414. Attempts at Union, ... 495
415. The English Revolution. Cont. from § 364, ... 497
416. Freethinkers or Deists, ... 498
417. The Quakers, ... 502
418. The United Brethren. Zinzendorf, 1700–1760, ... 503
419. The Methodists. Wesley, 1703–1791. Whitefield, 1714–1770, . . 505
420. The Church of the New Jerusalem. Swedenborg, 1688–1772, . . . 506
421. Minor Fanatical Parties, ... 508
422. Spread of Christianity, ... 510

CHAP. II.—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH UNTIL 1750.

423. The Papacy, ... 511
424. The Gallican Church, ... 514

JANSENISM.

425. I. Port-Royal, ... 516
426. II. The Constitution Unigenitus, ... 518
427. Mysticism, Quietism, and Pious Humor, ... 519
428. Newly Established Orders, ... 521
429. Spread of Christianity. Cont. from § 394ss, ... 521

CHAP. III.—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH UNTIL 1814.

I. MATTERS PRELIMINARY TO THE REVOLUTION.

430. French Philosophy. Cont. from § 416, ... 522
431. Clement XIII. (1758–69) and the Jesuits, ... 524

SECT. PAGE
432. Clement XIV. (1769–74) and the Jesuits, ... 525
433. Pius VI. (1774–99) and his Age until 1789, ... 526

II. French Revolution.

434. The National Assembly (Constituante), 1789–1791, . . . 529
435. The Legislative Assembly and National Convention, 1791–1795, . 531
436. Theophilanthropists, 1796–1802, ... 532
437. The Roman Republic. Cont. from § 433, ... 532

III. The Era of Napoleon.

438. Pius VII. and the Re-establishment of the Gallican Church, . . 533
439. Dispute between the Emperor and the Pope, . . . 534
440. Overthrow of the Ecclesiastical German Constitution, . . . 536

CHAP. IV.—THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL CHURCH TILL 1814.

441. The Age of Enlightenment. Cont. from §§ 416, 430, . . 537
442. Christian Reaction. Prussian Religious Edict, ... 539
443. Revolution in German Literature, ... 541
444. Reformation of Philosophy in Germany, ... 543
445. Rationalism and Supernaturalism, ... 544
446. The Ecclesiastical Party in Germany, ... 545
447. Small Fanatical Parties, ... 546
448. Civil Relations of Protestants under Catholic Governments. Cont. from § 413, ... 547

CHAP. V.—THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL CHURCH TILL 1853.

449. Development of Protestantism, ... 548
450. The Philosophy of the Absolute, and its Ramifications, . . . 550
451. Orthodox Pietism and its Extremes, ... 555
452. Undecided Controversies between Old and New Protestantism, . . 560
453. Prussia, the Union and the Agenda till 1840. Cont. from § 414, . 566
454. Lutheranism as a Sect under Frederic William III., . . . 569
455. Legal Views and Legal Relations in German Countries, . . 571
456. The Prussian National Church and its Branches since 1840, . . 576
457. Combinations, ... 587
458. The Scriptures. Cont. from §§ 379, 411, ... 592
459. Calvinism as a Sect, ... 595
460. Division of the Church in Scotland and in the Pays de Vaud, . . 597
461. The Anglican Church and the Dissenters, ... 598
462. Ecclesiastical Affairs in the North American Republic, . . . 601
463. Legal Condition with respect to Catholic Governments, . . 605
464. Old and New Sects, ... 610
465. Missionary and Bible Societies, ... 612
466. Spread of Christianity, ... 614

CHAP. VI.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TILL 1853.

467. Re-establishment of the Roman Hierarchy. Cont. from § 439, . 617
468. The Popes before the Last, ... 619
469. Pius IX. (June 16, 1846) and Italy, ... 620
470. The Gallican Church, ... 624
471. Spain. Portugal. South America, ... 629
472. Belgium and Holland, ... 633
473. Restoration of the German Church, ... 635
474. The Ecclesiastical Controversy in Prussian Germany, . . . 636
475. The German Church since 1848, ... 640
476. Switzerland, ... 645
477. Ireland and England, ... 649
478. Forms of Catholicism, ... 652

SECT. PAGE
479. German Catholicism, ... 656
480. Mystics and Wonder-Workers, ... 661
481. Orders, ... 662
482. Spread of Christianity. Cont. from §§ 394, 429, ... 663

CHAP. VII.—THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.

483. Catholic and Protestant Influences, ... 665
484. Russia. Cont. from § 404, ... 666
485. Greece and Turkey, ... 669

CHAP. VIII.—COMMON DETAILS AND MUTUAL RELATIONS.

486. Catholicism and Protestantism, ... 671
487. The Fine Arts. Cont. from §§ 378, 390. 674
488. Emancipation and Conversion of the Jews, ... 675
489. Abolition of Slavery, ... 677
490. St. Simonism and Socialism, ... 679
491. The Holy Alliance, ... 681
Appendix, ... 683

INTRODUCTION.

C. Sagittarius, Introd. in Hist. Ecc. Jen. T. I. 1694. Vol. II. ed. *J. A. Schmid*, 1718. 4. *F. Walch*, Grundsätze d. zur KHist. nöthigen Vorbereitungslehren u. Bücherkenntn. Gött. ed. 2. 1772. *C. W. Flügge*, Einl. in d. Studium u. in d. Literatur d. Rel. u. KGesch. Gött. 1801. (*J. G. Dowling*, Introd. to the Crit. Study of Ecc. Hist. Lond. 1838. 8. *J. Jortin*, Remarks on Ecc. Hist. Lond. 1846. 2 vols. 8. *W. Bates*, College Lectt. on Ecc. Hist. Lond. 1845. 8. *G. Campbell*, Lectt. on Ecc. Hist. Lond. 1834. 8.)

CHAP. I.—PLAN.

F. F. Kosegarten, ü. Stud. Plan u. Darst. d. Allg. KGesch. Réval. 1824. *Ullmann*, ü. Stellung des KHist. in unsrer Zeit. (Stud. u. Krit. 1829. p. 667ss.) *J. A. H. Tittmann*, ü. Behandl. d. KGesch. vorz. auf Univ. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1832. vol. I. st. 2) *Daub*, d. Form. d. Dogmen u. KHist. (Zeitschr. f. Spekul. Th. 1836. vol. I. H. 1.) *Möhler*, Einl. in. d. KGesch. (Hist. Pol. Bl. f. d. Kath. Deutschl. 1839. vol. IV. H. 1–3, u. Gesamm. Schrr. vol. II.)

§ 1. *The Church and the World.*

The *Church* was originally founded by the Spirit which proceeded from Jesus, and was intended to embrace in its communion all the religious life derived from Him, or in connection with Him. All *Churches* and *Sects* comprehended in this spiritual community, are only different manifestations of the same Spirit. The Church stands in contrast with the *World*, when the latter is regarded as including all forms of life which are merely natural, and not of a religious character. Especially does it thus stand contrasted with the *State*, viewed as the political organization of the people. This contrast, however, is only in particular relations, since the State is also a divine institution, and the world was created by God and is intended to be gradually pervaded by the Church. Indeed, the Church, in its character of the earthly kingdom of God, can never be fully set forth, except in intimate connection with the world.

§ 2. *Idea of Church History.*

[*P. Schaff.* A Vindication of the Idea of Hist. Development, Philad. 1846. 12. See also his Hist. of Apost. Church, New York, 1853.]

The Church is always in a progressive state; *i. e.*, it is striving to be a perpetual manifestation of the life of Christ in humanity. In other words, it is always aiming to exhibit his life more and more perfectly, and on a more ex-

tensive scale, sometimes in conflict, and sometimes in connection with the world. *Church history* is a representation of the Church in this progressive state, by an exhibition of the facts which have occurred in its course. In its scientific form, it is the combination of all those individual elements which have had any influence upon its composition, since it is, 1) *critically*, an impartial, honest, and strict inquiry into facts, and into the extent of the confidence which can be reposed in their proofs, so that where certainty cannot be attained, a knowledge of this extent in its different degrees may determine the scientific character of the narrative; 2) *genetically*, a statement of the facts in connection with their causes, taking care, however, that no explanations are given inconsistent with the proper nature of the idea developed in the events, or with the peculiar character of the active agents in them; 3) *theologically*, an estimation of the facts in their precise relation to the religious spirit, allowing no preconceived opinions to determine what has actually occurred but only to assist in understanding them as we find them. The correct manner of narration, or the *historical style*, is that which the student naturally adopts when he has acquired a true conception of the events, and then fully expresses this in living freshness and reality.

§ 3. *Proper Province of Church History.*

Within the appropriate department of Church History lie all facts which either proceed directly from the common Christian spirit, or indirectly are dependent upon the opposition or co-operation of the world. Some of these belong necessarily to the history, and are essential points of development by which the Christian spirit must be represented; but others are only carefully selected representatives of the age in which they occur, or peculiar manifestations of the Christian spirit in some important individuals.

§ 4. *Relation to the General History of Religion.*

Hist. générale des cérémonies, mœurs et coutûmes rel. de tous les peuples, représentées par figures dessinées de la main de *B. Picard*, avec des explicat. hist. (Amst. 1723ss. 7 vols.) Par. 1741ss. 8 vols. *J. Meiners*, Allg. Krit. Gesch. d. Religionen. Hann. 1806s. 2 Th. *E. V. Weiller*, Ideen z. Gesch. d. Entw. d. Rel. Gl. Münch, 1808–1815. 3 Th. *Benj. Constant*, de la Religion, considérée dans sa source, ses formes et ses développemens, Par. 1824ss. 2 Th. Ubers. m. Anm. v. Petri. Brl. 1824s. 2 vols.

The object of a general history of religion, of which Church history is only a single department, is the development of the religious spirit of mankind in all the forms in which it has appeared. But the religious peculiarities of unevangelized nations are only to be introduced into Church history, when they are in some way involved in the affairs of Christendom (generally, at first, in conflict with it), or when they occasion some new relations in it. For, as the Law was adapted to lead the Jew and Philosophy the Greek to Christ, the same result might be produced among other nations by their confidence in their own gods. Accordingly, as Christianity is a religion for the whole human race, and is therefore the ultimate point and perfection of all other religions, Church History should be the central point of all histories of religion, and should gradually incorporate within itself their collected results.

§ 5. *Mode of Treating Church History.*

The Christian spirit, in the development of its infinite nature, and while gradually appropriating all human things to its use, is destined and is competent to be the religious spirit of man. This result, however, will be accomplished by means accordant with its own peculiar law. As the organs by which it operates are necessarily free individuals and nations, free even for error and sin, the original principles of the historical movement must necessarily assume an endless diversity of form in the lives of individuals. Hence, the historical judgment, as it is expressed in the representation of the events, must seize upon all these as points of development which find their own arrangement, and have each an appropriate influence. It is not, however, indispensable to the impartiality of the historian, that he should appear to love nothing and to hate nothing. It is only needful, first of all, that he should never place the actual facts in false positions, on account of either preferences or aversions, and then, that he should recognize those conditions under which others have perhaps necessarily formed opinions and sentiments different from his own. Indeed, a Church History, in which the author exhibited no distinct ecclesiastical character, and did not imprint this with clearness upon his work, would be of very little value to the Church.

§ 6. *Value of Church History.*

Griesbach, de II. Eccl. Utilitate, Jen. 1776. *F. A. Röthe*, v. Einfl. des. Kirchenhist. Stud. auf d. Bildung des Gemüths u. d. Leben. Lps. 1810. 4. *T. A. Clarisse*, Or. de Societatis Chr. Hist. ad inform. sacrorum antistitem accommodate tradenda. Gron. 1824.

The *absolute* value of Church History springs from the fact, that it is an expression of the self-consciousness of the Church with respect to its complete development. From this is derived its *practical necessity*. Whoever wishes independently to direct any portion of the Church, must participate in this self-consciousness, or he will neither understand its present position, nor be able to foresee and wisely affect its future course. In this is involved its *utility* for controversial and spiritual purposes, or for the assistance of other sciences. It must, however, be remembered, that when the value and object of Church history are too exclusively kept in view, its scientific character is much endangered.

§ 7. *Sources.*

F. Walch, Krit. Nachr. v. d. Quellen d. KHist. (Lpz. 1770.) Gött. 1773.

Our certainty with regard to facts must depend upon the sources: 1. According to the degree of their proximity to the particular events mentioned: *a*) *Original documents and monuments*, which prove a fact, inasmuch as they constitute an element in it. *b*) *Accounts* by eye-witnesses or contemporaries. *c*) *Historical writers*, who draw directly from sources now lost. The more remote these authorities are from the events narrated, the more is their credibility liable to criticism. 2. According to the form in which they exist: *a*) *Writings*, public and private, without a uniform preference for the for-

mer. (*a*) It is often very difficult to prove that a witness was either able or willing to declare the whole truth, since his ability is often affected by his prejudices, and his willingness by his party spirit. *b*) *Monuments*, not only works of art, but living communities. *c*) *Traditions*, among which legends, being merely the work of the hierarchy, prove only what were the views of the age in which they originated, or were completed; and popular stories serve to establish an historical probability in proportion as they are widespread, and conformed to circumstances which have been otherwise historically authenticated. (*b*) A thorough investigation of sources is indispensable only to the historical writer. (*c*)

§ 8. *Auxiliary Sciences.*

The auxiliary sciences usually mentioned, such as Ecclesiastical Philology, (*a*) Chronology, (*b*) Diplomatics, (*c*) Geography and Statistics, (*d*) are especially necessary only to the ecclesiastical historian. But General History,

a) (*α*) S. Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, cur. *J. Dom. Mansi*, Flor. et Ven. 1759ss. 31 vols. folio. Canones App. et Concill. Saec. 4–7. rec. *H. T. Bruns*, Ber. 1839s. 2 Th. (Bibl. Eccl. P. I.); [Landon's Manual of Councils, comprising the substance of the most remarkable and important canons, Lond. 1846. 1 vol. 12mo.] (*β*) Bullarium Roman. Luxemb. 1727. 19 Th. f.; Bullarum ampliss. Coll. op. *C. Cocquelines*, Rom. 1739ss. 25 vols. f.; Bullarium magnum Rom. (1758–1830) op. *Andr. Avocati Barbarini*, Rom. 1835ss. 8 Th. f.; Röm. Bullarium, o. Auszüge d. Merkwürdigsten Bullen, übers. m. Bemerk. v. *Eisenschmidt*, Neust. 1831f. 2 vols.; Sammlung aller Concordate, v. *E. Munch*, Lpz. 1830f. 2 vols. (*γ*) Codex liturgicus Eccl. Universae, ill. *J. A. Assemanus*, Rom. 1749ss. 13 Th. 4. (*δ*) Codex regularum Monast. ed. *Lucas Holstenius*, Rom. 1661. 3 Th. 4. aux. *M. Brockie*, Aug. Vind. 1759. 6 Th. f. (*ε*) Maxima Bibliotheca vett. Patrum, Lugd. 1677ss. 28 Th. f.; Bibl. vett. Patrum, op. *And. Gallandii*, Ven. 1765ss. 14 Th. f.; comp. *Fabricii* Bibl. graeca Hamb. (1705ss. 14 Th.) ed. *Harless*, 1790ss. 12 Th. 4; *Schoenemann*, Bibl. hist. literaria Patrum Lat. Lpz. 1792ss. 2 Th. (till 1475): *J. G. Walch*, Bibl. patristica, Jen. 1770. ed. *Danz*, 1834; *Rossler*, Bibl. d. Kirchenväter, Lpz. 1776ss. 10 vols.; *Augusti*, Chrestomathia patristica, Lps. 1812. 2 Th.; *J. G. V. Engelhardt*, Lit. Leits. z. Vorles. ü. d. Patristik. Erl. 1823; *J. N. Locherer*, Lehrb. d. Patrologie, Mainz, 1837; *J. A. Möhler*, Patrol. o. Christ. Literargesch. edit. by *Reithmayr*, Ratisb. 1840. 1 vol.; [Lib. of the Fathers of the H. Cath. Church before the Division, Transl. by Engl. Clergymen, Oxf. 1838. 26 vols. 8.] (*ζ*) *Ellies du Pin*, Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques (Par. 1686ss. 47 Th.) Amst. 1690ss. 19 Th. 4. and Bibl. des auteurs séparés de la communion de l'église Rom. Par. 1718ss. 3 Th.; comp. *Richard Simon*, Critique de la Bibl. de Mr. du Pin, Par. 1730. 4 Th.; *Cave*, Scriptorum Eccl. literaria (Lond. 1689) ed. 3 Oxon. 1740ss. 2 Th. f.; *J. A. Fabricii*, Bibl. Eccl. Hamb. 1718. f. *Ejusd.* Bibl. Latina mediae et infimae aetatis, Hamb. 1734ss. 6 Th. aux *Mansi*, Palav. 1754. 3 Th. 4; Hist. Littéraire de la France, par des relig. Bénédictins de *S. Maur*, Par. 1733ss. 20 Th. 4; *J. S. Assemani*, Bibl. orientalis, Rom. 1719ss. 4 Th. f. *Busse*, Grundr. d. Chr. Lit. (till 15th cent.), Münst. 1828, 2 vols. *b*) Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, edd. *Jo. Bollandus* aliique, Antv. 1643–1794. 53 Th. f. comp. De prosecutione operis *Bollandiani*, Namur, 1838; Bonner Zeitschr. f. Phil. u. Kath. Th. II. 17 & 20; *Vogel*, Gesch. u. Würdigung d. Legende (Illgen's Hist. Theol. Abhh. 1824. vol. III. p. 140ss.). *c*) *Schleiermacher*, Darstell. des Theol. Studiums, 2 ed. § 190f. [Brief Outline of the Study of Theol. &c. Translated by *Wm. Farrer*, with Reminis. of S. Edinb. 1850. 8. § 184.]

a) *J. C. Suiceri*, Thesaurus eccl. e patribus graecis, Amst. (1682) 1728. 2 vols. f.; *C. du Fresne*, Glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis, Lugd. 1688. 2 vols. f.; *Ejusd.* Gloss. mediae et inf. latinitatis, Par. 1733ss. 6 vols. f. and others; (*Adelung*) Gloss. manuale ad Scriptt. mediae et inf. latinitatis, Hal. 1772ss. 6 Th.; Glossaries of the Germanic and Romanic Languages; [*G. C. Lewis*, Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Rom. Langg. Oxford, 1840. 8.] *b*) Aerae: ab urbe condita, Seleucidarum, Hispanica, Diocletiana sive martyrum, Constantinopolitana, indictionum, Dionysiana, comp. L'Art de vérifier les dates les faits historiques, par un relig. Bénédictin, Par. 1750. 3 vols. 4. nouv. ed. par *Vitou de S. Alais*, Par. 1818s. 23 Th.; *L. Ideler*, Lehrb. d. Chronol. Brl. 1831; *E. Brinckmeier*, Prakt. Handbuch d. Hist. Chronol. Lpz. 1840; [*H. Nicolas*, The Chron. of Hist. 2 ed. Lond. 1840. 1 vol. 8; *J. Haydn*, Dict. of Dates to All Ages and Nations, Lond. 1846; *Blair's* Chron. and

the history of Jurisprudence, and the history of Philosophy and of Literature, are all of great importance as preparatory sciences to Church History, since they present, in a complete form, subjects which, on account of their individual connection with the Church, are touched upon but slightly in Church history, and cannot be thoroughly understood except in their complete relations.

§ 9. *Division.*

As every thing in a progressive state must be regarded in an order of succession, all history is necessarily arranged according to time. But individual groups of things, similar in nature, and connected together by causes of a more definite character than mere temporal contiguity, are often found springing up in the same periods. Hence, the *arrangement according to time*, must be modified by another *according to the subject*. The division according to periods aims to assign some definite limits for the scientific view. This mathematical division by arbitrary intersections is the more inadmissible, when the lines which are drawn pass through some event which constitutes an epoch, and produces a thorough transformation of the Church. The essential developments of the Christian spirit which have hitherto been made, are Catholicism and Protestantism; and the principal organs by which it has acted, have been the Græco-Roman and the Germanic national spirit. Accordingly, the history of the Church is naturally divided into *Three Ages*, and each of these into *Two Periods*. I. *Ancient Church History*, until the establishment of the holy Roman empire among the Germanic nations, 800: Greco-Roman civilization in the ascendant, but gradually declining, partly on account of its own weakness, and partly because lost in the German nationality. The *First Period* extends to the victory of the Church under Constantine, 312; Establishment of the Church, and development of Catholicism in the midst of triumphant conflicts and sufferings. The *Second Period* exhibits the Church, on the one hand, as the established Church of the empire, attending to the completion and establishment of her faith, and on the other, striving to allay the storm of national migrations. II. *Mediæval Church History*, until the Reformation, 1517: sway of Romano-Germanic Catholicism. The *Third Period* extends to the time when the papal despotism attains its greatest ascendency, under Innocent III., 1216: victory of the papacy over all opposition. The *Fourth Period* presents us with the gradual decline of Catholicism, and some tokens of a coming reformation. III. *Modern Church History* until the

Hist. Tables; new ed. and cont. to the present time, Lond. 1850. 8; *Oxford*, Chron. Tables of An. & Mod. Hist. cont. to 1839. Oxf. 1839. f. and *Hale's* New Analysis of Chron. & Geog. new ed. cor. and imp. Lond. 1830. 4 vols. 8; *Haskell's* Chron. View. New York. 1845]; *F. Piper*, Kirchenrechnung, Berl. 1841. 4; [*S. F. Jarvis*, Chron. Introd. to Church Hist. New York. 1850. 8; *J. E. Riddle*, Eccles. Chron. Lond. 1840. 8.] *c*) *J. Mabillon*, de re diplomatica, ed. 2. Par. 1709. f.; *Schönemann*, Vollstand. System d. Allg. Diplomatik. Hamb. 1801. 2 vols.; [Diplomatics, as the Germans use the word, is the Science which treats of *diplomas*, *e. g.* Bulls, Briefs, Charters, Patents, &c.] *d*) *Caroli a S. Paulo*, Geographia sacra (Par. 1641. f.) Amst. 1704. f.; *F. Spanheimii*, Geogr. sacra et ecc. (Opp Lugd. 1701. 1 Th. f.); *J. E. T. Wiltsch*, Handb. d. Kirchl. Geogr. u. Statist. bis zu anfang d. 16 Jahrh. Brl. 1846. 2 vols.; *A. W. Moller*, Hierographie, Gesch. d. K. in Landcharten, Elberf. 1822ss. 2 Th. f.; *J. E. T. Wiltsch*, Atlas sacer s. eccl. Goth. 1843. f.; *Stäudlin*, Kirchl. Geogr. u. Statistik. Tüb. 1804. 2 Th.; *J. Wiggers*, Kirchl. Statistik. Hamb. 1842s. 2 vols.

present time: conflict of Protestantism with Catholicism. The *Fifth Period* extends to the peace of Westphalia, 1648: partial victory of Protestantism, and the new determination of Catholicism. The *Sixth Period* shows us the conflict between ecclesiastical usages and religious independence. The principal articles of the arrangement according to subjects are: 1) The territorial extension of the Church; (*a*) 2) The constitution of the Church, and its relation to the State; (*b*) 3) The development of the Christian spirit, with respect to doctrine and science; (*c*) 4) The popular life of the Church, (*d*) and the system of public worship. (*e*) But this mechanical framework is formed only very gradually. That relation is always to be made most prominent which is really predominant in each age. Some elements, as, *e. g.*, the Papacy (*f*) and the Monastic Orders, (*g*) appear as independent groups only in a few periods. After the Reformation, the separate Churches form essential distinctions. Every Period, then, must form an arrangement out of its own materials, under the direction of no other law than that which requires a vivid picture of each age, derived from all its ecclesiastical relations.

a) *J. A. Fabricius*, salutaris lux. ev. toti orbi exoriens, s. notitia propagatorum chr. sacrorum. Hamb. 1731. 4; *P. C. Gratianus*, Vrs. e. Gesch. ü. Urspr. u. Fortpflanz. d. Christenth. in Europa, Tüb. 1766ss. 2 Th.; *W. Brown*, Hist. of the Propag. of Christ. among Heathen since the Reform. Lond. 1814. 2 vols.; *C. G. Blumhardt*, Vrs. e. Allg. Missionsgesch. Bas. 1828. 3 Th.; *J. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. Evang. Miss. 1845s. 2 vols.; [*C. T. Blumhardt*, Christian Missions, Tract Soc. Lond. 1840. 18; *J. O. Choules*, Orig. and Hist. of Missions, Boston. 1838. 2 vols. 4; *Huie*, Hist. of Chr. Missions, from the Ref to the Present Time. Edinb. 1842. 12.] *b*) *Petrus de Marca*, Dss. de concordia sacerdotii et imperii s. de. libertatibus Eccl. Gallic. l. VIII. ed. *St. Baluzius*, Par. 1663. f.; *J. H. Boehmer*, Lps. 1708. f.; *G. J. Planck*, Gesch. d. Kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfass. Hann. 1803ss. 5 vols.; *C. Riffel*, Gesch. Darst. d. Verh. zw. K. u. Staat. Mainz. 1836. 1 Th. (till Justinian I.); *Thomassini*, Vetus et nova Eccl. disciplina circa beneficia. Luc. 1728. 3 Th. f.; *Richerii*, Hist. Conc. generalium. Colon. 1680. 3 Th. 4; *F. Walch*, Entw. e. vollst. Hist. d. KVers. Lpz. 1759; *Staudenmaier*, Gesch. d. Bischofswahlen. Tüb. 1830; *J. Ant. u. Aug. Theiner*, Die Einführ. d. erzwung. Ehelosigk. d. Geistl. Altenb. 1828. (new tit. 1845.) 3 vols. *c*) *C. W. Flügge*, Gesch. d. Theol. Wissensch. (till the Ref.) Hal. 1796ss. 3 vols.; *K. F. Stäudlin*, Gesch. d. Theol. Wiss. seit Verbreitung der alten Literatur. Gött. 1810. f. 2 vols.; *F. Walch*, Vollst. Hist. d. Ketzereien (till the image controv.) Lpz. 1762ss. 11 vols.; *D. Petavius*, Opus de theol. dogmatibus (Par. 1644ss. 4 vols. f.) ed. *Th. Alethinus* (*Clericus*), Antv. (Amst.) 1700. 6 Th. f.; *H. Klee*, Lehrb. d. DGesch. Mainz. 1837ss. 2 vols.; *W. Münscher*, Handb. d. DGesch. (till 1604.) Marb. 1797ss. 4 vols. ed. 3 vols. I.–III. 1817s.; *Ibid.* Lehrb. d. DGesch. (1811–1819.) m. Belegen u. d. Quellen von *D. v. Cölln.* Cass. 1832ss. 1 & 2 Hülfte, 1 Abth. Fortg. v. *Neudecker*, 2 Abth. 1838; *Augusti*, Lehrb. d. DGesch. Lpz. (1805. 1811. 1820.) 1835; *Baumgarten Crusius*, Lehrb. d. DGesch. Jen. 1832; 2 Abth. u. Comp. d. DGesch. Lpz. 1840–46. 2 Th.; *J. G. V. Engelhardt*, DGesch. Neust. 1839. 2 vols.; *F. K. Meier*, Lehrb. d. DGesch. Giess. 1840; *K. R. Hagenbach*, Lehrb. d. DGesch. Lpz. 1840–41. 2 Th.; *F. Ch. Baur*, Lehrb. d. DGesch. Stuttg. 1847; *Th. Kliefoth*, Einl. in d. DGesch. Parchim. 1839; [A Translation of the Doctrinal History of *Muenscher*, has been published by Dr. *Murdock*. New Haven. 1830. 12: A Translation of *Hagenbach's* Doct. Hist. by *C. W. Buck*, was published in Clarke's Ed. For. Theol. Lib. 1846. 2 vols. 12.] *d*) Acta Sanctorum (§ 7 nt. b.) *Staudlin*, Gesch. der Sittenlehre Jesu. Gött. 1799. 1823. (till 1299.) 4 vols. u. Gesch. d. Chr. Moral s. d. Wiederaufl. d. Wiss. Gött. 1808; *J. G. Müller*, Reliquien alter Zeiten. Lpz. 1803ss. 4 vols.; *Neander*, Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Gesch. des Christenth. und Christl. Lebens. Brl. (1823ss.) 1825s. 3 vols. *e*) *E. Martene*, de antiquis Eccl. ritibus, ed. 3. Antv. 1736ss. 4 Th. f.; *A. A. Pelliccia*, de Chr. Eccl. primae, mediae et noviss. politia. (Neap. 1777. Ven. 1782. 3 Th.) edd. *Ritter* et *Braun*. Col. 1829–38. 3 Th. revised by *Binterim*. Mainz. 1825ss. 7 Th. in 17 vols.; *Locherer*, Lehrb. d. Chr. Archäol. Frankf. 1832; *J. Bingham*, Origines s. antiquitates ecc. ex. Angl. (Antiquities of the Church, [Lond. new ed. 1846. 2 vols.] and others,) lat. red. *Grischovius*. Hal. (1724ss.) 1752ss. 11 Th. 4; *F. H. Rheinwald*, Kirchl. Arch. Brl. 1830; *Augusti*, Handb. d. Chr. Arch. Auszug, a. d. Denkwürdigkk. (1817ss. 12 vols.) Lpz. 1836s. 3 vols.; *C. C. F. Siegel*, Handb. d. Christl. Altherthümer, in Alphab. Ordn. Lpz. 1836ss. 4 vols.; *W. Böhmer*, Chr. Kirchl. Altherthumswiss. Bresl. 1836–9. 2 vols.; [*J. E. Riddle*, Man. of Chr. Auth. Lond. 1836. 8; *L. Coleman*, Autt. of the Chr. Church, transl. and comp. from *Augusti*. And. 1841. 8.]

CHAP. II.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Stäudlin, Gesch. u. Literatur d. KGesch. edit. by Hensen. Hann. 1827. [*K. R. Hagenbach*, Encykl. u. Methodologie der Theol. Wiss. 3 ed. p. 224. Lpz. 1851. 8.]

§ 10. *Polemical Church History.*

A general Church History could not be reasonably expected, until the Church was sufficiently extended to embrace a large family of nations. It was not, in fact, written until the Church had become divided and the newly organized party felt the necessity of connecting itself with antiquity, and of disturbing the historical basis of the Catholic Church. Such was the object of *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, when he edited the Magdeburg Centuries, (*a*) in which was enlisted all the Protestant learning of the age. It was distinguished for its familiarity with original authorities, for its frequent citations, for a criticism which paid no deference to earlier writers on the same subject, and for its passionate style of controversy. For more than a century afterwards, nothing was published but text-books formed from the materials supplied by the Centuries, and written in the same spirit. In the Reformed Churches, the elementary studies of literary men were turned principally to individual portions of the general subject to refute some particular assertions of the Catholic writers. *J. H. Hottinger* was anxious to compose for his Church a work (*b*) of a partisan character like that of the Centuries, but his History, except in whatever relates to the Oriental and Helvetic Churches, indicates a limited knowledge of original authorities, and is mingled with much irrelevant matter. *Spanheim's* Church History (*c*) presents a very rigid investigation of historical questions, but it was principally aimed against Baronius. The Catholic Church soon perceived that very little advantage was to be gained by merely contending against the Centuries, and that it must supplant that work by another of a superior character. Intrusted with such a task, *Cæsar Baronius* wrote his Annals (*d*), in which were incorporated vast treasures of original documents, selected with a keen sagacity and zeal

f) *E. S. Cyprian*, v. Ursprung u. Wachsthum d. Papsth. Goth. 1719. and often. Frkf. 1783; *A. Bower*, Hist. of the Popes to 1758. (cont. by *S. H. Cox*, 3 vols. 8vo. Philad. 1840); *F. Walch*, Entw. e. Vollst. Hist. d. Päpste. Lpz. (1756.) 1758; *L. T. Spittler*, Gesch. d. Papstth. edit. by *Gurlitt* u. *Paulus*. Hdlb. 1826; *J. A. Llorente*, Gesch. d. Papste, a. d. Fr. Lpz. 1823. 2 vols.; *C. J. Weber*, Papstth. u. Päpste. Stuttg. 1834. 2 Th. [*L. Ranke*, Hist. of the Popes, transl. by *Mrs. Austin*. 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1840. and by *W. K. Kelly*. Philad. 1848. 8; *De Cormenin*, Hist. of the Popes. Philad. 1845. 1 vol. 8.]

g) *R. Hospiniani* de monachis, l. VI. (Tig. 1588. 1608.) Gen. 1699. f.; *A. D. Alteserrae*, Asceticon s. Origg. rei Monast. (Par. 1674. 4.) rec. *Gluck*. Hal. 1782; *H. Helyot*, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, Par. (1714ss. 8 Th.) 1829ss. 10 Th. 4; Guinc 1840. 6 Th.; Uber. Lpz. 1753ss. 8 Th. revised by *Crome*. Pragm. Gesch. d. Mönchsord. Lpz. 1774ss. 10 vols.; (*C. J. Weber*) Die Möncherei. Stuttg. 1819ss. 3 vols.; *E. Münch*, Gesch. d. Mönchth. (a collection of materials) Stuttg. 1828. 2 vols.; [*S. P. Day*, Monastic Institutions, their Orig. Prog. Nat. and Tendency. Lond. 2 ed. 12mo. 1846; *G. Emillianne*, Hist. of Monast. Orders. Lond. 1693. 8.]

a) Ecclesiastica Historia, integram Ecclesiae Ch. ideam complectens, congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica. Bas. 1559-74. 13 centuries, f.; New ed. by *Baumgarten* and *Semler* Nürnb. 1757–65. broken off with the 6th vol. *b*) Historia Eccl. N. T. Tig. 1651–67. 9 vols. till end of 16th cent. the 9th vol. by *J. J. Hottinger*, the son. *c*) Summa Historiae eccl. (Lugd. 1689–94.) Lpz. 1698. 4. [His work is abridged and transl. with additions by *G. Wright*. Lond. 8vo. 1829.] *d*) Annales ecclesiastici a C. u. ad a. 1198. Rom. 1588–1607. 12 Th. f. and often.

in behalf of the Roman supremacy, from the archives of the Vatican. The errors and partialities of the Cardinal were encountered by the critical labors of the Franciscan *Pagi*, in which were exhibited a learned love of truth and a Gallican attachment to liberty. (*e*) In *Italy* numerous continuations and abridgments of the Annals were produced, in the same spirit which the original author had displayed, but not with equal talent. The continuation by *Raynaldus* [till 1565] is the only work, which, in its abundance of materials, can be regarded as nearly a rival of that which precedes it. (*f*) A similar honor was sought by *Sacharelli*, (*g*) in opposition to the later historians of the Protestant Church, and in the composition of his work he possessed similar external advantages, but he displays hardly equal diligence in the use of them except in his earliest volumes.

§ 11. *French Ecclesiastical Historians.*

Catholic writers of history are always restrained by a certain prescribed mode of treating their subject, but, within the limits required by this, those who belonged to the French school attained a scientific character. The peculiar qualities exhibited by them were the result not merely of the independent spirit and position of the Gallican Church, but of the influence of an age in which the learned classes redeemed from obscurity immense collections of materials. Such was the spirit in which wrote the Dominican *Natalis Alexander* [Noël], always learned, dry, and scholastic; (*a*) *Fleury*, the hermit in the midst of a court, devotional, gentle, versatile and copious. (*b*) *Bossuet*, whose History of the World is written in an ecclesiastical spirit, with logical eloquence, and an apparent insight into the ways of Providence, which implies that the clever Bishop of Meaux must have been as familiar with the court of the Most High, as he was with that of his sovereign; (*c*) and finally the Jansenist (Sebastian le Nain de) *Tillemont*, whose Memoirs are a conscientious and ample collection of the more ancient original authorities. (*d*)

§ 12. *Protestant Scientific Church History.*

Instead of regarding history as a mere instrument in the hands of ecclesiastical disputants, *Calixtus*, in a series of monographs, pointed out the scientific advantages of an unbiassed investigation of facts; and *Arnold* was en-

e) Critica historico-chronologica in Annales Baronii. Antv. (Genev.) 1705. 1727. 4 Th. f. *f*) Annales eccl. 13–21 Th. Rom. 1646–77. Colon. 1693ss.; the whole collection by Baronius, Pagi, Raynaldus, etc. cur. *Mansi*. Luc. 1738–59. 38 Th. f. [The Annales Eccl. are to be continued by *Aug. Theiner*, from 1572 till now; 3 vols. have appeared in 1853. Rome. 1853. f.] *g*) Historia eccl. Rom. 1771–96. 25 Th. 4. (till 1185.)

a) Selecta Historiae eccl. capita et in loca ejusdem insignia diss. historicae, chron. et. dogm. Par. 1676–86. 24 Th. (16 centuries). Later editions: Hist. eccl. Vet. et N. T. ed. *Mansi*. Luc. 1738. 9 Th. f.; Bassano. 1778. 9 Th. f. *b*) Hist. ecclesiastique. Par. 1991–1720. 20 Th. 4. and often (till 1414.) transl. into the Lat. Ital. and Germ. continued, without suitable qualifications for the work, by *Jean Claud Fabre*. Par. 1726–40. 20 Th. 4. and by *Alex. La Croix*. Par. 1776–78. 6 Th. [The work of Fleury is in part transl. into Eng. in 5 vols. 4. and is in course of publ. by *J. H. Newman*. Oxon. 1842.] *c*) Discours sur l'Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à l'empire de Charles Magne; [Par. 1846. 18mo. and in 2 mag. vols. 8. transl. by *Rich. Spencer*. Lond. 1730. 8.] *d*) Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. eccl. des six prémiers siècles, justifiés par les citations des auteurs originaux. Par. 1698ss. 16 Th. 4. and often.

couraged by his Pietism, and a strong predilection for such studies, to search eagerly for traces of the Christian life in those persons who had in each century been rejected by the Church. (*a*) The liberal tendency of the former, and the pious spirit of the latter writer, were equally opposed to the established Church of their day. *Weismann's* gentle love of truth, made him strive to reconcile both these tendencies in his selection of important events. (*b*) *Mosheim*, conscious of historical talents, with a power of combination always bold, and sometimes extravagant, and an acquaintance with men in various and friendly relations, is universally acknowledged to have been a master of ecclesiastical historical writing. (*c*) Next to him, *Cramer* was distinguished for his accurate delineation and careful investigation of the dogmatic history of the middle ages, (*d*) while *Semler*, with no attractions of style, and no perception of the peculiar condition of earlier times, but with a lofty independence, was always plunging anew into the trackless abyss of ancient sources. (*e*) In the position thus acquired, but with a more believing spirit, *Schröckh* has written a Church History, which, after it ceased to be a tedious Reader, as it seemed to be in the earlier volumes, and rose to the dignity of a scientific work, is equally trustworthy with respect to its materials, and ample in its details. The last volumes were added by *Tzschirner*, with a fresher energy, and more decided sentiments. (*f*) Writers of a liberal tendency followed the path marked out by Semler. *Spittler* gave to Church History a more animated and secular aspect, and at the same time traced more perfectly its connections with General History. (*g*) *Henke* treated it rather as if it were a history of religious errors, and a court before which was to be arraigned all kinds of spiritual despotism. When writing of events subsequent to the Reformation, his work is especially valuable for its accurate regard for even unimportant matters; but it is often lifeless, and tinged with the strongest prejudices of his age. (*h*) As soon as the opposition to the ecclesiastical spirit of earlier times had become developed into a well-defined subjectivity, a higher scientific character was supposed to be attained by the affectation of extreme indifference. *Schmidt* collected materials exclusively from the sources. (*i*) *Engelhardt* gives us a clear, calm, and frigid account of the na-

a) Unpartheyische Kirchen- u. Ketzer-Hist. (Frkf. 1699ss. f. 1729. 4 Th. 4.) Schaffh. 1740ss. 3 Th. f. *b*) Introductio in memorabilia eccl. maxime Saeculorum primorum et novissimorum (Tub. 1718. 2 vols.) Hal. 1745. 2 vols. 4. *c*) His principal complete work is, Institutionum Hist. eccl. antiquae et recentioris, l. IV. Helmst. (1755. 4.) 1764. 4; Ubers. u. verm. v. *J. v. Einem*. Lpz. 1769–78. 9 vols. and by *J. R. Schlegel*, Heilbr. (1 & 2 vols. 1770s.) 1786ss. 7 vols.; comp. *Lücke*, Narratio de J. L. Moshemio. Gött. 1837. 4; [Transl. into Eng. with notes, by *J. Murdock*. New York. 3 vols. 8vo. 3 ed. 1841. and by *A. McLaine*, with notes, and often reprinted; his Commentarii de reb. Chr. ante Const. has been recently transl. into Engl. by *Dr. Murdock*.] *d*) *Bossuet's* Einl. in d. Gesch. d. Welt. u. Rel. übers. mit Abhandl. verm. u. fortges. v. *Cramer*. Lpz. (1748ss.) 1757ss. 8 vols. *e*) Historiae eccl. selecta capita. Hal. 1767ss. 3 Th.; Versuche e. fruchtb. Ausz. d. KGesch. Hal. 1773ss. 3 Th.; Vers. Christl. Jahrb. Hal. 1782. 2 vols. *f*) Christl. KGesch. (till the Reform.) Lpz. 1768–1803. 35 Th. 2 ed. 1–13 vols. 1772–1802; KGesch. since the Ref. Lpz. 1804–10. 10 Th. *g*) Grundriss der Gesch. d. Christl. Kirche. Gött. 1782. 5 ed. cont. till the present time by *G. J. Planck*, Gött. 1812; in *Spittler's* works. Stuttg. 1827. vol. II. *h*) Allg. Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche nach d. Zeitfolge. Braunschw. 1788–1818. 8 vols. 5 ed. of 1st & 2d vols. 4 ed. of 3d & 4th vols. and 2 ed. of 5th & 6th vols.; the last ed. of vols. 1s, 5s. after a careful revision (so as even to lose many of its original peculiarities), edited and cont. (7th & 8th vols.) by *J. S. Vater*. The Hist. since the Reform. vols. 3–8. *Vater* has also comprised in 1 Th. (1823.) and published as Th. 9. *i*) Handb. d. Chr. KGesch.

ked facts, and he often descends to the minutest particulars. (*k*) The publication of the original authorities, which had been cautiously commenced with a profusion of literary treasures by *Danz*, (*l*) was continued by *Gieseler*, with much judgment in his selections and in his critical remarks, and a running commentary upon his citations. (*m*) Sometimes Tables, and well digested extracts, are useful in giving a general view of the whole field. (*n*) *Stäudlin's* Text-Book is a convenient collection of general facts, with a few traces of the Kantian philosophy. *Narbe's* was compiled with diligence, and not without elegance, but it is without accuracy or character. *Augusti's* is a rapid and convenient survey of the whole subject, especially of that part which relates to the Reformation. *Rehm's* is an extended table of contents, especially with respect to the secular department of ecclesiastical history. *Lange's* is a return to the Protestant controversial style of writing, but with a laxer faith in the authority of the Bible and of human reason itself. (*o*) The attempt which *Marheinecke* made to construct a philosophical system of Church History was abandoned at an early stage of the work, but it was full of promise. (*p*) The decidedly *pietistic* tendency was for a long time represented only by *Milner*, whose object was entirely practical and devotional and did not lead him to study the sources, (*q*) until *Neander* gave it a scientific character, by referring to the original authorities, developing its doctrines in an intelligent manner, and giving prominence to the long-neglected representations of the Christian life. Though affectionately attached to the Church, he was tolerant toward all who opposed it on merely doctrinal grounds, and clothed all his descriptions with an ample devotional drapery. (*r*) In these respects, as well as in others, the Church History of *Guericke* is only a dependent abstract of his work, characterized by the same Christian sincerity, but with a zeal so ardent for strict Lutheranism, that it finally became little more than a severe lecture upon the apostasies of more recent times. (*s*) In the Reformed Church, *Jacob Basnage* still pursued the plan of repelling Bossuet's reproaches, by fastening them upon his opponent's own Church; but he has imitated too closely the models which he had chosen from the French

Giess. 1801–20. 6 Th. 2 ed. 1–4 Th. 1825–27. (till Innocent III.) cont. by *F. W. Rettberg*, 7 Th. Giess. 1834. *k*) Handb. d. KGesch. Erl. 1838s. 4 vols. *l*) Lehrb. d. KGesch. Jena. 1818–26. 2 vols.; Kurzgef. Zusammenst. d. KGesch. Jena. 1824. *m*) Lehrb. d. KGesch. Bonn. 1824–40. 2 vols. and 3 vols.; 1 Abth. (till 1648.) 4 ed. of 1st vol.; 1 & 2 Abth. 1844s. 3 ed. of 2d vol.; 1 & 2 Abth. 1831s.; [transl. in 3 vols. by *S. Davidson*. Edinb. 1846–53.] *n*) *Vater*, Synchron. Tabellen d. KGesch. Hal. (1803.) cont. by *J. C. Thilo*, 6 ed. Hal. 1833. f.; *Tetens Hald*, Hist. eccl. VI. priorum Sacc. synoptice enarrata. Havn. 1830; Medii aevi (604–858.) P. I. 1832. 4; *J. T. L. Danz*, Kirchenhist. Tab. Jena. 1838. f.; *C. Wahl*, KGesch. in Bildern, für Studirende u. Candidaten. Meissen. 1840. f.; (Amusements) *L. Lange*, Tab. d. K-. u. DGesch. Jena. 1841. 4; *J. M. Schroeckh*, Hist. religionis et eccl. Christ. Ber. 1777. ed. 7. cur. *Marheinecke*. 1828; *J. G. C. Schmidt*, Lehrb. d. KGesch. Giess. (1800. 1808.) 1826. *o*) *Stäudlin*, Universalgesch. der Chr. Kirche. Han. 1807. 5. verb. u. fortges. A. v. *F. A. Holzhausen*. 1833; *F. A. Naebe*, Comp. Hist. Eccl. ac sacrorum christ. Lpz. 1832; *Augusti*, Hist. ecc. Epitome. Lpz. 1834; *F. Rehm*, Grundr. d. Gesch. d. Kirche, mit bes. Rücks. auf. d. Verfass. ders. Marb. 1835; *Lobeg. Lange*, Lehrb. d. Chr. KGesch. zur Vertheid. Befest. u. Fortbild. d. Prot. Kirche. Lpz. 1846. *p*) Universal-Kirchenhist. d. Christenth. Erlang. 1806. 1 Th. *q*) [Hist. of the Church of Christ. Lond. 5 vols. 8vo. 1824. 4 vols. 8. 1834. with a continuation by *J. Scott*. Lond. 1826. 4 vols. 12; Philad. 2 vols. 12. 1845.] *r*) Allg. Gesch. d. Chr. Rel. u. K. bis auf Bonifaz VIII. 10 vols. Hamb. 1846; [Gen. Hist. of the Chr. Rel. and Church, transl. by *J. Torrey*, 4 vols. 8vo. Boston. 1847–51.] *s*) Handb. d. KGesch. Hal. (1838–46. 3 vols.) 3 vols.; Abriss d.

literature of his time. (*t*) *Venema's* Church History is simply an excellent collection of original authorities. (*u*) A few compendiums contain all the results of the studies in ecclesiastical history, so far as these had been attained when they were respectively written. That of *Royaard* especially was written with remarkable accuracy and care. (*v*) *Schleiermacher*, in his oral communications, endeavored to effect a union of the liberal and pietistic tendencies, and has executed in a rather fragmentary manner, a plan, in which, the ordinary materials being presupposed, is represented the intensive and extensive development of the new principle of divine life which emanated from Christ. (*w*) *Nitzsch* has contributed, in addition to this, a work which is something between a text-book and a manual, presenting not merely a dry collection of thoughts, but an abundance of elementary views of individual subjects. (*x*) Among the histories adapted to popular use, (*y*) may be mentioned the work of *Gfrörer*, which was at first designed to be a history for the German people; but it finally became an ample representation of the subject, and generally depended for its materials upon the best authorities. The strongly marked peculiarity of this work, sometimes in a paradoxical manner, but frequently with much good sense, breaks through the devotional phrases even of his authorities. (*z*)

§ 13. *Writers of the German Catholic Church.*

It was not until Joseph II. attempted to draw away the German Church from its connection with Rome, that an independent and liberal, but rather rash and contracted interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of previous times, began to be cultivated in Germany. In the commencement of this movement, *Royko*, in his rough style, neglected nothing which could injure the hierarchy. (*a*) *Dannenmayr*, with more caution, and more general views, prepared a text-book for the Austrian schools, (*b*) and *R. Wolf* sent forth what deserves to be called a satire rather than a history. (*c*) A movement of a higher order received its original impulse from the Protestant Church. *Stolberg*, with the zeal, the unction, and the unconditional faith of a proselyte, but with a benevolent and glowing spirit, has presented the more benign aspect of Catholicism, while writing and singing the History of the Jewish people,

KGesch. Hal. 1842. *t*) Histoire de l'église depuis Jésus Chr. Rotterd. 1699; [Par. 1725. 2 vols. 4.] *u*) Institutiones Hist. eccl. V. et N. Lugd. 1777ss. 7 Th. 4. till 1600. *v*) *J. A. Turretini*, Hist. Eccl. comp. usque ad. a. 1700. Gen. 1734. ed. et continuavit *J. Simonis*. Hal. 1750; Uebers. u. fortges. v. *Töllner*. Königsb. 1759; *P. E. Jablonski*, Institt. Hist. christ. Frcf. ad V. 1753ss. 2 Th. ed. 3. emend. *E. A. Schulze*. 1783s. Th. III.; Historiam Sacc. 18. add. *Stosch*. 1767; emend. *Schickedanz*, 1786; *W. Münscher*, Lehrb. d. KGesch. Marb. 1804; 2d ed. by *Wachler*, 1815; 3d ed. by *Beckhaus*, 1826; *P. Hofstede de Groot*, Institt. Hist. ecc. Gronov. 1835; *H. J. Royaards*, Comp. Hist. ecc. chr. Traj. ad. Rh. 1840–5. 2 Fasc. *w*) Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche, edit. by *Bonnell*. Brl. 1840; (Works, Abth. I. vol. II.) *x*) Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche, Lehrbuch. Lpz. 1846. *y*) Especially: *C. Judä*, Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche. Brl. 1838; *H. Thiele*, Kurze Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche. Zür. 1840; *Alb. Baur*, d. KGesch. in gedrängter Übersicht. Weim. 1846; *Heribert Rau*, Allg. Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche (deutschkath.). Für das deutsche Volk. Frkf. 1846. *z*) Allg. KGesch. Stuttg. 1841–44. 3 vols. (till the commencement of the 11th cent.)

a) Synopsis Hist. Rel. et Eccl. Chr. methodo systematica adumbrata. Prag. 1785. Einl. in d. Chr. Rel. u. KGesch. Prag. 1788ss. 2d (modified) ed. 1790. Chr. Rel. u. KGesch. (but one Per.) Pr. 1789–95. 4 vols. *b*) Institt. Hist. Eccl. Vien. (1788.) 1806. 2 Th. Thread of the narrative after Dannenm. (Collegienheft) 2 ed. Rottweil. 1826–8. 4 Th. *c*) Gesch. d. Christl. Rel. u. Kirche. Zür. 1792.

and of the ancient Church. A continuation of his history by another hand was merely a labored effort to attain the same style. (*d*) With the same general views, but with more accuracy and science, *Katerkamp* wrote a history, in which he has exhibited a more profound acquaintance with the original authorities in his representations of the particular characters and circumstances of the Church. (*e*) The liberal school, which now sought to accommodate matters as much as possible with the hierarchy, was represented by *Ritter*, (*f*) and in the extensive and popular work of *Locherer*, (*g*) in many respects like that of Schroeckh. The narrative of *Ruttenstock* is carefully limited to a mere statement of facts. (*h*) In other places the various parties were in direct hostility to each other. The hierarchical method of writing history was defended with keen wit by *Hortig*, the continuation of whose work by *Döllinger*, is written in a less animated, but in a more serious strain. In his revised edition the latter has promised a great work, in which those fables of the hierarchy which are altogether untenable, are to be given up as indifferent, but every position capable of any defence is to be maintained with all the weapons which a learned ingenuity can supply. His text-book contains merely the external facts of history. (*i*) On the other hand *Reichlin-Meldegg* has composed a prolix, declamatory, and flippant libel upon ecclesiastical antiquity, and of course fell out with his own Church. (*k*) *Alzog* again presents a specimen of a rather clumsy but spirited attempt to transfer a Protestant form to a Catholic position, (*l*) and *Annegarn* has compiled just such an artless, rude, and tiresome History of the Church, as was common in Germany before the time of Joseph II., and as may even now be seen in many an obscure seminary. (*m*)

2 Th. *d*) *F. L. v. Stolberg*, Gesch. d. Rel. J. C. Hamb. 1806–18, 15 Th. (till 1430.) 2 ed. of 1. 2 Th. 1810. Index by *Moritz*, Vien. u. Hamb. 1825. 2 Th. cont. by *F. R. v. Kerz*. Mentz. 1825–1846. 16–42 Th. Index by *Saussen*. Mentz. 1834. *e*) KGesch. Münster. 1819–30. 4 Th. (till 1073.) *f*) Handb. d. KGesch. Elberg. Bonn. 1826–35. 3 vols. 1836. 2 ed. of 1 & 2 vols. *g*) Gesch. d. Chr. Rel. u. Kirche. Ravensb. 1824 33. 8 Th. (till 1073.) *h*) Institt. Historiae Eccl. N. T. Vien. 1832–34. 3 Th. (till 1517.) *i*) Handb. d. Chr. KGesch. v. *Hortig*, beend. v. *Döllinger*. Landsh. 1826. 2 Th. Newly revised by *Döllinger* (Gesch. d. Chr. K.) Landsh. 1833s. 1 vol. 1. 2 Abth. (in part till 1680.) By the same. Lehrb. d. KGesch. Regensb. 1836ss. 2 vols. [*J. J. Ig. Döllinger*, Hist. of the Church. Trans. by *Ed. Cox*. Lond. 4 vols. 8vo.] *k*) Gesch. des Christenth. Freib. 1830s. 1 Th. in 2 Abth. (till 1824.) *l*) Universal-gesch. d. Chr. Kirche. Mainz. (1841. 1843.) 1844. *m*) Gesch. d. Chr. Kirche. Münst. 1842s. 3 vols. Comp. Jen. L. Z. 1844. N. 144ss. [Eng. Gen. Eccl. Histt. arc. *Wm. Palmer*, Compend. Eccl. Hist. 5 ed. Oxford. 1844. *G. Waddington*, H. of the Church to the Ref. Lond. 1833. 2 vols. & cont. through the Ref. Lond. 1838. 2 vols. 8. *J. Priestley*, Gen. H. of the Chr. Church, Lond. 1803, 6 vols. 8. *Jones'* H. of the Chr. Church to the 17th century. Lond. 1836. 2 vols. 8. *M. Rutter*, H. of the Chr. Church. New York. 8. *C. A. Goodrich*, Church Hist. Burlington. 1830. 8. *H. Stebbing*, H. of the Chr. Church (a Cont. of Milner), 3 vols. Lond. 1842.]

ANCIENT CHURCH HISTORY.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM CHRIST TO CONSTANTINE.

§ 14. *General View and Original Authorities.*

I. 1) All ecclesiastical writers of this time. Fragments of those works which have been lost in: *Grabe*, Spicilegium Patrum et Haereticorum Saec. I. II. et III. Oxon. (1698.) 1700. 1714. 3 vols. *Routh*, Reliquiae sacrae, s. auctorum fere deperditorum I. et II. Saec. Fragmenta. [Edit. altera. Oxon. 1847. 4 vols.] 2) Fragments of *Hegesippi ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων* in *Routh*, vol. I. p. 187ss. *Eusebii ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*. Ed. *Valesius*. Par. 1659. f. *E. Zimmermann*, Frcf. 1822. 2. P. 4. *Heinichen*. Lpz. 1827s. 3 Th. 4. *Burton*, Oxon. 1833. 3 vols. [A new transl. with Life of Eus. Lond. 1842. 8.] 3) *Ruinart*, Acta primorum martyrum, ed. 2. Amst. 1713. f. rep. *Galura*, Aug. V. 1802. 3 vols. 4) Passages from writers not Christian: Josephus, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius, Dio Cassius, Scriptores Hist. Augustae, etc. explained in *Nath. Lardner;* Collection of the Jewish and Heathen testimonies of the Christian religion. Lond. 1764ss. 4 vols. 4. II. *Tillemont* (§ 11. nt. d.) *Clerici* Hist. ecc. duorum priorum Saec. Amst. 1716. 4. *Moshemii* de rebus Christianorum ante Const. Commentarii. Helmst. 1753. 4. [transl. by Vidal, 2 vols. 8. Lond. 1813.] *Semleri* Obss. quibus Hist. Christian. illustratur usque ad Const. Hal. 1784. *H. W. Millman*, Hist. of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire. Lond. 1840. 3 vols. [with notes by *Murdock*. 8vo. New York. *Kaye*, Eccles. Hist. of 2 and 3 Centt. 8vo. 1826. 2 vols. *S. Hinds*, Hist. of the Rise and early Prog. of Christianity. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. *W. B. Taylor*, The Hist. of Christianity, from its Promulg. to its legal estab. in the Rom. Empire. 12mo. Lond. 1844. *E. Burton*, Lectures upon the Hist. of the Chr. Church from the Ascen. of J. Christ to the conversion of Const. 4 ed. 12mo. Lond. 1840. *Robert Millar*, Hist. of the Propag. of Christ. Lond. 2 vols. 8vo. 1731. 3 ed. *Wm. Cave*, Lives of Fathers of the first four ages of the Church. Lond. 2 vols. fol. 1683-87. new ed. by H. Cary, 1840. 3 vols. 8. *H. Cave*, Prim. Chr. or Rel. of the Anc. Christians, ed. by *Cary*. Oxf. 1840. 8. *Philip Schaff*. H. of the Apostolic Church, transl. by *E. D. Yeomans*. New York. 1853. 8. vol. I. *Samuel Elliot*, Hist. of the Early Christians. Lond. 1853. *J. C. Robertson*, Hist. of the Christian Church to the Pontif. of Greg. the Great. Lond. 1853. 8.]

In the history of the world, Classic Heathenism appears as a single form of human life, on the development of which, its time was fulfilled; and Judaism appears as a great prophetic system accomplished by Christianity. The Jewish veil, under which the latter made its appearance, was removed by Paul, and when the Gospel had been proclaimed in all parts of the Roman

empire, the forms of Greek and Roman civilization became incorporated in the Church. But in the mean time a prodigious struggle was commenced by the general spirit of antiquity. The Church, not so much by intellectual weapons, as by its labors and sacrifices, was so completely victorious, that at the end of this period the Roman empire was under the necessity of either becoming Christian, or of being utterly subverted. During this struggle, with no aid from the State, and with no external interference, the Church developed its appropriate Constitution. With the exception of individual instances of extravagance or timidity, its morals and its discipline were of the strictest kind, and the private life of its members was serious and heavenly. The religious feelings of the people, excited by Grecian philosophy, and struggling with subtle foreign elements, now sought to attain definite and fixed forms of thought. The Period may be naturally divided into two sections, the first containing the historical conditions under which Christianity was introduced, and the history of the Apostolic Church, until the death of the last of the Apostles, near the close of the first century, and the other embracing the formation of the Catholic Church. The Acts of the Apostles, by *Luke*, are the commencement of a Church History, limited by the personal knowledge, position, and object of the writer. It presents us with the actual establishment of the Church in its two principal departments—among the Jews by Peter, and among the Greeks by Paul. (*a*) The authentic epistles of these apostles are the most trustworthy monuments of the Apostolic Church. *Hegesippus*, about the middle of the second century, committed to writing every thing he thought worthy of preservation in the Apostolic traditions. (*b*) The first proper history of the Church (till 324) was written by *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, under the impression which the great revolutions of his age produced upon his mind. Though he was affected by the prejudices, he possessed also the advantages of his position, and while he probably omitted some things, we have no evidence that he has stated what is untrue. (*c*)

a) *Schneckenberger* ü. d. Zweck d. App. Gesch. Bern. 1841. *b*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. II. 23. III. 16. 19. IV. 7s. 11. 22. Comp. *Hieron.* catal. c. 22. *Schulthess*, Heges. princeps auctor rerum Chr. Tur. 1832. *c*) With regard to his authorities and credibility: *Moeller*, Hafn. 1813. (Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. III. st. 1.) *Danz*, Jen. 1815. P. I. Kestner Goett. 1817. 4. *Reuterdahl*, Lond. Goth. 1826. *Rienstra*, Traj. ad. Rh. 1833. *Jachmann*, in Illgens Zeitschr. 1839. II. 2. *F. C. Baur*, comparatur Eus. Historiae ecc. parens cum parente Historiarum Herodoto. Tub. 1834. 4.

DIVISION I. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. I. INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

I. Classic Heathenism.

Creuzer, Symbolik u. Mythologie d. alten Völker, bes. d. Griechen, Lps. u. Darmst. (1810ss.) 1819ss. Th.; *Baur*, Symb. u. Myth. o. die Naturrel. d. Alterth. Stuttg. 1825; *Lobeck*, Aglaophamus s. de Theol. mysticae Graecorum causis. Regiom. 1829. 2 Th.; *O. Muller*, Prolegomena zu e. wiss. Mythol. Gött. 1825. [Introd. to a Scientific Syst. of Myth. transl. by *J. Leitch*. Lond. 1844. 8]; *P. van Limburg Brouwer*, Hist. de la civilisation morale et rel. des Grecs. Groen. 1833–43. 8 Th.; *Hegel*, Phil. d. Rel. Brl. 1833. vol. 2. p. 148ss. Phil. d. Gesch. Brl. 1837. p. 232ss.; *P. F. Stuhr*, die Rel. Systeme d. Hellenen in ihrer gesch. Entw. Brl. 1838; *M. W. Heffter*, d. Rel. d. Griechen u. Römer, Brandenb. 1845. [*W. Smith*, Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Myth. Lond. 1844–49. 3 vols. 8. *T. Dwight*, Gr. & Rom. Myth. New York. 1849. 12];—*Benj. Constant*, du Polythéisme romain. Par. 1833. 2 Th.; *Hartung*, d. Rel. d. Römer. Erl. 1836. 2 vols.; *Ch. Walz*, de rel. Rom. antiquiss. Tub. 1845. 4. P. I.—*Tholuck*, ü. d. Wesen u. sittl. Einfl. d. Heidenth. (Neander's Denkwürdigk, vol. I. modified in the 2d ed.) [*A. Tholuck*. Nature & Moral Infl. of Heathenism, transl. by R. Emerson, in Biblical Rep. for 1832. and in Clarke's Bibl. Cab. vol. 28. Edinb. 1841]; *Im. Nitzsch*, ü. d. Religionsbegr. d. Alten. (Stud. u. Krit. 1828. vol. I. H. 3s.);—*F. Jacobs*, ü. d. Erziehung d. Hellenen z. Sittlichk. (Verm. Schrr. Lpz. 1829. P. III.) Heidenth. u. Christenth. (Lpz. 1837. Th. VI.); *K. Gruneisen*, ü. d. Sittliche d. bild. Kunst b. d. Griech. Lpz. 1833. (Illg. Zeitschr. vol. III. st. 2.) [*J. St. John*, Manners, Custt. Arts, &c. of Anc. Gr. Lond. 1842. 3 vols. 8; *H. Hase*, Publ. & Priv. Life of the An. Greeks, transl. from Germ. Lond. 1836. 8; *W. A. Becker*, Gallus, or Rom. Scenes of the time of Augustus, illust. the manners and custt. of the Romans, transl. from the Germ. by *F. Metcalfe*. Lond. 1844. 8. On the State of Man before Christianity. Lond. 1848. 12.]

§ 15. *Popular Life among the Greeks.*

The original civilization which had prevailed in some portions of the East had finally become torpid within limits immutably fixed by the combined influence of caste and despotism. But under the delightful sky of beautiful Greece, the purely earthly life of man, in the midst of efforts to attain social freedom, and triumphant struggles against the monarch of the Eastern world (after 490, B. C.), became developed in its fairest natural perfection. Borne on by youthful energies and a noble spirit of refinement, directed by a clear understanding and a wise moderation, it received still higher lustre and distinctness from a state of art which gave utterance to what is beyond expression, and proclaimed the reconciliation of the spirit with outward nature. Even when it presented nature in its utmost nakedness, it preserved a chaste moderation, and when it portrayed the darker aspects of our earthly existence, it always made liberty and beauty triumphant. Grecian manners and science were carried by travelling expeditions and colonies to the shores of Asia Minor, Sicily, and Southern Italy, and finally, by means of Alexander's conquests (after 334), Grecian civilization became established over all the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

§ 16. *Limits of Grecian Refinement.*

Man was regarded only as a citizen, and all virtues had relation to the glory of his native land. The free action of the citizen was founded upon an order of slaves. A part of the women were confined within the narrow limits of domestic life, and another purchased a participation in manly plea-

sures and more attractive refinements, with a proportionate loss of womanly dignity and domestic happiness. The political power of the several States was developed and consumed in factious contests and civil wars. Even in the brightest days of Greece, civilization had to contend with remnants of ancient barbarism and its bloody crimes.

§ 17. *The Religion of the Greeks.*

The celestial world, in which the Greeks believed, was only an ideal transcript of their ordinary life, embellished by the hand and for the purposes of art. Even the fanciful relation of sex, which they ascribed to their deities, though borrowed from oriental allegories, was so modified by the poetic imaginations of the Greeks, as only to reflect and justify, as in a mirror, the playful spirit of the people. This, however, exerted no very corrupting influence upon a people whose matrimonial life was guarded by usages and laws, and whose vigorous energies were controlled by the gymnasium, and a predominant taste for the beautiful. But every thing great or beautiful in common life, was adorned and consecrated by some connection with the gods of their country. It was for this reason that, although the people were sincerely attached to their deities, and their religious services were joyous festivals embellished with all that art could contribute, they could enjoy the keen wit of the poet when he ridiculed the weaknesses of the gods, no less than when he laughed at those of the sovereign people of Athens. The religion of the Hellenes was necessarily a deification not so much of nature in its mysterious depths, as of the spirit in its various manifestations. The real Deity revealed to them was beauty. The piety best conformed to the national character was so far from rising above the earth, that it never went even beyond their native land. The mysteries could of course transmit no doctrine of religion inconsistent with this spirit of the popular faith. They were simply celebrations of the festivals of the ancient gods. They served not only to preserve the memory of the old and fallen deities of nature, but to create a presentiment of a supreme Deity, who, at some future period, would extend his sovereignty over the universe. The point at which the Hellenic theology found its termination and constructed an altar to the Unknown God, was where it submitted to an absolute necessity, ruling over gods and men.

§ 18. *Relation of Philosophy to the Popular Religion.*

Socrates (469–399) brought back Philosophy from its attempts to explain the universe by ingenious fancies, to its appropriate Grecian object, which was, to render the mind conscious of its nature, and thus to become the supreme rule of life for a freeborn man. In doing so, however, he was aware that as a citizen of a moral community he was liable to come into conflict with Athenian usages. From the position which he had attained, *Plato* (428–348) and *Aristotle* (384–322) sought to discover the ultimate principle of all knowledge and being. Both recognized a spiritual and independent author of the universe, and both appreciated the supreme importance of the intellectual and moral life. Aristotle, commencing with sensible pheno-

mena, and proceeding by successive steps of reasoning to general laws, may be regarded as the most perfect specimen of a healthy intellectual education among the Greeks. If Plato, on the one hand, by the matter as well as the form of his speculations, shows that the highest point of Grecian life consisted in adorning the present existence by moral excellence and beauty, on the other, he far transcends this, and stands like a prophet, incomprehensible by his own age, on account of his earnest consciousness of sinfulness, and his absolute exaltation of the eternal above the temporal.* Those who undertook the further development of Philosophy, attached themselves once more to the purely practical tendency of Socrates, and to the various parties already springing up among his disciples. They, however, seized upon only disconnected elements of Grecian life. *Epicurus* (342–271) laid hold of pleasure alone, to which virtue was subservient as a necessary means, and *Zeno*, his contemporary, selected power, with which virtue is herself satisfied. The former regarded the universe as the sport of chance, and the latter believed it animated by a divine omnipresent soul. In opposition to the views of these teachers, and especially to those of Plato, there arose in the midst of the Academy itself, a party under *Arcesilaus* (316–241) and *Carneades* (214–129), which advocated a system of overwrought logic, teaching that man was never designed to know the truth with certainty, and that consequently his only peace was to be found in dealing with probabilities, and in the consciousness of this universal uncertainty. Philosophy, in all its forms, had passed beyond the limits of Polytheism. The Socratic school, however, regarded the popular faith as a mode of conceiving truth indispensable to a people bound in the fetters of sensuality. Its disciples therefore, without hesitation, adopted the usages and modes of expression prevalent around them. The way in which Epicurus maintained the existence of the gods was in fact an adroit denial of it, but, satisfied with having freed his followers from all fear of the gods, he was wise enough to warn them of the danger of contending with public opinion. Stoical Pantheism allowed that the deities existed merely as names and allegories for the various manifestations of the universal life, but the deportment of the sages toward them was proud and independent. The later Academy maintained that the existence or non-existence of the gods was equally probable, and its adherents thought it safest to honor them with the ordinary forms of worship. While therefore Philosophy was not directly hostile to the idolatry which had prevailed from ancient times, the educated portion of the nation were elevated by it above the popular faith.

§ 19. *Rome as a Republic.*

The Roman people had sprung up in the midst of violence, they had been kept together by a rigid discipline, and they had to attain maturity in the battle-field, contending first for their existence, and then for their greatness. At an early period, the opinion began to prevail, and soon became a predomi-

* *C. Ackermann*, das Christl. im Plato u. in d. plat. Phil. Hamb. 1835; *F. C. Baur*, d. Christl. d. Platonism. o. Sokr. u. Christus. Tüb. 1837: [Plato contra Atheos, or Platonic Theology, by *T. Lewis*. New York. 1845. *E. Pond*, Life, Works, Opinions, &c. of Plato. Portland. 8.]

nant popular sentiment, that they were destined to attain universal dominion. All the virtues which constitute the true basis of civil and domestic prosperity were practised with simplicity and purity. But the keen enjoyment of life, natural to youth, became passionate only in individual instances, for we find among them no general refinement, or cultivation of the elegant arts. Religion was wholly under the control of the State, and its sacred rites were for a long time only in the hands of the Patricians. Its serious ceremonies pervaded every relation, both of the family and the State. While, therefore, it was regarded as indispensable to society, it was in reality only a respectful reverence for a superior power, recognized in the highest degree by the boldest and mightiest minds.

§ 20. *Decline of Greece.*

During the strifes of contending factions, political power had become despotic, in the hands sometimes of the nobles, and sometimes of the populace. The consequence was that Greece was distracted by internal divisions, and became subject, first to the Macedonians, and then, with these masters, (146) to the Romans. The virtues of the people, which had been founded upon their relation to their native country, could not, of course, survive the loss of their independence. The individuality of character, which had before so nobly distinguished them, now degenerated into selfishness; art became subservient to the grossest sensuality, and it now became evident, in the midst of public misfortunes, that a life consumed in the mere embellishment of an earthly existence must be totally unsatisfactory. Yet so abundant was the inheritance of art and science bequeathed to them by their ancestors, that their private life was for a long time enriched by its stores, and Greece gave laws to its conquerors.

§ 21. *Elevation and Decline of Rome.*

When Augustus, in his testament, advised the Roman people never to surpass the limits which nature had assigned to them, as the permanent bulwarks of the Empire, all nations inhabiting the coasts of the Mediterranean had already submitted to the majesty of the Roman power, and all nationalities had been broken up by the stern unity of the Empire. As the Romans had conquered the civilized world, they now resolved to participate in its advantages, by enjoying not only its coarse sensual pleasures, but its intellectual treasures. But Grecian civilization was so far in advance of them, that it could not be conquered without calling forth creative powers in the conquerors. By the subjugation and government of so many provinces, such an inequality in power and possessions was introduced, that universal freedom was no longer tolerable, and the popular character became so degraded, that in spite of republican forms, no one thought of combining public freedom with the monarchy. The will of the prince was acknowledged to be the supreme law, but the supreme power was actually in the army. Accordingly, the successors of Augustus, while they knew that they were masters of the world, knew quite as well that they could never call one day their own. They therefore either stupified themselves in the wildest enjoyment of the

present moment, or sought safety in a reign of terror. The wretchedness of the Roman populace, and the exhausted condition of the provinces, were in desperate and frightful contrast with an affluence which strove with shameless ingenuity to wrest from nature more enjoyment than she was able to give or endure. And yet for centuries after the old Roman virtues had been lost, there remained a noble national spirit, the valor of the legions, and in private life, the supremacy of the law.

§ 22. *Decline of the Popular Religion.*

The Greek religion was adapted only to such as were in the enjoyment of prosperity. To those who were struggling with misfortune, it offered neither consolation nor strength, and the gods themselves had apparently deserted the cities from which they were now invited by the conquerors. The deification of Roman despots threw scandal on the gods, and revealed the secret of their origin. The explanation of the Greek myths undermined also the veneration which had before been felt for Roman ceremonies.* Philosophy no longer hesitated to mock a religious worship already abandoned by its deities. The Roman statesmen, it is true, thought it necessary to maintain a religion of whose nullity they were persuaded, because it seemed to be the very foundation of their State. When, however, a people are governed by a falsehood, the fact cannot long be concealed from them. The human mind, ordinarily dissatisfied with infidelity, and especially impatient with it in seasons of peculiar difficulty, now sought for the peace it had lost in all kinds of barbarous forms of worship. In the midst, too, of those frequent changes of fortune to which despotic governments are subject, it made an effort to obtain a knowledge and a control of the dark future, by means of magical arts. Unbelief and superstition were thus boldly and distinctly arrayed by the side of each other. When the peculiar spirit of each nation had been destroyed, a popular religion could no longer be generally upheld, and the gods were all united in the Roman Pantheon. Philosophy, however, had neither the inclination nor the power to found a new religion.

II. Judaism.

Flav. Josephi Opp. ed. *Havercamp*, Amst. 1726. 2 Th. f.; Small ed. by *Oberthür*, Würtzb. 1782–8s. 3 Th. and 1 in the 1 Abth. of the Bibl. sacra. Lps. 1826ss. 5 Th. [Transl. into Eng. by *W. Whiston*, & ed. by *H. Stebbing*, 8vo. Lond. 1841, and a new Transl. by *R. Traill*, with notes, Essays, &c. and ed. by I. Taylor, Lond. & New York, 1847.] *F. C. Meier*, Judaica s. veterum Scr. profanorum de reb. jud. fragmm. Jen. 1832; *Vitringa*, de Synagoga vet. (Franeq. 1696.) Leucop. 1726. 4; [Vitringa's Synag. & the Church, transl. by *Bernard*, 8vo. Lond.] *J. D. Michaelis*, mos. Recht. Frkf. 1775ss. 6 Th. [Transl. into Eng. by *A. Smith*, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1814]; *J. J. Hess*, Gesch. d. Israel, Zür. 1766ss. 12 Th.; *De Wette*, Lehrb. d. hebr. Archäol. nebst Grundr. d. hebr. Gesch. Lps. (1814.) 1839; *J. M. Jost*, allg. Gesch. d. Isr. Brl. 1832. 2 vols.; [*Jost's* Hist. of the Jews, from the Maccabees to the present day, transl. from Germ. by *J. H. Hopkins*, 1848. New York;] *H. Leo*, Vorles. ü. d. Gesch. d. jud. Staats. Brl. 1828, retracted in his Lehrb. d. Universalgesch. ed. 2. vol. I. p. 563ss. comp. Stud. u. Krit. 1830. vol. I. p. 137ss.; *Bertheau*, zur Gesch. d. Isr. Gött. 1842; *H. Ewald*, Gesch. d. Volkes Israel b. Christus. Gött. 1843ss. 3 vols.; *J. Salvador*, Hist. des Institutions de Moïse et du peuple hébr. Par 1828. 3 vols. [This work was answered by *M. Dupin*, the elder, in "Jesus devant Caïphe

* *L. Krahner*, Grundlinien z. Gesch. d. Verfalls d. röm. Staatsrel. Hal. 1837. 4.

et Pilate." Par. 1828. 8.]; *Gramberg*, krit. Gesch. d. R. Ideen d. A. T. Brl. 1829s. 2 Th.; *Vatke*, d Rel. d. A. T. Brl. 1835. 1 Th.; *S. L. Steinheim*, d. Offenb. n. d. Lehrbegr. d. Synag. Frkf. 1835. 1 vol. *A. F. Gfrörer*, d. Jahrh. des Heiles. Stuttg. 1838. 2 Abth.—*Knobel*, d. Prophetismus d. Hebr. Bresl. 1837. 2 vols.; *Köster*, die Proph. d. A. u. N. T. Lps. 1838; [*H. H. Milman*, Hist. of the Jews, from the B. of Christ to the Abol. of Paganism in the Rom. Emp. with notes by Murdock. 3 vols. New York. 1831; *J. Basnage*, Hist. of the Jews from Jesus Christ to the pr. time, being a cont. of Josephus, transl. by *T. Taylor*, Lond. 1708. f.; *D. Strauss*, Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, A Picture of Judaism in the Cent. before Christ, transl. from the Germ. Lond. 1824. 2 vols. 8.]

§ 23. *The Religious Life of the People.*

Jehovah was worshipped as the only living and Most High God. His government, by agents, in direct communication with himself, collectively called the Theocracy, was regarded as the only legitimate authority. By his law the spirit was wrested from its hold upon the natural world, and his people were separated from all other nations. When the popular life had attained full maturity during the period between Samuel and the Exile [1156–588. B. C.], a flourishing kind of sacred poetry, with no great refinement of art, became developed, and the manners and morals of the people, though rude, were generally strict. The people, however, were always inclined to apostatize and adopt the sensual and idolatrous worship of nature, prevalent among the neighboring nations. The state, distracted by the struggle of the hierarchy with the monarchy, became divided (after 975) into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and at last fell a prey to foreign enemies. It was not until after the Exile, that the spirit of the people corresponded with that of their law, and then the benefits of such a result, and the complete execution of their political system, were limited by the dominion of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, who, without intermission, succeeded one another. A similar religious improvement was founded upon the Sacred Scriptures, the type and mirror of the popular life. In the midst of the calamities of the Exile, a stronger faith in a future state of existence was awakened, in connection with the explanation of moral evil by demoniac agency. But a natural result of the importance which the hierarchy consequently gave to the outward ritual of the law, was soon experienced in the extreme valuation of these observances, without reference to their spiritual import. The original contradiction involved in the idea they generally entertained of a God, who was the sole Lord of the Universe, and yet revealed himself as the God of only a single nation, became increasingly prominent, as the world became more generally known. Their belief also in the exclusive partiality of God for themselves as a people, in connection with the continual oppression they experienced from their foreign masters, produced a bitter feeling toward every thing foreign, and a hatred of the whole human race. It was during this decline, and as the precise result of it, that the predominant religious character of the nation was formed. Its fundamental element was an obstinate nationality, and a bold determination to sacrifice every thing for its preservation. This, in connection with their internal dissensions and moral debasement, could lead to nothing but a tragical result, when opposed to the overwhelming power of the Romans. But a series of prophets had at one time been produced by the Theocracy, in connection with a spiritual tendency among the people, which had taught them to solve all the contradictions of

the present time, by believing contemplations of the future. These Messianic prophecies therefore lived on in the hearts of the people, consoling, but at the same time ensnaring them with the strong expectation that Judaism was destined to become universal.

§ 24. *The dispersed Jews (ἐν διασπορᾷ).*

Remond, Gesch. d. Ausbreit. d. Judenth. v. Cyrus bis a. d. Untergang d. jüd. Staats. Lpz. 1789; *Grand*, de migrationibus Hebr. extra patriam ante Hadr. a Rom. deletam. Gron. 1817. 4; *Levyssohn*, de Judaeorum sub Caesaribus conditione et de legibus eos spectantibus. Lugd. 1828. 4.

According to the laws of war then prevalent, Jewish colonies were transferred to other lands, in the train of the various conquerors of Palestine. Individual Jews also wandered into the same countries, for the sake of gain. In the time of Christ, therefore, Jewish communities, subject to great vicissitudes of fortune, were to be found in every part of the Roman Empire. With their characteristic shrewdness, and their indefatigable industry, they had acquired wealth by commerce, and by wealth, independence and privileges. They lived according to the law of their fathers, and paid homage to the hierarchy at Jerusalem, as their highest human authority. In consequence of their temple tribute (διδραχμα), their offerings, and their pilgrimages, immense wealth flowed into Jerusalem from every part of the world, and became an instrument of great power in the hands of the priesthood, and a temptation to Roman rapacity and corruption.

§ 25. *Hellenism.*

C. G. L. Grossmann, Quaestt. Philoneae. I. De Theologiae Phil. fontibus et auctorit. II. De Λόγῳ Phil. Lps. 1829; *Gfrörer*, Philo u. d. alex. Theosophie, o. v. Einl. d. jüd. ägypt. Schule a. d. N. T. Stuttg. 1831. 2 Abth. (new title, 1835); *A. F. Dähne*, gesch. Darst. d. jüd. alex. Rel. Phil. Hal. 1837. 2 Abth. comp. *Baur*, in d. Jahrb. f. wiss. *Kritik*. 1835. p. 737-92; *J. C. L. Georgii*, ü. d. neuesten Gegens. in Auffass. d. Alex. Rel. Phil. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1839. II. 3. 4); [*J. Bryant*, Sentt. of Phil. Jud. on the Word of God. Camb. 1797. 8].

Although the Jews who resided in countries pervaded by Grecian culture seldom gave up their national attachments and spirit, they were unavoidably much affected by the intercourse and science of those around them. Such was the origin of the Hellenism, which, in Alexandria, then the great mart of trade even in science, gave birth to the first philosophy of revelation. This has been transmitted to subsequent times, principally by the writings of *Philo. (a)* The contradictory elements of which it was composed were: an unconditional faith in the divine revelation contained in the Mosaic law, and an equal confidence in the truth of the Platonic philosophy. These conflicting principles were subjectively harmonized by the adoption of the opinions that the Greek philosophy was derived from the Scriptures, and that the divine mind in the Scriptures was to be discovered by the allegorical method of interpretation. Its fundamental principle was: such an extreme refinement of the idea of God, that every distinct attribute of his nature disappeared,

a) *Philonis* Opp. ed. *Mangey*. Lond. 1742. 2 Th. f. The greater part of this is used in an ed. cur. *Pfeiffer*. Erl. (1785ss.) 1820. 5 Th.: Small ed. embracing the remainder, discovered by *A. Majo*, & *Aucher*, in 2 Abth. of the Bibl. Patrum. Lps. 1828ss. 6 Th.; *Creuzer*, z. Krit. d. Schrr. d. Philo. (Stud. u. Krit. 1831. H. 1); *Grossmann*, de Phil. operum continua serie et ord. chron. Lps. 1841. 4.

and all connection between him and the world ceased. It was therefore supposed that certain intermediate beings (λόγος and λόγοι) proceeded from God—fanciful creatures, which can scarcely be called personal existences, nor yet mere extensions of the divine essence. These gave existence to Matter, which was not divine, but was formed according to the archetypes of their own ideal world, and was animated by the divine breath. Even man, so far as his earthly nature is concerned, is fallen matter, with God concealed from his view. But that which was originally divine in him, must be liberated by struggles and self-denials, until he finds his true life during some favored moments even in this world, in the blessed contemplation of the Deity. This divine philosophy was reduced to practice by the *Therapeutae*, who lived in separate huts, chiefly in the Mareotis, near Alexandria, abstaining from all pleasures, cares, and toils of an earthly life, and entirely devoted to the contemplation and praise of the divine nature. (*b*)

§ 26. *The Three Sects.*

Trium scriptorum illustrium (*Drusii, Scaligeri, Serarii*) de tribus Judaeorum sectis syntagma ed. *Triglandius*. Delphis. 1703. 2 Th. 4; *P. Beer*, Gesch. Lehren u. Meinungen aller rel. Secten d. Jud. Brünn. 1822s. 2 vols.; *Schneckenburger*, die Pharisäer, Rel. Philosophen o. Asketiker? (Beitr. z. Einl. in's N. T. Stuttg. 1832. N. 7.) *Grossmann*, De Philos. Sadducaeor. Lps. 1836. II. De fragmentis Sadd. exeg. 1837. III. De statu Sadd. literario, morali et politico. 1838. 4.

The most distinct forms of Judaism in Palestine, after the time of the Maccabees, were represented in three regularly organized sects. The *Pharisees*, i. e. the Separated, were representatives of the rigid hierarchy, and of modern Judaism with all its faults and virtues. The most austere portion of this sect adhered to the authority of Rabbi *Shammai*, and a milder party to that of *Hillel*. In the latter party, a tendency toward Hellenism was practicable, and Gamaliel is said to have participated in it. The *Sadducees*, whose name signifies the Righteous, and who constituted in fact the wealthy and aristocratic portions of society, maintained the older Hebraism, the intellectual liberty of which, in a corrupt and yet speculative period, was easily perverted so as to encourage licentiousness and unbelief. The disputes which these sects carried on with each other became sometimes so violent that the government was disturbed on account of them. The *Essenes*, i. e. Healing Ones, or Saints, were those who had become dissatisfied with the world, and in different degrees of their order, according to the rigidity of their asceticism, withdrew from all public life, to live in extreme solitude on the western coast of the Dead Sea. Their doctrine, so far as it has been made known, indicated some affinity with the Alexandrian philosophy, as it converged evidently toward a theory of angel hierarchy. Their moral system and habits were similar to those of the Therapeutae, although they adhered more decidedly to the Hebrew prophecies. Their mode of life was communistic, and their time was wholly occupied in prayer and labor. Although they condemned the private possession of wealth, individuals might possess some property as a fief, from

b) The orig. evidence in various forms in Philo, and many erroneous statements with respect to them in *Eusebius*, II. Ecc. II. 17; *Bellermann*, gesch. Nachrichten a. d. Alterthume ü. Essäer u. Therapeuten. Brl. 1821; *J. Sauer*, de Essenis et Therapeutis, Vrat. 1829; *Gfrörer*, Abth. 2. p. 280ss.; *Dähne*, vol. I. p. 439ss.

the common stock. They never visited the Temple, because bloody sacrifices were offered in it, but they sent to it their sacred gifts.

§ 27. *The Samaritans.*

Besides the Jewish sources of a partisan character, consult The Samar. Pentateuch, even in the Arabic translation, and John iv. 5-42; (*Sieffert*) Pg. de temp. schismatis ecc. Judaeos inter. et Samarr. oborti. Regiom. 1828. 4. comp. Hase's Leben Jesu. p. 108s. [Neander's Life of Christ. p. 189ss.; *Hengstenberg*, On the Pentateuch, vol. I. p. 70ss.; *M. Stuart*, Essay on Sam. Pent. & Lit. in Bib. Repos. 1832. P. 4. p. 681. & Essays on the Old Test. Andover, 1845. 8; *Kitto's* Journal of Sac. Lit. July, 1853. p. 298.]

From its first establishment, the kingdom of Israel was always characterized by a great laxity of religious faith, a dislike to the Levitical priesthood, and a fondness for the idolatrous worship of the surrounding nations. Having been conquered by the Assyrians (722), the small remnant allowed to remain in the country soon became nearly amalgamated with the heathen colonists introduced among them. And yet the inhabitants of Samaria, the fruitful hill country between Judaea and Galilee, offered to assist the returning Jews in rebuilding the Temple of Zion. This proposal being rejected, just before Alexander's triumphant march through their country, they received through *Manasseh*, the exiled brother of the Jewish high priest, and the favor of the Persian monarch, not only a copy of the Pentateuch, but permission to build a temple to Jehovah on Mount Gerizim. In spite of all their foreign mixtures, both of sentiments and of blood, the Samaritans were especially attached to the ancient Hebraism, and carried out its moral and intellectual tendencies. They shared in the political fortunes of Judaea, and were animated by a similar hatred to the Romans, but the State possessed very little power, on account of the still greater mutual hatred of the Jews and Samaritans.

§ 28. *Proselytes.*

The contempt which a people without refinement in art or science, entertained for every thing foreign, was of course met by the Greeks and Romans with a similar contempt. (*a*) And yet the strength of religious faith among the Jews, the worship of one God, and the veneration for the mysterious rites and shrines of the temple of Jehovah, were peculiarly imposing. Modern Judaism, too, was naturally inclined to conquest. Hence from the general inclination toward foreign religions, and from the dissatisfaction felt with respect to the social relations of the Empire, many, especially women, laborers, and slaves, felt attracted by the hopes held out to them by the Jews. Some became *proselytes of righteousness* to Judaism, and many renounced idolatry by obeying what were called the Noachian precepts, and thus, according to the decision of the milder teachers of the law, became *proselytes* of the *Gate*, i. e. friends of the Jewish nation, and sharers in many of its hopes, without being subject to the yoke of the law, without adopting the narrow prejudices of the Jews, and without expecting justification by their external services. Others pleased or silenced their consciences by the

a) *Tacit.* Hist. V. 5; *Minucii Fel.* Octavius c. 10.

practice of Jewish ceremonies, and allowed themselves to be beguiled by Jewish conjurers. (*b*)

CHAP. II.—THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

Lud. Capelli Hist. ap. illustrata, Genev. 1634. 4 ed. *Fabricius*, Lps. 1691; *J. F. Buddei*, Ecc. ap. Jen. 1729; *J. J. Hess*, Gesch. u. Schrr. d. Apostel. Zürch. 1788. 4 ed. 1820ss. 3 Th.; *F. Lücke*, Com. de Ecc. Apost. Goett. 1813. 4; *J. G. Planck*, Gesch. d. Christenth. in d. Periode sr. Einführung. Gött 1818; Th. II. *A. Neander* [Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles, Transl. by *J. E. Ryland*. Phil. 1 vol. 1844]; *F. Ch. Baur*, Paulus, Stuttg. 1845; *A. Schwegler*, das nachapost. Zeitalt. in d. Hauptmomenten sr. Entwickl. Tüb. 1846. 2 vols.; comp. *E. Zeller*, ü. Chr. Urchr. u. Unchr. in Schwegler's Jahrb. 1844. Juni; (*W. O. Dietlein*, d. Urchristenth. eine Beleucht. der. v. d. Schule d. Hrn. Dr. *v. Baur*, ü. d. Apost Zeita. aufgestellten Vermuthungen. Hal. 1845:) [*K. R. Hagenbach*, *F. C. Baur*, and *J. P. Lange*, have each published Histories of the Primitive and Apostolic Church, in Germ.: *G. Benson*, Hist. of the First Planting of Christianity, Lond. 1756. 3 vols. 4; *F. W. P. Greenwood*, Lives of the Twelve Apostles, &c. Bost. 1846. 12; *L. Coleman*, Anc. Christianity exemplified. Philad. 1853. 2 vols. 8; *H. W. J. Thiersch*, Hist. of the Chr. Church, vol. I. Apostolic Age, Transl. by *T. Carlyle*, Lond. 1852.]

§ 29. *The First Pentecost.*

I. *Acts*, 2. 1–41; II. *Herder*, Gabe d. Sprachen. Rig. 1794; *Ammon*, de novis linguis. Erl. 1808; *Hase*, Zur Gesch. d. ersten Chr. Pfingstf.; (*Winer's* Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol. 1827. II. 2:) *Bleek*, ü. d. Gabe des γλώσσαις λαλεῖν. (Stud. u. Krit. 1829. vol. II. H. 1; comp. *Olshausen*, vol. II. H. 3; Repl. v. Bleek, 1830. vol. I. H. 1. p. 45–64; *Olshausen*, ibid. p. 64–66.) *Baur*, Abh. in d. Tüb. Zeitschr. f. Theol. 1830. H. 2; *Bäumlein*, Abh. in the Studien d. Würtemb. Geistlich. 1834. H. 2; *Schneckenburger*, in his Beitr. zur Einl. in's N. T. N. 8. *Billroth*; [Expos. of the Epp. of Paul to the Cor. (in Edinb. Bibl. Cabinet, No. 21. 23) on 1 Cor. xiv.]; *D. Schulz*, d. Geistesgaben d. ersten Christen, insbes. d. sogen. Gabe d. Spr. Bresl. 1836; *Baur*, Krit. Uebers. (Stud. u. Krit. 1838, p. 618ss.) *Seinecke*, Sprachgabe d. ersten Christen. Lpz. 1842.

As the founder of a new popular religion, and as the Messiah and Son of God, who must fulfil all the longings of the people, and the prophecies of the Scriptures, Jesus had awakened a spirit which in independent spirituality was to rise above every thing earthly, unite men in love, by regeneration, with the Father of all, and regardless of all national distinctions, bring them under one great bond of brotherhood in the kingdom of God. A few faithful disciples, on whom exclusively this Spirit had before rested, waited in close fellowship at Jerusalem for the promised manifestation of this Spirit. Early in the morning of the feast of Pentecost, soon after the Resurrection (about 33), on the occurrence of a remarkable natural phenomenon, they felt conscious of an extraordinary inspiration, which they regarded as a shedding forth of the divine Spirit upon their hearts, from without and above themselves. This internal influence manifested itself to others principally by an animated and copious style of speaking—a *speaking with tongues*, which, according to Luke, was generally regarded as a decisive evidence that Christianity had arrived at its completion. (*a*) Such phenomena were regarded in the primitive Church as the gift of the Spirit, bestowed without reference to the ordinary state of the heart, and were indeed frequently abused so as to become subservient to vanity. (*b*) Such was the fact until far into the second

b) *Juven.* Sat. VI. 543. Senec. de superstt. (in *August.* de Civ. Dei. VI. 11); *Josephi* Antiqq. VIII. 2. 5. XVIII. 3. 5.

a) *Acts* 10, 46s. 19, 6. comp. 8, 15ss. *b*) 1 *Cor.* 14.

century, (*c*) and even to a still later period, in seasons and congregations in which powerful excitements prevailed. At this feast of Pentecost, according to the rather obscure account of Luke, a discourse was delivered in several foreign languages. A power to do this, however, was not regarded in the apostolic Church as the ordinary attendant of this gracious gift; we have no account of its repetition, and it is of importance only as indicating that Christianity was destined to become universal. But the great fact which then took place, was the revelation of the new spirit, through which the Church was visibly and publicly to be established.

§ 30. *Fortune of the Church of Jerusalem.*

The rage of the people had been appeased by the death of Jesus; and when the recollection of his benevolent deeds revived, the feeling began to prevail throughout the city, that they had imbrued their hands in the blood of an innocent man, and possibly in that of their own Messiah. When, therefore, his timid disciples suddenly announced with great earnestness and confidence that he had risen from the dead, thousands, by baptism, professed themselves his disciples, and the popular favor was turned toward them. Alarmed at this, and divided in their own counsels (since many of the Pharisees, out of hatred to the Sadducees, were willing that the gospel, which proclaimed a resurrection, should prevail), the Sanhedrim were irresolute, and adopted no efficient measures, while the apostles were full of courage, willing to suffer shame for Christ, and determined to obey God rather than men. Still, no sooner had those friendly to their cause become connected with them, than the *Galileans*, or *Nazareans*, became, as before, a much-hated sect. A party zealous for the law were allowed to stone *Stephen* (about 36), and *Herod Agrippa* looked upon it as a popular measure to persecute the Christians. *James*, the brother of John, was beheaded, and *Peter* escaped the same fate only by mysterious aid (44). (*a*) But when, on the sudden death of Herod Agrippa, (*b*) all Palestine became a Roman province, the congregation was allowed to become tranquilly established and enlarged. When most of the disciples fled, on the persecution after the death of Stephen, the apostles remained at Jerusalem. There stood together those pillars of the Church, Peter, James, and John, even as late as near the middle of the century. After that, *James* the Just, the brother of our Lord, is mentioned as the principal leader among the Christian Jews, although all authentic accounts agree in ascribing to him a high degree of circumspection and moderation even in his Judaism. (*c*) To judge from the epistle bearing his name, he must have been a pious and earnest teacher, especially in his admonitions in favor of morality, but with no prominent characteristics peculiar to Christianity. (*d*) By Jewish Christians he has since been honored as a kind of national saint; and although the disciple of Jesus is not very prominent in his rigid discipline, and in the remote occasion of his death, this was only to

c) *Iren.* V. 6.

a) *Acts* 6, 8—7, 60; 12, 1–19. *b*) *Acts* 12, 20ss. comp. *Josephi* Antiqq. XIX. 7, 2. *c*) *Gal.* 2, 9, comp. *Acts* 15, 13ss. *d*) Liter. Review, in *Theile*, Comm. in Ep. Jac. p. 23ss.; *F. H. Kern*, Character u. Ursprung d. Br. Jak. (from the Tüb. Zeitschr.) Tüb. 1835.

prove himself more perfectly a Christian hero when he was called actually to die. (*e*) The plain testimony of history declares, that the High Priest *Ananus*, a Sadducee, availing himself of the interregnum which took place after the death of the procurator Felix, had James, and a few others, stoned to death, as transgressors of the Mosaic law (63). (*f*)

§ 31. *Jewish Christianity.*

D. van Heyst, Ds. de Judaeo-Christianismo ejusque vi et efficacitate, quam exseruit in rem Chr. Saec. I. Lugd. B. 1828. comp. § 35.

The dispersion of the congregation after the death of Stephen was the commencement of its propagation in other regions. The knowledge of Christ was probably carried by pilgrims from Jerusalem into all parts of the Roman empire, and yet but a small part of the Jewish population actually became Christian. The principal seat of Christian Judaism among the dispersed portion of the nation was at *Antioch*, where the name of *Christian* was first applied to the Church by those who were not its members. The Jewish law was observed with the utmost strictness. Christianity was regarded as a perfected Judaism, whose hopes were already in part, or soon to be completely fulfilled. It was only with this understanding that it could have gained general acceptance in Palestine. The Pharisees were inclined to receive, and zealously to advocate it, so far as the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus was concerned; and the Essenes were favorable to its religious spirituality. The assertion, that a Jewish Christianity of an Essene complexion sprung up at an early period, by an accession of a considerable number of Essenes to the Church, is rendered probable by partial affinities between the two systems, and certain by witnesses after the middle of the second century. But as the gospel was proclaimed principally in public assemblies, and as conversions from a community so rigidly secluded must have been extremely difficult, we can hardly suppose that such an accession could have taken place in any large numbers, till after the dispersion of the Essene settlements, and the desolation of the Jewish country. Besides, it does not appear that Christianity, in its earliest form, possessed any prominent traits of an Essene character. As it was believed to be intended for all men, those who looked upon it through an old Hebrew medium, must have regarded the reception of the law as a necessary part of the process. According to Luke's account (Acts x. 11–18), Peter could be induced to baptize a proselyte of the gate, and could justify himself for the act before his brethren, in no other way than by the assurance of a divine revelation. But as the Church could not at that time conveniently separate its blessings, the more rigid Jewish Christians demanded that baptized proselytes should afterwards be circumcised.

§ 32. *Samaritan Christians and Sects.*

The first decisive instance in which Christianity broke over the proper limits of the Jewish nation, was that in which the gospel was carried to Samaria. The seed which Jesus, regardless of the popular hatred,

e) *Euseb.* II. ecc. II. 1. 23. *f*) *Josephi*, Antiqq. XX. 9, 1.

had sown in Sychem, was harvested by the apostles. (*a*) The Samaritans, however, were at that time too much taken up with the claims of certain founders of new religions in their own midst, strange phantoms of the truth, to be much interested in a Messiah from Judea. *Dositheus*, professing to be the prophet promised in the likeness of Moses (Deut. 18, 18), had appeared among them with a severe exaggeration of the letter of the law, and had finally starved himself in a cave. (*b*) *Simon Magus* obtained many adherents in Samaria, and perhaps also some in Rome. According to his own assertion, or at least that of his followers, he was an incarnation of the Spirit which had created the world, to deliver the soul of the world, in bondage to the earthly powers, by whom it had been confined in a woman, and at that time in his own wife, Helena. With the deliverance of this world-soul, all believers were also to be released from their imprisonment. He was, however, anxious to purchase the Holy Ghost from the apostles, and trembled before their malediction. (*c*) In some accounts, he appears degraded to a mere pander to lewdness, (*d*) and in popular traditions he became the representative of all magical arts and their fortunes during his day, in contrast with the triumphant simplicity of pious faith. (*e*) *Menander* also aspired to the honor of being a Messiah, and a divine incarnation, with power to make his followers immortal. (*f*) The influence of each of these three impostors was continued through some minor sects until some time in the sixth century. They were often confounded, by those who were not well informed on the subject, with the followers of Christ; and perhaps some of them, like Simon himself, at one time, from worldly policy, may have passed themselves off as such. It is possible, too, that they may sometimes have really claimed to be Christians, in accordance with a doctrine by which all religions were mingled together, and the same God was said to have revealed himself to the Samaritans as the Father, to the Jews as the Son, and to the Gentiles as the Spirit.

§ 33. *Paul.*

J. Pearson, Annales Paul. Hal. 1718. [Lond. 1688. 4. transl. into Eng. by *Williams*, Cambr. 1826. 12.] *W. Paley*, Horae Paul. or the Truth of the Scriptural Hist. of Paul evinced. [With a suppl. by *E. Biley*. Lond. 1840. Illustrated by Tate. Lond. 1837. Publ. in New York. 1843. In works. Cambr. (Mass.) 1830.] *J. T. Hemsen*, der Ap. P. Gött. 1830; *K. Schräder*, der Ap. P. Lpz. 1830ss. 5 vols.; *Tholuck*, Lebensumstände, Character u. Sprache d. P.: (Stud. u. Krit. 1835. II. 2. and Verm. Schrr. vol. II. p. 2 2ss.) [Life and Char. of Paul, transl. from the Germ. of *A. Tholuck*, and publ. in the Edinb. Bibl. Cabinet, vol. 28.] *H. A. Schott*, Erörtr. einiger Chronol. Punkte in d. Lebensgesch. d. P. Jena. 1832; *J. F. Wurm*, ü. d. Zeitbest. im Leben d. P.: (Tüb. Zeitschr. f. Theol. 1838. II. 1);—*L. Usteri*, Entw. d. P. Lehrbegr. Zür. 1824. ed. 5. 1834. *A. F. Dähne*, Entw. d. P. Lehrbegr. Hal. 1835;—*Baur*, Paulus (p. 24.)

The development of Christianity as a spiritual religion for the whole world, was accomplished principally by the agency of Saul, called after the Roman form Paul. The idea of its liberation from Judaism did not, indeed, originate with him, for certain Hellenists from Cyprus had before preached

a) *Acts* 8, 5–17; *John* 4, 35–38. *b*) *Orig.* de princ. IV, 17. (vol. I. p. 178) in Jo. tom. 13. (vol. IV. p. 237); *Epiphan.* Opp., vol. I. p. 30. *c*) *Acts* 8, 9–24; *Justin.* Apol. I. c. 26, 56; Tryph. c. 120; (Simoni Deo Sancto. Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio:) *Iren.* I. 20. Extracts from both *Euseb.* II. cc. II, 13. *Epiph.* Haer. 21. *d*) *Josephi*, Antiqq. XX, 7. 2. *e*) *Arnob.* II, 12; *Clement*, Homil. II, 29ss.; Recognitt. I, 72. II, 7ss.; comp. *Targum Jerushalemi*, ad Num. 31, 8; *Sueton.* Vita Neron. c. 12. *f*) *Justini*, Apol. I. c. 26; *Epiph.* Haer. 22.

the gospel to the Greeks in Antioch, (*a*) and Stephen did not deny the charge, that Jesus had come to destroy the temple, and to change the ceremonial law. (*b*) But it was reserved for Paul successfully to justify and triumphantly to carry out this idea. He belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, was a Roman citizen born at Tarsus the capital of Cilicia, had been educated for a learned Pharisee in the school of Gamaliel at Jerusalem, and was by occupation a tentmaker. The traces of a Greek education, which his writings sometimes exhibit, may be ascribed either to the school in which he had been educated, or to his subsequent pursuits and associations. With a character not only great but exalted, able and energetic in worldly things, though full of longings after those which are heavenly, he placed himself, in defence of the law of his fathers, at the head of those who persecuted the followers of Christ. Stephen fell before his eyes, and Gamaliel warned the rulers that they should not contend against God. But while journeying to Damascus, to persecute those Christians whom he might find there (probably 36), he and his companions were suddenly struck to the earth by fire from heaven. Christ now revealed himself to his spirit as the Saviour of the world, and he could no longer resist the mighty power of truth. (*c*) His rich natural endowments were now illuminated by the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, his former self was cast off, and Christ alone lived within him. After a residence of three years in Arabia and Damascus, he fled from the latter city to Jerusalem (39), that he might form an acquaintance with Peter. He was soon after invited by Barnabas from Tarsus, to assist in the work of the gospel at Antioch. When both had conveyed provisions from that congregation to Jerusalem, for the relief of the brethren there (44), they were sent on a missionary tour to Cyprus, and some provinces of Asia Minor. They commenced their labors by preaching in the synagogues; (*d*) but as they were generally treated with contempt, and often with much abuse by the Jews, while they were generally favored by proselytes, they soon began to form independent churches, composed principally of Greeks. These they regarded, according to the custom at Antioch, as not bound to observe the ceremonial law, and it was even rumored that Paul had gone so far as to prevent the Jews from circumcising their children. He himself, however, conformed to the ritual of the law, at least as far as appeared expedient to prevent all unnecessary offence to his brethren; and accordingly, in Christian liberty, he was a Greek with Greeks and a Jew with Jews. But at Antioch, some from Jerusalem maintained that circumcision was indispensable to salvation. In consequence of the division created by this party, Paul and Barnabas undertook a journey to Jerusalem (about 50), where, after hearing what God had already accomplished by their means in carrying the gospel to the heathen, the three apostles of Jewish Christianity extended to them the hand of fellowship. A charter of privileges was then agreed upon, which was imme-

a) *Acts* 11, 20-22. *b*) *Acts* 6, 13s. *c*) *Gal.* 1, 15s.; 1 *Cor.* 9, 1; 15. 3; *Acts* 9, 1-22; 22, 3-16; 26, 9-18; *Ammon*, de repentina Sauli conversione, Erl. 1795 (Opp. theol. p. 1ss.); *Greiling*, Hist. Psychol. Vers. ü. d. plötzl. Ueberg. d. P. (Henke's Mus. 1806. vol. III. p. 220.) *Strauss*, Streitschrr. II. 1. p. 61ss.; comp. *E. Bengel*, Obss. de P. ad rem Chr. convers. 2 P. (Opp. Hamb. 1834);—*C. G. Küchler*, de anno, quo P. ad sacra chr. conversus est, Lps, 1828. *d*) Comp. *Rom.* 1, 16; 9, 2ss,

diately sent forth in a solemn edict to all Gentile Christians, forbidding any yoke to be imposed upon them, except a few observances like those which were required of proselytes. This proceeding could not be reconciled with the original covenant (Gal. 2, 1ss.) without considerable ingenuity of reasoning, and was not very consistent with the course which Paul sometimes pursued, but it was a well-intended scheme to harmonize those conflicting tendencies which were just springing up in the Church, and of which tradition gives us an account (Acts 15). (*e*) It was not until Paul, fully believing himself called of God to be the apostle to the Gentiles, had extensively propagated the Church among the Greeks, that it became practically independent of the prejudices which prevailed in Palestine. During his two long journeys, and his protracted residences in Ephesus and Corinth, he established numerous churches in the several cities of Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia, encountering far greater difficulties (2 Cor. 11, 20ss.) than are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. Hated equally by Jews and by Jewish Christians, with many presentiments of his approaching death, he went, about Pentecost in the year 58, to Jerusalem. There, abandoned if not betrayed by Christians, he was delivered from the hands of the exasperated mob in the temple by the Roman guards. For two years he was kept in bonds as a Roman citizen, by the procurator Felix in Cesarea; and when Festus came into the same office, as the successor of Felix, in consequence of his appeal to the emperor he was sent late in the year 60 to Rome. After a stormy voyage, he was kept in slight confinement in that city, and during two years he labored in behalf of the great object of his life, not only with those around him, but by means of epistles and friends with those at a distance. It is hardly possible that he could have survived the persecution under Nero, but he was probably beheaded at Rome (64). That he was liberated, and that he then for the first time visited the utmost limits of Western Europe, (*f*) and finally ended his life during a second imprisonment in Rome, appears more like a learned conjecture than an ancient tradition. (*g*) His epistles abound in rabbinical explanations, in arguments stated in the form of bold and complex syllogisms, in evidences of a highly wrought intelligence in connection with a profound spirit glowing with benevolence, and in waves of thought which appear to struggle with and break upon one another. His style was concise and often difficult, but he always had the right word for every variety of condition, sometimes powerfully convincing or threatening, and at other times carrying all along with him by his cordial expressions of affection. A nature like his may have ascribed some things to a divine revelation through visions, which were the result of intelligent reflection, and which may have been influenced by his peculiar physical temperament. (*h*)

e) *Schneckenburger*, Apostelgesch. p. 71ss.; *Schwegler*, nachapostol. Zeitalt. vol. I. p. 116ss.; comp. *Neander*, [Hist. of Plant. and Train. &c. B. III. Ch. 4. p. 76ss. 3 ed. Philad. 1844. S.] *f*) *Clem. Rom.* Ep. I. ad Corinth. c. 5. *g*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. II, 22;—*J. P. Mynster*, de ultimis annis muneris ap. a P. gesti. Havn. 1815; *J. T. L. Danz*, de loco Eusebii, qui de altera P. captivitate agit, Jen. 1816. 4;—*E. F. R. Wolf*, de alt. P. captiv. dss. II. Lps. 1819s.; *Baur*, die Sogen. Pastoralbr. d. Paul. Stuttg. 1835. p. 63ss; comp. Tüb. Zeitschr. 1838. H. 3. § 43ss.; Stud. u. Krit. 1841. H. 1. *h*) The visions related by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, and the allusions to similar things in general in the Clementines, are confirmed in 2 Cor. 12, 1-9.

His doctrines are essentially the same with those of Jesus, so far as they proceed from the acknowledgment that Jesus was the Messiah, and are the views of a profoundly religious mind, affected by similar rational prepossessions. They were, however, at the same time, independently founded upon his own peculiar life and conflicts. In the first, he had experienced the remarkable contrast between a period of enmity to Christ, and another in which Christ had become his only life. This private experience he regarded as a specimen of the life of mankind fallen from God by sin, and reconciled to God by Christ, and hence his evangelical instructions were specially directed to the awakening of the consciousness of sinfulness. His conflicts had been principally directed to the liberation of the Christian spirit from the Jewish law. He therefore maintained, that if our whole salvation must come from Christ, the law is not necessary to salvation. The connection between these principles was made out by showing, that as man has not fulfilled the law, the works of the law can only lead to condemnation, and salvation can be obtained only by a complete surrender of the heart to Christ; *i. e.* by faith alone, not by a descent from Abraham, not by the merit of our own works, but wholly from the free grace of God. Paul acknowledged that the old covenant was divine, but he contended that it was completed by the new covenant of God with man by Christ, so that now it had become an abrogated institution. In his estimation, Christ was the substance of all religion, and the sole ruler of the world. The advent of Christ to our world was the lofty central point of all human history, from which he looked back upon the preliminary revelation which had been given to Jews and Gentiles, and perverted by them both, and forward to the final triumph of the kingdom of God, when all opposition shall be overcome, and Christ himself shall withdraw, that God may be all in all.

§ 34. *Peter.*

Mayerhoff, Einl. in d. Petrin. Schrr. Hamb. 1835; comp. *K. Hase*, Leben Jesu. p. 112s. [*A. Lee*, Life of the Ap. Peter. Lond. 1852. 12.]

The practical energy which Peter possessed, and on which our Lord himself appears to have founded considerable expectations, made him the principal representative at least of the external affairs of the Church, as long as he tarried at Jerusalem (until about 50). At a later period, when at Antioch, principally from regard to particular persons, he relapsed to the exclusively national view of Christianity, he was decidedly opposed by Paul (Gal. 2, 11s.), who advocated a gospel free for all mankind. In an apostle so prone to extremes, such an act, which almost seems like a second denial of his Lord, is no more incredible on the ground that he had before not only tolerated, but even been the first to defend Gentile Christianity, than it was in Barnabas. But his former relation to Paul appears never to have been fully restored, for the first epistle which bears his name contains no conclusive evidence of this, and in the memory of the next generation, Peter and Paul were at the head of opposite parties in the Church. According to testimony derived from times after the middle of the second century, mingled, indeed, with many errors, legends and party statements, but proving what must have

been the opinion of the Roman Church, Peter suffered crucifixion at Rome (about 67). (*a*) Jerome is the first who informs us (catal. c. 1), that he at one time resided at Antioch, and afterwards was for twenty-five years Bishop of Rome. Although satisfactory evidence from the history of Paul proves that he could not have resided for so long a time at Rome, and even older traditions show that he could have sustained no particular office in the church of that place, since they mention, in different orders of succession, Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, as the first bishops of Rome; (*b*) it is nevertheless certain, that wherever Peter was, his personal influence would always give him the first position, unless Paul had been by his side. His character is well reflected in the legend of his flight, from which he was recalled by some pungent reproof from the lips of Christ himself, and in that of his crucifixion with his head downwards. (*c*)

§ 35. *Position of Parties in the Time of Paul.*

In its progress among the heathen, the gospel necessarily appealed entirely to the general religious spirit which the apostle to the Gentiles recognized even among them, (*a*) since, with the exception of a few myths which might serve as types of Christ, and some prophetic announcement, made by the Platonic philosophy with which the apostles were unacquainted, it found no promises handed down from the fathers, and only the most obscure expectations. Even after Christianity had torn itself entirely away from the Mosaic law, in consequence of its own origin as well as of that of its principal teachers, the Jewish element was still prominent in the phrases, doctrines, divine worship, and polity of the Church, and it was not remodelled until it gradually became affected by Grecian modes of thought. Jewish and Gentile Christianity existed side by side, either mutually recognizing or excluding one another. The former was sustained by the influence of those who had been called the pillars among the apostles, and possessed an external support in the necessities of the poor saints at Jerusalem. (*b*) An internal basis was also supplied, by the concession, that it was a duty which national if not religious piety required, for a Jew to adhere firmly to the law. Each of these forms of Christianity, however, must finally have felt, that its own rights depended upon the rejection of the other. It was therefore always urged to adopt the exclusive policy, which was at first precipitated by certain zealots among the Jewish Christians, perhaps through a refusal of social intercourse, or possibly by the uneasiness created in the minds of some Gentile Chris-

a) *Dionysius Corinth.* and *Cajus Rom.* in *Euseb.* II. ecc. II, 25; (The doubtful testimony of Papias, *ib.* II, 15;) *Iren.* III, 1. 3; *Tertul.* c. Marc. IV. 5;—*S. van Til*, de Petro Romae martyre, non pontifice, L. B. 1710. 4; *J. G. Herbst*, in d. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1820. H. 4. p. 567ss.; on the other hand, *Fr. Spanheimii*, Ds. de ficta profectione Petri in urbem Romam. (Opp. Miscell. Lugd. B. 1703. Th. II. P. 331ss.); *Baur*, in d. Tüb. Zeitschr. 1831. H. 1; *C. F. v. Ammon*, Forth. d. Chr. z. Weltrel. Lpz. 1840. vol. IV. p. 319ss. *b*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. III, 2; *Rufini*, Praef. ad Recogn. Petri; even the *Catalogus Liberianus*, about 354. On the other hand, the most recent Cath. assertion: *Döllinger*, KGesch. vol. I. Abth. 1. p. 65ss.; *Windischmann*, Vindiciae Petrinae, Ratisb. 1836; *Stenglein*, in d. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1840. H. 2ss.; comp. *Baur*, z. Literatur d. Petrus-Sage, in his Paulus, p. 671ss. *c*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. III, 1; *Hieron.* catal. c. 1. On the other hand: *Tertul.* de praescr. c. 36. [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. V.]

a) *Rom.* 1, 19; *Acts* 17, 22–29. *b*) *Gal.* 2, 10; 1 Cor. 16, 1ss.

tians with respect to the law. (*c*) If, therefore, Paul himself spoke somewhat equivocally of the exorbitant respect paid to the apostles of Jewish Christianity (2 Cor. 12, 11. Gal. 2, 6), his apostleship, which was referred to by every opponent as destitute of all external proof of a divine call, would be barely tolerated by the more liberal portion of the Jewish Christians, and by the more intolerant portion would be positively rejected. Jewish Christianity was certainly in the ascendant in Palestine, and there, until the violent measures used by Hadrian, no bishops at Jerusalem were chosen except from among the circumcision, with a decided preference for the acquaintance or kindred of Jesus according to the flesh. (*d*) In like manner, in the circle of Paul's influence, Gentile Christianity alone could have been predominant; and in proof of this, an undeniable document exists in the epistle to the Romans, in which the principal idea is the overwhelming superiority of the number of Gentiles in the Church. It is not, however, probable, that after Paul had been removed, and the destruction of the holy city seemed like a divine judgment against Judaism, any churches composed of persons born and educated as Greeks or Romans would be persuaded to observe the Jewish law, although attempts were not wanting even long after the commencement of the second century to form associations, and exclude members on this ground. Accordingly, when we find that Hegesippus called the Church, which had existed prior to the death of the apostles, a pure virgin, and on his way to Rome found what he called the true doctrine with the bishops, we conclude that he must have belonged to that class of Jewish Christians, which, after the example of the prophets, and of our Lord himself, was not opposed to a Gentile Christianity. (*e*) The church at Corinth, soon after its organization, presents a picture of the parties formed especially on these conflicting views. One party, which assumed the name of *Peter*, may have regarded at least some parts of the Mosaic law as still in force, while another, called after the name of *Paul*, looked upon the doctrines advocated by him as exclusively Christian. A third party could find true Christianity nowhere so well presented, as in the method of instruction adopted by the learned Alexandrian, *Apollos*. A fourth, if it was not a mere branch of the Petrine party, maintained that Paul had never enjoyed the apostolic privilege of a direct intercourse with Christ, and appropriated to itself exclusively the name of *Christ*, because it rejected all apostolic traditions, and relied entirely upon its immediate union with Christ. (*f*) Paul did indeed defend his apostolical authority against these various parties, by whom the unity of the Corinthian Church was not destroyed, but he did so only on the ground that he had received it from Christ himself. He did not deny, that every church had a right to use, for its own edification, the various gifts of its religious teachers, but he warned them that every thing which was not built upon Christ was perishable. He insisted that the Christian was a new man, after the image

c) *C. Buob*, de abrog. legis Mos. ex Petri, Jac. et Jo. itemque Ecc. ab iisdem constitutarum sententia. Monte-Albano, 1842; *C. E. Scharling*, de Paulo ejusque adversariis, Haun. 1836. *d*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 5; *Sulp. Sev.* II. sacr. II, 31.

e) *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 32. IV, 22. *f*) 1 *Cor.* 1, 11ss. comp. 2 Cor. 10, 7;—*Baur*, ü. d. Christuspartei in d. Cor. Gemeinde (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1831. P. 4. comp. 1836. p. 4), u. Paulus, p. 260ss.; *Dan. Schenkel*, de Ecc. Corinthia primaeva factionibus turbata, Bas. 1838; *Dr. J. H. Goldhorn*, d.

of God, and was no longer a Greek, or a Jew, or a Barbarian, but Christ was all in all. (*g*) A new tendency, having its origin among Jewish Christians, made its appearance at Colosse, which promised its votaries a mysterious kind of knowledge, and a power over the spiritual world, on condition that certain unnatural austerities were undergone. (*h*) On the other hand, Paul maintained, that the highest wisdom was to be found in the simple gospel of Christ, and that a Christian had a rational freedom allowed him with respect to earthly things.

§ 36. *John.*

Lücke, Vers. e. Vollst. Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh. u. in d. apokal. Lit. Bonn. 1832. u. Com. u. d Ev. Joh. Bonn. ed. 3. 1840. vol. I. Einleitung; *Baumgarten-Crusius*, Theol. Ausl. d. Joh. Schr. Jen. 1843. vol. I. Einleitung;—*K. Frommann*, d. Jo. Lehrbegr. Lps. 1839; *K. R. Köstlin*, Lehrbegr. d. Ev. u. d. Briefe Jo. Brl. 1843;—*G. C. J. Lutzelberger*, d. Kirchl. Tradition ü. d. Ap. Joh. in ihrer Grundlosigkeit. Lps. 1840; *Baur*, ü. d. Composition u. d. Charakter d. Joh. Ev. (*Zeller's* Jahrb. 1844. P. 1. 3s.); *E. Zeller*, d. äussern Zeugnisse ü. Dasein u. Urspr. d. 4 Ev. (*Ibid.* 1845. P. 4);—*J. A. H. Ebrard*, de Ev. Joh. u. die neueste Hypothese ü. s. Entsteh. Zür. 1845;—*W. Grimm*, Joh. in Ersch. u. Gruber's Encykl. sect. II. vol. XXII.; comp. *Hase*, Leben Jesu. p. 5ss. 112s. [*A. Hilgenfeld*, d. Ev. u. d. Briefe Jo. nach ihr. Lehrbegr. dargest. Halle. 1849.]

As far back as the recollection of the churches in Anterior Asia extended, John appears as the central point of interest to all the congregations of Asia Minor, and moving in the same scene of action which had previously been under the care of Paul at Ephesus. He is represented as indignantly contending against erroneous teachers, whether of the Jewish or Gentile parties, or as reclaiming by love those that were lost, and binding all together in unity. (*a*) He is said, by the legends, to have been miraculously delivered from martyrdom at Rome. (*b*) A residence in Patmos, which, according to his own narration (Rev. 1, 9), must have occurred in the time of Galba, was changed by popular rumor in the Church, into a banishment under Domitian. All traditions, however, agree in declaring, that he attained an age in which the heart alone remains vigorous, (*c*) and that he finally fell asleep in the midst of his disciples, in the reign of Trajan. His life and death were vividly reflected in many legendary accounts, the earliest of which were noticed by himself in his gospel (John 21, 22s.) (*d*) Even in the middle of the century, he was the third among the leaders of the Jewish Christians. The book of Revelations, whose authenticity is pretty well confirmed, which is evidently conformed to Jewish types and imagery, and must have been composed prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, manifestly corresponds to such a position. In that book, the chosen first-fruits around the throne of the Lamb belonged exclusively to the twelve tribes, but beyond these were an innumerable company from among the Gentiles, with palms and white robes, praising also the Lamb that had been slain. (*e*) The natural progress of a thoughtful man, as it is evident the author of the fourth gospel was, and as

Christuspart. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1840. P. 2); *Dähne*, die Christuspart. Hal. 1841; *T. F. Kniewel*, Ecc. Cor. vetust. dissensiones. Gedan. 1842. 4. *g*) 1 *Cor.* 3; *Col.* 3, 10s. *h*) *Col.* 2;—*Schneckenburger*, ü. d. Irrlehrer zu Col. (anhang z. Schr. ü. d. Proselytentaufe. Brl. 1828. u. Beitr. z. Einl. N. 14); *Rheinwald*, de pseudodoctorib. Coloss. Veron. Rhen. 1834. 4.

a) *Euseb.* II. ecc. V, 24. III, 23. *b*) *Tertul.* de praescr. c. 36. *c*) *Hieron.* in Ep. ad Gal. 6. *d*) *Augustine*, de Trin. VI, 39; *Pseudo-Hippolyt.* de consummat. mundi (Hipp. Opp. ed. Fabr. Append. p. 14); comp. *Fabricii*, Cod. Apoc. Th. II. p. 588. *e*) *Rev.* 7, 4–10. comp. *Jo.* 4, 22.

one so specially beloved of the Lord must have been, during a period extensive as that of an ordinary generation, and spent among churches which had enjoyed Greek culture and the labors of Paul, will sufficiently account for any apparent discrepancies, or tokens of advancement, which one may notice in passing from the Revelations to the Gospel and the first epistle of John. In these later productions, the same spiritual and comprehensive views of Christianity prevail, which are so manifest in the epistles of Paul, but they seem to indicate that the mental conflicts of the writer had passed away. This gospel, moreover, seems to appeal not so much to a spirit conscious of sin, and specially feeling its need of salvation, as to something exalted in the existing nature of man, and its aspirations after perfection. Christianity, therefore, appears there to consist not so much in mere faith in the mercy of God through Christ, as more immediately in love, and in the union of the divine and human in the heart, which was complete in Christ, and is designed for our race. The incarnate Logos is a borrowed symbol of this unity, partially indicated before in the epistles of Paul, (*f*) but presented in the gospel in a dogmatic form. It there appears as a celestial being not belonging to our race, but taking the place of beloved man, although, in consequence of personal recollections of Jesus, it is pervaded by historical facts of the most perfect human character. The love which John inculcated, is powerful enough to conquer death, and penetrate through all obstacles up to God. The most flourishing form of Christianity, in past or future times, is here partially presented. It consists in a life, even on earth, of tranquil, unbroken, and everlasting rest in God, in which all apparent schism between the present and the future, the human and the divine, has been overcome.

§ 37. *Parties in the Time of John.*

The same subjects which were destined to agitate the Church in future ages, began already to be discussed among opposing parties. The various views and sects which had formerly prevailed among the Jews, were certainly carried forward in the very commencement, so as to produce similar varieties among Jewish Christians. Even the different conceptions which were then entertained of Jesus, had their origin in the national expectations of the Jews respecting their Messiah. But as every account we have of them belongs to a later age, it may be that the first power of Christian love, combined with the external influence of Gentile Christians, was then sufficient to hold together even opposing elements. The feelings of bitterness which, according to the prominent recollections of the Church in the next century, the apostle John entertained toward *Cerinthus*, were too peculiar to have been awakened by the existence of any thing in the latter of a merely Jewish

f) The passage in 1 Cor. 8, 6. 15, 47. cannot be explained away; hence the more distinct and prominent references to a Son of God who existed before the world, and created it, which are found in the Epp. to the Colossians, Ephesians and Philippians, form no ground for suspecting the genuineness of those writings. Although all views not merely accidental must have their appropriate time of development, the Jewish notions of the Messiah and the Alexandrian doctrine of the Logos were so preadjusted to one another, that they might easily be supposed to have been all combined together in a single night.

character. (*a*) On the supposition that this Cerinthus taught, as he is said, especially in Roman and Alexandrian accounts, to have done, that a millennial kingdom of the most sensuous nature was to be expected, that the observance of the law was indispensable to salvation, and that the origin of Jesus was merely human, (*b*) such views were at that time by no means uncommon. If, as Irenæus declares, he regarded the Creator of the world as an inferior being, so that the Most High God was not revealed until he appeared through Christ as a superior being, in connection with the man Jesus, from the time of the baptism till the crucifixion, (*c*) he must, like John himself, have meant that the law was only intended for the development of the kingdom, and that the sensuous glory of that kingdom was merely allegorical. (*d*) In conformity with his Alexandrian education, he regarded the Creator of the world as an intermediate divine being, in the service of the supreme celestial Deity. (*e*) Those who looked upon matter as essentially evil, in accordance with a doctrine springing from an overwrought Platonism, or from Hindoo speculations, and certainly prevalent in Alexandria, must have been offended at the idea of a revelation of Deity through sensible objects. Accordingly, the various forms of *Docetism* agreed in declaring, that every thing corporeal in Christ was only in appearance, and for the manifestation of the Spirit, and that his life was merely a continual Theophany. It was against the subtilizing process which this view rendered necessary with respect to the evangelical history, that testimony was borne probably even in the epistles of John, and certainly in those which bear the name of Ignatius. (*f*) The *Nicolaitans*, whose name was doubtless symbolical, and founded upon traditional recollections, were merely the first representatives of a large class of thinkers in subsequent times, who abused the spiritual superiority of Christianity to all corporeal objects, to give countenance to the Greek frivolity with respect to the relations of the sexes. (*g*)

§ 38. *Traditions respecting the Apostles.*

The stories which have been related with regard to a division of the world by lot among the apostles, of the composition of a creed in Jerusalem at the time of their separation twelve years after the Ascension, of their celibacy or continence, and of their martyrdom, belong to the legends of the fourth and fifth centuries. According to earlier traditions, which, however, present no individuality of character, *Thomas* went to Parthia, *Andrew* to Scythia, (*a*) *Bartholomew* to India, (*b*) and *Philip* died at Hierapolis, in Phrygia. In one of the most copious, a story is told, and highly embellished, of a mission of *Thaddeus* to Abgarus, prince of Edessa, in consequence of an earlier correspondence between Jesus and that prince. (*c*)

a) *Iren.* III, 3;—*Schmidt*, Cerinth e. judais. Christ. In s. Bibl. f. Kritik. u. Ex. vol. I. p. 181ss.; *Paulus*, Hist. Cer. (Introd. in N. T. cap. selectiora. Jen. 1799); comp. *Baur*, Chr. Gnosis. Tüb. 1835. p. 117. 403ss. *b*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 28; *Epiph.* haer. 28. *c*) *Iren.* I, 26. *d*) *Iren.* V, 13. *e*) *Theodoret.* Haeret. fabb. II, 3; *Iren.* I, 26. *f*) 1 *Jo.* 1, 1-3; 4, 2s.; 2 *Jo.* 7; *Ignatius* ad Ephes. c. 7. 18. ad Smyrn. c. 1-8;—*A. H. Niemeyer*, de Docetis. Hal. 1823. 4. *g*) *Rev.* 2, 6. 14ss.; 2 *Pet.* 2, 15; *Jud.* 11, νικῶν τὸν λαόν, בִּלַּע עַם, comp. *Iren.* I, 26; *Clem.* Strom. II. p. 490s.; III. p. 522s.;—*Münscher*, Vermuth. ü. d. Nikolaiten (Gabler's Journ. f. Theol. Lit. 1803. vol. V. p. 17ss.); *Ewald*, in Apocal. Jo. p. 110; *Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. Urchr. I, 2. p. 402ss.

a) *Euseb.* II. ecc. III, 1. *b*) *Ibid.* V, 10. *c*) *Ibid.* I, 13; *K. Hase*, Leben Jesu. p. 118.

§ 39. *Apostolical Fathers of the First Century.*

Patrum qui temporibus apostolorum floruerunt. Opp. ed. *Cotelerius*. Par. 1672. rep. *Clericus*, Amst. (1698.) 1724. 2 Th. f.; Patrum app. Opp. ed. *Russel*, Lond. 1796. 2 Th.; Patrum app. Opp. ed. *Hefele*. Tub. (1839. 1843.) 1847. [*A. Butler*, Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, &c. Lond. 1838. 2 vols. 8; *E. Bickersteth*, The Chr. Fathers of the First and Second Centuries. Lond. 1845. 12; *Abp. Wake*, Ap. Fathers. Lond. 1817. 8.]—*Heyns, Junius et van Gilse*, Commentt. de Patrum app. doctrina morali. Lugd. 1838. 4. [*Hilgerfeld*, d. Erforschungen ü. d. Schrr. Ap. Väter. Berl. 1854. 8.]

When the contemporaries and disciples of the apostles left behind them any writings, they were distinguished by the ancient Church as apostolic fathers. The genuineness of their writings cannot be perfectly maintained, especially against the suspicion of having been revised in later times. They resemble the writings of the apostles not so much in their distinct and intellectual peculiarities, as in their general conception of Christianity, without doctrinal precision or references to Grecian learning. The epistle of *Barnabas* treats of the relation of Christianity to Judaism, in the manner of the epistle to the Hebrews, with an allusion to the temple of Jerusalem as if it were already destroyed. In spite of the powerful historical proofs we possess of the genuineness of the epistle, the insipid spirit and the stupid arbitrariness of its allegorical explanations, continually suggest doubts whether it could be the production of a man once regarded as the equal of Paul. (*a*) The epistle of *Clemens Romanus* (Phil. 4, 3) to the Corinthians, was intended to effect a reconciliation between the parties which had been organized among them. It inculcates the doctrine of justification by faith, but, in the spirit of Paul, it exhorts all to adorn themselves also with good works. The second epistle which bears the name of the same writer, is generally of a devotional character, but it is a mere fragment, and of a very doubtful authenticity. The *Shepherd of Hermas* is a strenuous exhortation to morality, enforced by the prospect of the second advent of Christ. It is in the form of direct revelations from God, and visions of angels. In the manner of Jewish Christians, it displays great confidence in the holiness of good works, but contains evidence that baptism had already taken the place of circumcision. The individual whose composition it professes to be, is unknown, but the general use made of it in the churches of the second century, for devotional reading, indicates that he must have been an apostolical personage. (*b*)

§ 40. *Political Overthrow of Judaism.*

Josephi de bello Jud. I. VII.; *Taciti*, Hist. V, 1–13.

The obstinacy of the Jewish nation may have required unusual severity on the part of the Romans, but the extreme violence of the procurator *Ges-*

a) In favor of its genuineness: *E. Henke*, de Epistolae quae Barn. tribuitur, authentia. Jen. 1827; *Rördam*, de auth. Ep. B. Hafn. 1828; *Haverkorn van Rysewyk*, de B. Arnhem. 1835. On the other side: *Ullmann*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1828. P. 2; Zug. in d. Zeitschr. f. d. Erzbisth. Freyb. P. 2s.; *Hefele*, d. Sendschr. d. Ap. B. untersucht, übersetzt u. erklärt. Tüb. 1840;—*D. Schenkel* (Stud. u. Krit. 1837. H. 3.) contends for the interpolation of c. 7–12. 15. 16. by some Therapeutic Jewish Christians; *Heberle*, in d. Stud. d. Geistl. Würtemb. 1846. P. 1. Chap. 16 seems to refer to the Temple of Aelia Capitolina. *b*) *Rom.* 16, 14. Ὁ ποιμήν. Pastor. Lat. translation and Greek Fragments;—*Gratz*, Disqq. in Pastorem Hermae. P. I. Bonn. 1820. 4; *Jachmann*, d. Hirte des Hermas. Königsb. 1835.

sius Florus (after 64), could find no palliation except in the insurrections to which he had driven the people. They had entered upon the war (66), not so much in the hope of victory, as in despair of all earthly peace. Legions had fallen in the mountains of Judea, when *Vespasian* (after 67), and after his elevation to the imperial throne, the Cæsar *Titus* (70), arrayed the whole power of the empire against Jerusalem. The Christian churches, remembering the prophecy which Jesus had left them, abandoned their native land, and betook themselves to Pella, on the other side of Jordan. Though famine and civil war raged in Jerusalem, every offer of mercy connected with the condition of renewed servitude was scornfully rejected, and the holy city was at last destroyed in a sublime death-struggle against the whole power of the Roman world.

§ 41. *The Roman Civil Power.*

[*T. Arnold*, Later Roman Commonwealth. New York. 1846. 3 vols. 8.]

It was the policy of the Roman government to permit all nations under its yoke to retain their own gods, but some very ancient laws, forbidding any Roman citizen to worship divinities not recognized by the State, and any conquered nation to propagate their religion in other parts of the Empire, were still in existence. (*a*) Hence, the more Christianity disconnected itself from Judaism, the more it lost the right of toleration conceded to every national religion, and by its efforts to make spiritual conquests it became obnoxious to the laws. In the time of the Cæsars, however, so strong were the inclinations of the people toward foreign religions, and so numerous the admissions of foreigners to the rights of citizenship, that these laws had become nearly obsolete, and could be restored to their authority only by special acts of power. (*b*) There is no other authority for believing that *Tiberius* ever adopted Christ as one of his household gods, but the legends of the second century. (*c*) Under *Claudius*, Christians were expelled from Rome (53) merely as Jews. (*d*) *Nero* (64) transferred to the Christians the guilt of his own incendiary conduct, and caused all who could be found in the city to be put to death, for although they were generally regarded as innocent of the crime imputed to them, they were condemned as enemies of the human race. (*e*) Under *Domitian* (81–96) the charge of Christianity was used as a pretext, by which persons might be convicted of a kind of high treason, that so their property might be confiscated, and themselves banished or executed. *Flavius Clemens*, a man of consular dignity, and belonging to the imperial family, was put to death, and his wife *Domitilla* was banished to an island, according to Roman accounts for contempt of the gods, and giving themselves up to Jewish practices, but according to Christian views as martyrs for the truth. (*f*) Some persons arraigned before the emperor, on account of their connection, by birth, with Jesus, were dismissed without molestation, as harmless peas-

a) *Cicero* de legib. II, 8. *b*) *Fr. Walch*, de Romanorum in tolerandis diversis religionibus disciplina publica. (Nov. Commentt. Soc. Reg. Goett. 1733. vol. III.) *c*) *Tertul.* Apologet. c. 5. 21. In favor of it; *Braun*, de Tiberii Christum in deorum numerum referendi consilio, Bonn. 1834. *d*) *Sueton.* Claud. c. 25; *Ammon*, Pg. in Suet. Claud. c. 25. Erl. 1813. 4. *e*) *Taciti* Ann. XV, 44. *Sueton.* Nero, c. 16. *f*) *Sueton.* Dom. c. 15; *Dio Cassius* (Epit. Xiphilini), LXVII, 14; *Euseb*

ants. (*g*) *Nerva* (96–98) forbade that any one should be accused for being a Christian. In the midst of these persecutions, Christians made no resistance further than individually to assert their innocence, and then silently resign themselves to their fate. (*h*) Near the close of the first century churches were to be found in all the principal cities of the Eastern empire, but in the West there are no distinct traces of them, out of Italy. The first converts were principally slaves, laborers, and women, but so numerous were they, that even then it is said, the temples of Asia Minor were deserted, and flesh which had been offered to idols could find no sale.

§ 42. *Constitution of the Local Churches.*

C. M. Pfaff, de originib. juris ecc. Tub. 1719. ed. 2. Ulm. 1759. 4. (*Greiling*) Urverf. d. apost. Christengem. Halbrst. 1819; *Bretschneider*, die Verf. z. Z. d. App. repraesentativ-demokr. o. aristokratisch? (*A. K. Zeitung*. 1833. N. 103ss. u. Kirchl. polit. Zeitfragen. Lpz. 1847. p. 53ss.): *R. Rothe*, die Anfänge d. chr. K. u. ihrer Verf. Witt. 1837. 1 vol.; *A. Petersen*, die Idee d. chr. K. Lpz. 1839–46. 3 Th.; [*J. E. Riddle*, Manual of Chr. Antt. Lond. 1840. 8; *J. P. Wilson*, Prim. Gov. of Chr. Churches. Philad. 1823. 12; *A. Neander*, Planting & Training, transl. from Germ. by J. E. Ryland. Philad. 1844. 8. *L. Coleman*, The Apostol. & Prim. Church, &c. Philad. 1845. 12; *A. Barnes*, Inquiry into the Orig. & Gov. of Ap. Church. Philad. 1843. 12; *R. Whately*, The Kingdom of Christ. New York. 1842. 12; *J. L. Mosheim*, Commentt. on the Affairs of Christians before Const. transl. from Germ. by Vidal. Lond. 1813. 3 vols. 8; *J. Bingham*, Origines Ecclesiasticae, transl. from Lat. Lond. 1852. 3 vols. 8; *P. King*, Const. of Prim. Church. Lond. 1719. 8; *W. Sclater*, Orig. Draught of Prim. Church. Lond. 1727. 8; *N. Bangs*, Orig. Church of Christ. New York. 1837. 2 ed. 8.]

The separate existence of the Christian Church was effected quite as much by the daily religious assemblies of the disciples at Jerusalem, as by their partial exclusion from the synagogues. The *Twelve Apostles* at first regarded themselves as a perfected or exclusive College for the establishment of Christianity in the world. They had been the special companions of the Lord, and were now the principal vouchers for the evangelical traditions. They therefore exercised an undisputed authority over the Church, shared however in a short time with others, who became distinguished for their spiritual gifts as apostles and founders of churches. Next to them in rank were the *Evangelists*, a class of travelling preachers, sometimes also called, in the more extensive sense of the term, apostles. The *Prophetia* was the gift granted to many persons at that time, by which they were enabled to speak in an inspired, enraptured manner of discourse. In the case of Agabus, however, we have a specimen of a class of soothsayers who only faintly resembled another, then for ever gone. (*a*) The actual officers of the local churches were chosen as circumstances called for them, after the model of the synagogue. *Elders* (πρεσβύτεροι, זְקֵנִים) were appointed to preside, and preserve order in the church, and *Deacons* (διάκονοι), to take charge of the poor, and to assist in every effort for the common good. (*b*) The Elders were sometimes called by the unassuming name of *Overseers* (ἐπίσκοποι), an appellation more consonant with Grecian customs, and first adopted in Grecian congregations.

Chron. II. ad Olymp. 218; *Hieron.* ep. 86. (al. 27.) cf. Phil. 4, 22. *g*) *Euseb.* Hist. ecc. III, 15. *h*) On the other hand: *Kestner*, die Agape o. d. geheime Weltbund der Christen von Klemens in Rom. unter Domitian gestiftet. Jena. 1819.

a) *Acts* 11, 28. 21, 10ss. *b*) *Acts* 6, 1–10.

Both titles were as yet used indiscriminately, although in consequence of the personal influence of some who presided in the churches, especially of Jerusalem, the way may have been prepared even then, for the distinction which became so decided and general in the first ten years of the next century. (*c*) The officers of each church were chosen by the people, or with the consent of the people were installed over them by those who organized them into a church. Although the office of a public teacher must have seemed most important, and the necessity of well qualified instructors must have been urgent, (*d*) it does not appear that any persons were at first set apart, exclusively for that duty, (*e*) and every thing like a hierarchy was excluded by the universal acknowledgment that all believers were members of a general priesthood. (*f*) It was looked upon as a matter of conscience, that all civil suits should be settled by arbitrators selected from the church itself. (*g*) After the excitement of the first establishment of the church had subsided, *women* once more returned to a silent submission to the word of God, and to the performance of their proper duties in the domestic circle. But in addition to the *Deaconesses*, who were employed in charitable offices among the women, there were probably, even then, some *female presbyters* or *widows*, for the supervision and instruction of the younger persons of their own sex. (*h*) Every one who applied for admission to the Church was immediately received, but those who were subsequently found guilty of gross offences were excluded by the action of the congregation. In the management of its public affairs each congregation was an independent society, but by spiritual fellowship, and the influence of distinguished travelling teachers, all the congregations were so connected together, as collectively to form *one* great kingdom of God, of which even in the time of Paul, Jerusalem was regarded as the centre. The supreme law was love, and the sovereign power was exercised by the Holy Ghost.

§ 43. *Ecclesiastical Life.*

Arnold, erste Liebe d. i. wahre Abbildung d. ersten Christen. Frnkf. 1696. f. & oft.; *Stickel* et *Bogenhard*, Biga commentt. de morali primaevorum Christianorum conditione, Neost. ad O. 1826.

As the Church at Jerusalem grew up out of the original company of the apostles, the common fund which had existed in the latter, suggested the bold thought of a community of goods. Although such a project was much facilitated by the enthusiastic brotherly love then prevalent, and an expectation that all existing relations were soon to be overthrown, it was never completely carried out, and this congregation was soon in need of the charities of Christians in foreign countries. (*a*) A hypocritical vanity which occurred in a form not very uncommon in religious circles, was visited with a terrible

c) *Cic.* ad Attic. VII, 11; *Acts* 20, 17. 28; *Phil.* 1, 1; 1 *Pet.* 5, 1s.; *Clem. Rom.* ad Cor. c. 42. 44; *Hermae* Past. I. 2. 4;—*Blondel*, Apologia pro sententia Hier. de Episc. Amst. 1646. 4; *Gabler*, de Episcopis primae ecc. Jen. 1805. 4. *d*) *Acts* 6, 2;—*I. Tim.* 3, 2. 5, 17; *II. Tim.* 2, 24.

e) *Forbiger*, Ds. de munerib. ecc. tempore App. Lps. 1776. 4; *Gabler*, examinatur Forbigeri sent. de Presb. Jen. 1812. 4. 2 Pgg. *f*) *I. Pet.* 2, 9. 5, 3, cf. Rom. 12, 1. *g*) *I. Cor.* 6, 1-8. cf. Matt. 18, 15ss. *h*) *Acts* 2. 17. 21, 9.—*Rom.* 16, 1.—*Tit.* 2, 3; *I. Tim.* 5, 9; *Conc. Laod.* can. 11; (*Mansi*, Th. II. p. 566).—*Hase*, Streitschrr. P. 2, p. 35ss.

a) *Acts* 4, 32ss. cf. 12, 12.—*Mosheim*, de vera natura communionis bonorum in Ecc. Hier. (Dss.

divine retribution. (*b*) The ordinary mode of life in each congregation presented many points of comparison with that which existed among the Essenes. (*c*) Christians regarded themselves, in contrast with the world, as the consecrated people of God. Every intellectual faculty, according to its peculiar nature, was enlisted in the service of the kingdom of God, and when exalted by the common spirit of the Church, was looked upon as a gracious gift of the Holy Ghost. Hence, while there were many gifts, there was but one Spirit. The most remarkable of these gifts was the power of miraculously healing the sick, at first more especially exercised by Peter, but afterwards supposed to be a permanent possession of the Church. The Holy Ghost was regarded as the common spirit of the whole Church, proceeding directly from Christ, awakening and appropriating to its use the sacred enthusiasm of each individual. The external manifestations of this spirit were sometimes genuine exhibitions of divine power, but were sometimes confounded with the fanatical irruptions of a high religious excitement, and in all cases were regarded as fulfilments of a prophetic metaphor of Messianic prophecy. (*d*) The sincere piety which generally prevailed, however, did not always prevent the pride which flatters itself on account of its external services, nor did the extraordinary brotherly love which the great body of Christians exhibited, entirely suppress some manifestations of envy and party spirit. When persecution was expected, it was not uncommon for some among the Jewish Christians to save themselves by apostacy, and among the Gentile portion of the Church sins were sometimes committed which were regarded as unpardonable. (*e*) Even when Christian morality had been influenced by Jewish views of personal purity, it had much to contend with in the sensuality of the Greeks. Fastings and abstinences, which had been regarded from a period of great antiquity, as conducive to a pious disposition, together with some festivals, were very soon introduced into the Christian Church. Paul, it is true, rejected them when any attempted to enforce them as a matter of legal obligation, or of personal merit, but he looked upon virginity as a very desirable condition, and expressed an inferior regard for the married state. (*f*) No change was required in the social relations of life, but they were exalted by higher motives and principles. (*g*) All hope of an earthly theocracy was apparently destroyed by the death of Jesus, but Christians generally believed that Christ was to return to the world a second time, and many indulged the hope that they would live to witness his advent. This faith gave birth to the boldest expectations, partaking generally of a sensuous character, and while it seemed a national necessity, and a religious consolation to the Jewish, it was a source of anxiety and perplexity to the Grecian congregations. (*h*)

§ 44. *Mode of Worship.*

The devotional exercises of the Christian assemblies, like those of the Jewish synagogues, consisted principally of prayers, singing of hymns, and

ad H. ecc. Altdn. 1743. Th. II.) *b*) *Acts* 5, 1-11. *c*) Comp. *Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. Urchr. III. p. 855ss. *d*) *Acts* 2, 15-18; *I. Cor.* 12, 4. 14, 1ss. *e*) *Heb.* 6, 4ss. 10, 25ss.—*I. Jo.* 5, 16. *f*) *I. Cor.* 7, 1s. 32ss. *g*) Ep. ad Philemon. *h*) After the Apocalypse, *Matth.* 16, 28; *I. Cor.* 15, 52; *Phil.* 4, 6; *Heb.* 10, 37; *I. Jo.* 2, 18; *James* 5, 8; *I. Pet.* 4, 5.—*II. Thess.* 2.

sacred discourses, founded upon portions of the Old Testament. Apostolic epistles were read in the congregation, to which they had been originally directed, but after a single reading they were generally laid aside. Every one who had the power and the inclination to speak in public, was allowed to do so with freedom. Baptism as an initiatory rite was performed simply in the name of Jesus. (*a*) The love-feast, in which were combined the ordinary meal and the religious service of the primitive Christians, was originally celebrated in Jerusalem every day. At its conclusion the broken bread and the consecrated cup was passed around to every one at the table. (*b*) In the Jewish Christian congregations the Jewish Sabbath and festivals were observed. Paul denied that any one was bound by positive law to show a preference of one sacred day above another. (*c*) Only in congregations composed principally of Greeks, could the members be induced to observe *Sunday* in commemoration of our Lord's resurrection, (*d*) and among them no interest could be awakened in those Jewish festivals, which were not connected with some event of the Christian history, to give them additional importance. It is, however, not easy to explain why even Paul and John should have discontinued in such congregations the eating of the paschal lamb, according to the usage of their forefathers. (*e*)

§ 45. *Doctrines of the Church.*

No public sentiment upon definite articles of Christian faith had yet been formed, but in addition to those generally received maxims of piety, which in some instances had been handed down from the lips of Jesus, and in others had been gradually developed in the course of free discussion, the whole system of Jewish faith passed over into the Christian Church, and was received as divine. The only condition of admission to the Church, was a promise to live a new life, and an acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah. In this acknowledgment free scope was given to all those views of the nature of the Messiah, which prevailed among the people, from a simple recognition of him as the Son of David, and a man filled with the Spirit of God, to a belief in him as an angel, and an impersonation of some one of the attributes of Jehovah. In the view of the Greeks the Messianic office had no special significance, and Christ was to them simply the Lord, and the Son of God. As far as the reception of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost may be regarded as an indication of the development of Christianity at this period, the views of the Church may be inferred from the baptismal formula, which was a simple expression of faith in the divine Father, Son, and Spirit (Matth. 28, 19). This whole transaction was a thoroughly practical matter, and admitted of a great variety of views.

a) *Acts* 2, 38. 8, 16. 10, 48; *Rom.* 6, 3. *b*) *J. T. F. Drescher*, de vett. Christianorum Agapis. Giess. 1824. *c*) *Gal.* 4, 9ss.; *Col.* 2, 16; *Rom.* 14, 5; comp. *I. Cor.* 5, 6ss.; Comp. *Justin.* c. Tryph. c. 10, 12. *d*) *Acts* 20, 7; *I. Cor.* 16, 2; *Rev.* 1, 10; *Barnab.* c. 15.—*C. C. L. Franke*, de die dominici apud vett. Christ. celebratione, Hal. 1826; (Commtt. sel. ed. *Volbeding*. 1846. Th. I. P. I.) *e*) *Acts* 20, 5s.; *Euseb.* H. ecc. V, 24.

DIVISION II.—FORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

CHAP. I.—STRUGGLE OF THE CHURCH FOR ITS OWN EXISTENCE.

Lactantius, de mortib. persecutorum, ed. *Bauldri*, Traj. ad. Rh. 1693. and often. [This work is transl. by *Bp. Burnet*. Lond. 1713. 8.]—*C. Korthalt*, de persequutionib. ecc. primaevae (Jen. 1660), Kilon. 1689. 4; Transl. into Germ.; Beschr. d. 10 grossen Verfolgg. Hamb. 1698; *Gibbon*, Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Lond. 1776ss. 6 vols. 4, and often. [With notes by *Milman* and *Guizot*. New York. 1848. 4 vols. 8.] Transl. into Germ. by *Wenk*, and others. Lps. 1788ss. 19 vols.; the 16th chap. respecting the prop. of Chr. by natural causes, transl. by *A. F. v. Walterstern*, Hamb. 1788; *G. A. Osiander*, Ausbreit. d. Christenth. (Stäudlin's u. Tzschirner's Arch. vol. 4. sect. 2); *H. G. Tzschirner*, der Fall des Heidenth. Lps. 1829. 1 vol.; *A. Beugnot*, Hist. de la destruction du paganisme en occident. Par. 1835. 2 vols. [*A. Nitzsch*, d. Entsteh. der Altkath. K. Bonn. 1850.]

§ 46. *The Jews.*

Zunz, die Gottesdienstl. Vortr. d. Jud. hist. entwickelt. Brl. 1832. comp. § 40.

Uninstructed by the past, and unhumbled by defeats, the Jews contended against their fate (after 115), and from Western Africa to Asia Minor, insurrections rolled over the land, always to be quelled in Jewish blood. That he might not be compelled to put the whole nation to death, Hadrian resolved to destroy its nationality. The people were forbidden to observe their Sabbaths, and circumcision was punished as a crime probably as emasculation, (*a*) and on the ruins of Jerusalem a city consecrated to Jupiter was built, and in honor of that divinity and of the emperor was called *Aelia Capitolina*. When reduced to extremity, the nation was called to arms (132) by *Bar Cochba*, *i. e.* the Son of a Star, (*b*) who professed to be the promised Messiah, and was acknowledged to be such by the distinguished Rabbi Akiba. He succeeded in conquering Jerusalem, and in consequence of his heroic but sanguinary exploits, Palestine became once more free. But after all the horrors and vicissitudes of a three years' war, *Julius Severus* got possession, by storm, of *Bethar*, the last fortress of this Messiah's kingdom. The impostor himself fell in the battle. The whole of Palestine had become a desert. Every Jew was forbidden, under penalty of death, to set foot within the holy city. Those Christians who remained in Palestine suffered much during this struggle, not only from the Romans, by whom they were frequently treated as Jews, but still more from the followers of the false Messiah, because they refused to follow him in his efforts to save their common country. (*c*) These national misfortunes were regarded by the Jews as divine judgments for their indifference to the law of their fathers, and had no influence in diminishing their assurance of future success. Schools of learning were established, to serve as spiritual courts, and centres of influence for the nation in its general dispersion. Genuine *Rabbinism* was formed on the ruins of the older sects

a) *Spartiani*, Hadr. c. 14. comp. *Digest.* XLVIII. tit. 8. fr. 11; Nov. Just. 142. c. 1. *b*) *Num.* 24, 17. After his failure he was called: בַּר כּוֹזְרָא, filius mendacii. *c*) I. *Dio Cass.* LXVIII, 32; LXIX, 12ss.; *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 2. 6; *Justini*, Ap. I. c. 31.—II. *Deyling*, Aeliae Cap. Origines et Hist. Lps. 1743; *Münter*, der Jüd. Krieg unter Trajan u. Hadr. Altona u. Lps. 1821.

at *Tiberias*, in the school of Hillel, in which the Mosaic law, in its utmost extent, though partially accommodated to the times, was taught by a class of teachers permanently set apart to this work. The traditions of the scribes here reduced to writing (*Mishna*, about 220), with explanations (*Gemara*, in the 4th cent.), constituted, in subsequent times, the principal book for instruction and religious law (*Talmud*). A still greater influence was afterwards acquired by the schools on the Euphrates, in which the Babylonian Talmud was composed of the same general materials (430 till 521), and became more generally esteemed, on the ground that it was a more distinct form of modern Judaism. The Jews, who were the sources of all the calumnies heaped upon Christ and the Church, knew very well how to excite the same hatred against the Christians of which they were themselves the victims. (*d*) The feelings of Christians with respect to the Jews still remained of a contradictory character. In a dialogue of *Justin*, in which the author replies to the objections of a candid Jew against the vocation of Jesus, and the transitory nature of the divine law, the position is assumed, that the Mosaic precepts and institutions were only prefigurations and symbols either of what Christ did, or of what happened to him and his followers. (*e*) It was even then asserted, that Christianity had been rejected by the people among whom it originated, and that the few who had embraced it were by no means the most faithful and consistent Christians. (*f*) The proofs adduced by *Cyprian* are a collection of pertinent and impertinent passages of Scripture, to show that the Jews were to be cast off, and that all the prophecies either had been or would be fulfilled by Christ. (*g*)

§ 47. *The Roman People and Empire.*

Korthalt, Paganus obtrectator, Kilon. 1698. 4; *J. J. Huldrici*, Gentilis obtrectator, Tigur. 1744; *Pupst*, de culpa Christianor. in vexatt. motus a Rom. Lol. 1739. 2 Pgg. 4; *Münter*, die Christen im heidnischen Rome vor Constantin, Kopenh. 1828.

From the time of Trajan, the Roman people had been accustomed in a tumultuous manner to demand that Christians should be put to death. This proceeded originally from persons who either derived their support from some connection with idolatry, or found their principal honor or pleasure in the cultivation of pagan literature. But internally decayed, as heathenism then was, it could never have awakened such a powerful opposition, and, in the course of the struggle, have won for itself once more a high degree of attachment, merely by appeals in behalf of the old idolatry. The whole common feeling of the ancient world, and the chief glory of the present life, was assailed by Christianity, and the people saw nothing proposed in return but a severe and cheerless system of virtue, in which the world was rendered a desert, that an uncertain heaven might be won. The hatred thus awakened endeavored to justify itself by suspicions. The spiritual worship of an invisible God was denounced as atheism; participation in the sacred body of

d) *Justin*, c. Tryph. c. 108.; *Tertul.* ad nation. I, 14. *e*) Διάλογος πρὸς Τρύφωνα Ἰουδαῖον. Ed. *Jebb*, Lond. 1719: Opp. rec. *J. C. T. Otto*, Jen. 1842. Th. II.—*Hanschen*, an Dial. c. Tryph. Justino recte adscribatur? (Comment. theol. ed. Rosenmueller, Lpz. 1826. Th. I. P. 2, p. 184 sq.) *f*) *Justini*, Apol. I. c. 53. *g*) Testimoniorum adv. Judaeos, l. III.

Christ was represented as a Thyestean feast; the privacy of the Christian assemblies was looked upon as a cloak for conspiracy, and for secret crimes; and the fraternal fellowship which generally prevailed among Christians, was suspected as the result and the occasion of unnatural lasciviousness. The reproaches heaped upon each other by the Church and the various Christian sects, (*a*) and the confessions wrung by torture from heathen slaves, with respect to their Christian masters, (*b*) appeared to confirm the suspicions of those who were anxious to find evidences of guilt. The public misfortunes in which that age abounded, were all regarded as divine judgments for the dishonor done to the offended gods. But to persons of distinction, and to those who had been educated in the spirit of the times, Christianity appeared to be a dark superstition of an infatuated rabble. The magistrates were, indeed, frequently induced to persecute Christians, by the clamors of the multitude, and by their own passions; but the true reason for it was to be found in motives of state policy. Christians looked upon it as dangerous to take the oath of allegiance which the soldiers were obliged to receive, or to perform the duties of any public or civil office, (*c*) although many overcame their religious scruples from a regard to personal advantages or feelings of duty. Although they generally submitted to every outrage inflicted upon them by the magistrates, whom they regarded as appointed by God, their vast number and mutual fellowship rendered them formidable to the civil authorities. Indeed, this consciousness of their own power, and their conviction that the empire was destined to a speedy overthrow were so openly expressed, (*d*) that their assurances of fidelity and loyalty appeared quite suspicious. At all events, the State was torn by dissensions, and as long as any hope remained of overcoming Christians by terror, sanguinary measures were looked upon as likely to result in good. The fate of Christians was, it is true, determined by the imperial edicts in every part of the empire, but it was rendered mild or severe according to the popular sentiment in each province and the personal feelings of the local magistrate.

§ 48. *Conduct of the Individual Emperors during the Second and Third Centuries.*

Franc. Balduini, Commtr. ad edicta vett. princc. Rom. de Christianis, Hal. 1727. 4; *C. D. A. Martini*, Persecutiones Christianorum sub Impp. Rom. Rostoch. 1802s. 3 Comm. 4; *Schaumann v. Mansegg*, die Verfolgungen d. ersten christl. Kirche. Vien. 1821; *G. S. Köpke*, de statu et condit. Christianorum sub Impp. Rom. alterius post Chr. Saec. Ber. 1828.

1. A noble race of emperors, in whom the Greek and Roman spirit was once more revived, were, in the old Roman style, either indifferent or severe in their treatment of Christianity. A rescript of Trajan (98–117), in reply to some inquiries of *Plinius* (about 110) respecting the conduct to be pursued towards Christians, directed that they should not be sought after by the civil authorities, but that all legally arraigned by accusers before the courts, were

a) Tertul. de jejun. c. 17; *Clem.* Strom. III. p. 511; *Euseb.* H. ecc. IV, 7. *b*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 1. *c*) *Tertul.* de cor. c. 11; Apologet. c. 38; de Pallio, c. 5; *Ruinart*, Acta Martyr. ed. 2. p. 299s. *d*) *Tertul.* Apologet. c. 37. The Apocalypse of John, and many things in the Sibylline books, had already announced these.

either to be pardoned if they denied the charge or repented, or given over to death if they continued obstinate. He however allowed, that no uniform rule could be prescribed in this matter. So many of them in Bithynia and Pontus were induced to invoke the gods, to anathematize Christ, and to honor the statue of the emperor with offerings of wine and incense, that Pliny indulged the hope that, by a skilful combination of mildness and severity, he would soon be able to put an end to this superstition. (*a*) The aged *Symeon*, the son of Cleopas, and the successor of James at Jerusalem, being accused before Atticus, the governor of the city, of being a Christian, and of the family of David, was crucified (107), (*b*) and *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, after a personal audience with the emperor, was torn to pieces by lions in the Coliseum, for the amusement of the Roman people (116). (*c*) About this time, the people began at their festivals, or in time of public calamity, to demand the blood of Christians. *Hadrian* (117–138) and *Antoninus Pius* (138–161) therefore checked these tumultuous proceedings, by directing that the strict forms of law belonging to the usual trials should be observed. (*d*) The stoical repugnance which *Marcus Aurelius* (161–180) felt toward the enthusiasm of the Christians, induced him to allow the popular hatred in southern Gaul and Asia Minor to have its full career of blood. (*e*) *Polycarp*, Bishop of Smyrna, the last living relic of Apostolic days, died (169) at the stake, because he refused to curse the Lord whom he had faithfully served for 86 years. (*f*) The miracle of the *Legio fulminatrix* (174) was either not important enough, or not sufficiently authenticated, to turn the philosophic emperor from his course. (*g*) 2. Until some time in the middle of the third century, the emperors were either indifferent or favorable to Christianity; but as the ancient laws still remained unrepealed, its adherents were dependent upon the caprice of the municipal governors. The wanton cruelty of *Commodus* (180–192) was softened to mildness with respect to Christians, by the influence of his paramour *Marcia*, and yet *Apollonius* was put to death, principally, however, on account of his eloquent apology for Christianity before the Senate. His accuser was executed at an earlier period, perhaps as his slave. (*h*) *Septimius Severus* (192–211) merely prohibited the further propagation of Christianity. (*i*) The enmity which *Caracalla* (211–217) bore toward the whole human race, amounted only to indifference with respect to the Church. (*k*) The effeminate pleasure which *Heliogabalus* (218–222) took in oriental systems of religion, operated favorably in behalf of Christianity. (*l*) With a nobler appreciation of its spiritual nature, *Alex-*

a) *Plinii*, Epp. X. p. 96s. (al. 97s.); *Tertul.* Apologet. c. 2; *Euseb.* II. ecc. III, 13;—*Haversaat*, Vertheidigung der Plin. Briefe ü. d. Christen, Gött. 1788. *b*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. III, 32, comp. 11, after Hegesippus. *c*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. III, 26; Acta martyrii Ignat. in *Ruinart*, p. 8ss. *d*) *Justini*, Apol. I. c. 68; *Rufin*, II. ecc. IV, 9; *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 26; comp. *Spartiani*, Hadr. c. 22. On the spuriousness of the Edictum ad Commune Asiae in *Euseb.* IV, 13, and *Just.* l. c. consult *Haffner*, de Edicto Antonini pro Christ. Argent. 1781. 4. *e*) *Marcus Aur.* πρὸς ἑαυτόν XI, 3; *Euseb.* II. ecc. V, 1–3. *f*) Ecclesiae Smyrnensis de martyrio Polycarpi Ep. Encycl. in *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 15. A fuller recension in *Ruinart*, p. 31ss. *g*) *Tertul.* Apologet. c. 5; *Euseb.* II. ecc. V, 5. For the views entertained by heathen, see *Dio Cass.* Epit. Xiphilini LXXI, 8; *Suidas*, verb. Ἰουλιανός. *Jul. Capitolin.* Marc. Aur. c. 24. *h*) *Euseb.* II. ecc. V, 21; *Hieron.* catal. c. 42. *i*) *Spartiani*, Sever. c. 17. comp. *Tertul.* ad Scapul. c. 4. *k*) *Tertul.* ad Scapul. c. 4. *l*) *Lamprid.* Heliog. c. 8.

ander Severus (222–235) placed the statue of Christ among his household gods, and practically recognized the Christian congregation at Rome as a civil corporation. His mother, Julia Mammaea, while at Antioch, took delight in the learning of Origen. (*m*) In the view of *Maximinus* the *Thracian* (235–238), the murderer of Alexander, such favor was a sufficient reason for persecuting him who had received it. Among those who followed him in rapid succession in the imperial throne, *Philip* the *Arabian* (244–249) was so favorable to Christianity, that the report became almost universal, that he was himself a Christian. (*n*) 3. The Church finally became so powerful, that it became necessary either to acknowledge its legality, or to persecute it with all the power of the empire. *Decius* (249–251) raised the first general persecution, by requiring the magistrates to institute inquisitorial proceedings. Those who sustained office in the Church directly met death, or if they fled, they purchased life with the loss of property and home. (*o*) To this distressing period, popular tradition has assigned the commencement of the slumber of the seven children of Ephesus, who did not awake until the time of Theodosius II. (447), and were then astonished to find the persecuted sign of the cross ruling over the imperial city and the world. (*p*) *Gallus* (251–253) was prevented only by the political commotions of his reign from completing the sanguinary work of his predecessor. *Valerianus* (253–260), after a brief period of favor toward the Church, sought systematically to destroy it by exterminating its officers. (*q*) But *Gallienus* (260–268) gave peace to the whole Church, by an edict in which he recognized it as a civil corporation. (*r*) *Aurelianus* (270–275), who at one time had consented to act as an umpire between contending bishops, determined afterwards, from heathenish scruples, to persecute the Christians. His death was effected by a military conspiracy before the execution of his purpose, (*s*) and during a long period of rest, the government appeared to have abandoned for ever the unequal contest of mere force in opposition to spiritual principles.

§ 49. *Internal History of Paganism*

After the middle of the first century, in consequence of intercourse with the east, and of the pressure of internal elements, the intellectual world made considerable progress. On the one hand, with a high-wrought religious fervor, it overpassed the proper limits of heathenism, and connected itself sometimes with a particular phase of Platonism, and sometimes with the pure and self-denying mode of life which tradition assigned to the Pythagorean system. On the other hand, when it was only partially aroused, it carried the spiritual element into the world of sense, that it might obtain a control over the latter by magical arts, and penetrate the mysteries of the world of spirits. We therefore find, in the very midst of great moral corruption, and the dissolution of all social and natural ties, initiations into wonderful

m) *Lamprid.* Alex. Sever. c. 29. 49. comp. 28. 43. 45; *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 21. 28. *n*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 34; *Hieron.* Chron. ad ann. 246. *o*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 40–42; *Cyprian.* de lapsis, and his epistles written at this time; *Lactant.* de mortib. c. 4. *p*) *Gregor. Turon.* de gloria Mart. Par. 1640. p. 215s.; *Reineccius* de 7 dormientib. Lps. 1702. Sanctor. 7 dormientium Hist. Rom. 1742. 4. *q*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VII, 10s.; *Cypriani* Ep. 82. *r*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VII, 13. *s*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VII, 30; *Lactant.* de mortib. c. 6.

mysteries, a capricious confidence in miracles, extreme self-denials, and sanguinary expiations. (*a*) In the attempted union of Polytheism and Monotheism, the gods were regarded only as different names of the one God, or as the organs through which he revealed himself to his creatures. Even the Stoa, by the influence of *Epictetus* (about 100), received a character which no longer sought virtue in perpetual struggles, but in patient endurance. The literature of that period, generally a forced after-growth of a mighty nature then extinct, gradually developed the characteristics of credulity and superstition. Even as early as the time of *Plutarch* (50–120), with all his enthusiasm for the exalted models of antiquity, his writings abound in much which is fantastic. *Aelian* (about 222) is full of pious legends about the manifestations of the Deity in nature and in common life. The spirit of the age is well reflected in the animated but extravagant writings of the African rhetorician *Apuleius* (about 170), in which are sensual thoughts side by side with pious fanaticism, and satires upon superstition mingled with superstitious dreamings. (*b*) This tendency, when it first came in contact with Christianity, appropriated to itself many Christian elements, merely that it might become a better match for its opponent. The real *Apollonius* of *Tyana* (3796) travelled about in the character of a reformer of heathenism, striving to give to it the character of unlimited faith which we have described, and deceived many by the strange revelations which he probably accomplished by some magnetic clairvoyance, so that he became honored as a prophet, and sometimes even as God. But in a rhetorical work, in which *Philostratus* (about 230) professed to give his life, and attempted to present him before the world as the Christ of heathenism, he became the ideal of a holy sage wonderfully honored by the gods. (*c*) On the other hand, there were some who attempted to represent the mighty world-spirit of the ancient Greek philosophy, but they uniformly found, that while aiming to personate such a character in one respect, they were inconsistent with it in another.

§ 50. *New Platonism.*

I. *Plotini*, Opp. omnia; *Porphyrii* Liber de vita Plotini, ed. *Creuzer*, Oxon. 1836. 3 vols. 4; Πορφυρίου φιλοσόφου πρὸς Μαρκέλλαν, invenit notisque ill. *Ang. Majus*, Mediol. 1816.—II. Among the Histt. of Phil. especially, *Tennemann*, vol. VI. [His Manual is transl. Oxf. 1832. 8.] *Ritter*, vol. IV. [transl. by Morrison, Oxf. 1838. 4 vols. 8; *Henry's* Hist. of Phil. 2 vols. N. Y. 1841.] *Creuzer*, Preparatio ad Plotini lib. de pulchritud. Heidelb. 1814; comp. Stud. u. Krit. 1834. P. 2. p. 337ss.; *Imm. Fichte*, de Phil. novae Platonicae origine, Berl. 1818; *F. Bouterwek*, Philosophorum Alexandr. ac Neo-Platonicorum recensio, (Commentt. Soc. Scient. Goett. 1823. Th. V.); *C. Steinhart*, de dialectica Plotini ratione, Numb. et Hal. 1829; *Ejusd.* Meletemata Plotiniana, Hal. 1840. 4; *K. Vogt*, Neo-Pl. u. Christenth. Berl. 1836. 1 Th. [*Lewes*, Biogr. Hist. of Phil. Lond. 4 vols. 18mo. art. Plot.]

The tendency of Paganism on the side of faith, and the attempt to combine in one system all the sources of truth, reached its utmost limit in what

a) *P. E. Müller*, de hierarchia et studio vitae asceticae in sacris et mysteriis Graece. Romanorumque latentib. Havn. 1803, transl. into Germ. in the Neuen Bibl. d. schönen Wiss. vol. LXX. *b*) *Schlosser*, Gesch. d. alten Welt u. ihrer Cultur. vol. III. Abth. 3 (1831.) p. 188ss. 196ss. *c*) *Flavii Philostrati* quae supersunt, ed. *Kayser*, Tur. 1844s. 2 Th. [The two first books relating to the life of Apoll. Tyan. transl. into Eng. by C. Blount, fol. Lond. 1680.] *Baur*, Apoll. v. Tyana u. Christus, Tüb. 1832.

was called New Platonism. This system had its origin in the discourses of *Ammonius Saccas*, of Alexandria, near the commencement of the third century, but is presented in its most attractive form in the Enneades of *Plotinus* (205–270), and was best represented by *Jamblichus* in the fourth, and by *Proclus* in the fifth century. The masters of this school were regarded as seers and saints, who had broken the bonds of a life of sense, and even on earth were honored with the privilege of an immediate intuition of the Deity. What Philo had undertaken, they now completed, though in a wider sense, in behalf of paganism. While New-Platonism took part in the higher discussions and conclusions of philosophy, it nevertheless stood opposed to all philosophy, since it did not profess to rest upon careful inquiries into the eternal laws of the spirit, but claimed to be a revelation from God. Thus exalting itself above all such investigations, it became the poetry as well as the religion of philosophy. It attached itself more especially to the system of Plato, and professed to be an explanation and a development of his views, but it aimed to bring together the fundamental principles of all philosophical schools, and the ideas which constitute the basis of all popular religions. Even Christianity, therefore, was acknowledged by those who advocated this system, but only as it originally came from the inspired soul of its founder. It did not at first originate in a spirit hostile to Christianity, and it is even doubtful to what extent Ammonius and Porphyry were at one time connected with the Church. It is, however, certain, that it was profoundly affected by the peculiarities of Christianity, even while it was struggling with that system, during the third century, for the empire of the world.* The divinity which it presents is exalted above all human apprehension, and was called simply the Self-sufficient One (τὸ ἕν). From his overflowing fulness proceeded the Divine Intelligence, and from this the World-Soul, by which the material universe is pervaded with divine life. Evil is only that which is imperfect, and is the most distant reflection of Deity upon matter. The human soul which had been produced by the Divine Intelligence, fell, in consequence of its longing after earthly things, from its original divine life to its present temporal existence. It therefore belongs to the sensual as well as to the intellectual world. But the souls of the good and wise, even in this world, are in their happiest moments reunited with the Deity, and death is to such a complete restoration to their home. From a pious veneration for an ancestry far back in antiquity, the Grecian gods especially were regarded as the personal manifestations of the divine life in nature. Some of them were celestial beings, and some ruled here on earth. These earthly powers were the national gods (μερικοί, ἐγχώριοι), subordinate to the Deity, and exalted above all passion. The myths were therefore, of course, to be explained allegorically. The arts of Divination and Magic were justified on the ground of the necessary connection of all phenomena by virtue of the unity of the world-principle. While, therefore, New-Platonism was a new power, it was

* *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 19, and Praep. evang. XI, 19; *Socrat.* H. ecc. III, 23.—*Mosheim*, de studio Ethnicor. Christianos imitandi. (Dss. ad Hist. ecc. Alton. 1733); *Ullmann*, Einfluss d. Christenth. auf Porphyr. (Stud. u. Krit. 1832. H. 2.)—*Keil*, de causis alieni Platonicor. rec. a rel. chr. animi. Lps. 1785. 4. (Opp. ed. *Goldhorn*. Lps. 1821. vol. 1.)

nevertheless a reformation of the old faith. Though it extended itself over the whole Roman empire, it embraced within itself contradictory elements, and could maintain its existence only long enough to witness and embellish the downfall of heathenism.

§ 51. *Literary Controversies of Christianity.*

Dellaus C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius, de scriptoribus saec. II. qui novam rel. impugnarunt, vel impugnasse creduntur. Misn. 1845. 4.

It was not until the age of the Antonines that Christianity appeared important enough to be the object of literary discussion, or sought to defend itself by literary weapons. The last discourse in which *Fronto* made an attack upon Christians, appears to have been merely a legal defence of the proceedings against them under Marcus Aurelius. There can be no doubt that the negative spirit exhibited in the writings of *Lucian* exerted a favorable influence upon Christianity, since his mockeries, like a death-warning, completely undermined all confidence in the ancient gods; but he has occasionally derided the Christians also as fanatical simpletons, even while he involuntarily supplies evidence in favor of their brotherly love, and fortitude in death. (*a*) A genuine discourse of *Celsus*, written during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, has been preserved in the extracts of Origen. (*b*) The author was an intelligent man, but full of pride and contempt for Christianity. While endeavoring to throw suspicion upon its origin and opposing the Church of his own times, he frequently confounds it with the vagaries of its different sects, and collects nearly every thing which Judaism with its unfulfilled ideas of the Messiah and its calumnious traditions, together with all that pagan refinement with its philosophy, especially the Platonic, could produce against it. We have also a Dialogue written by *Minucius Felix* (§ 52), in which *Cæcilius* brings forward the arguments generally urged by the heathen of that period against Christianity. In behalf of the Olympic deities, it was alleged that history showed that the gods had protected and avenged their worshippers; that miracles had been wrought, and predictions by divination had been announced by their votaries, and that a Supreme Deity had always been worshipped in connection with many gods. Against Christianity was urged; its foreign and barbarous origin, to which all that was national must be sacrificed, and its recent origin, to which all that was established must give way; all that was true or good in Christianity belonged still more anciently to Philosophy, so that the only novelty which it possessed was a most repulsive outward form; its sacred Scriptures were of doubtful origin, and frequently had been altered; Jesus was said to have been the offspring of adultery, instructed by magicians in Egypt, and surrounded only by wretched fishermen and abandoned publicans, to have died in the expression of unman-

a) Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ψευδόμαντις, c. 25. 38; Περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς, c. 11–16; Ἀληθὴς ἱστορία, I, 22. 30. II, 4. 11.—*A. Eichstadii.* Pg. Lucianus num scriptis suis adjuvare religionem christ. voluerit? Jen. 1820. 4; *K. G. Jacob*, Characteristik Lucians. Hamb. 1832; *Kühn*, Luc. a crimine librorum sacr. irrisorum liberatur. P. I. Grimae, 1844. 4. *b*) Ἀληθὴς λόγος.—*Fenger*, de Celso, Epicureo. Havn. 1828; *C. R. Jachmann*, de Celso disseruit et fragmenta libri c. Christianos collegit. Regiom. 1836. 4; *F. A. Philippi*, de Celsi philosophandi genere. Berol. 1836; *Bindemann*,

ly sorrows, and finally to have given no proof of his resurrection except what was derived from his own followers. Against Christians it was urged: that they had deified a publicly executed malefactor; that they demanded a blind faith; that they invited to their society those who were sinners and criminals, while in the heathen mysteries, none were initiated but those who were pure in heart; that the various Christian sects were intolerant towards each other; that they were remarkably unfortunate; and finally, that if they were not secret criminals, they shunned publicity, and were enemies to the eternal city of Rome. The opposition which the New-Platonic school made to Christianity, may be considered as represented by *Porphyry* (233–305). (*c*) From all that can be learned by means of a few rather inconsiderable remains, he appears to have applied his censures principally to the difficult portions of the Old Testament, and the deceptive character of the allegorical method of interpreting them, to the composition of the prophecies of Daniel after the events to which they relate had taken place, to the contradiction implied in the abolition of the divine law by one who came from God, to the disagreement between Peter and Paul, to the death of Ananias, and to the misfortune of Jesus, in being so misunderstood by a company of pitiable fanatics. *Hierocles* (about 300) contrasted the life of Apollonius with that of Jesus, though in the latter he seems to have mingled incidents in the history of other Messiahs of whom he had heard. He was an orator concerned in stirring up the persecution under Diocletian, and had permitted Christians to be put to death, and Christian virgins to be violated. (*d*) All the controversial writings of that period, so far as they were opposed to Christianity, were subsequently destroyed by the pious barbarism of the Christian emperors. (*e*)

§ 52. *The Christian Apologists.*

I. Apologg. christ. Opp. (ed. *Prudentius Maranus.*) Par. 1742. f.

II. *Fabricius*, delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem rel. chr. asseruerunt. Hamb. 1725. 4; *Tzschirner*, Gesch. d. Apologetik. Lps. 1805; only 1 vol.; *Clausen*, Apologetae Ecclesiae chr. ante Theodosiani, Platonis ejusque philosophiae arbitri. Hafn. 1817; *G. H. van Senden* Gesch. d. Apologetik. Uebers. (from the Dutch Praef. dated 1831) v. *W. Quack* u. *R. Binder*. Stuttg. 1846. 1 Th.

When the emperor Hadrian was at Athens (about 130) two defences of Christianity were presented to him, one by the philosopher *Aristides*, and another by the Bishop *Quadratus*. The latter boasted that there were some among his acquaintance who had been healed, and indeed some who had been raised from the dead by Jesus. (*a*) The most flourishing period of apologetic writings was during the sway of the Antonines, when the Church was quite as much under the influence of hope, as of fear with respect to its external condition, and when every opinion was allowed to be publicly expressed. The Apologies of *Justin Martyr*, (*b*) written at Flavia Neapolis

ü. Cels. u. s. Schr. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1842. P. 2.) *c*) Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγοι.—Fragments may be found in *Holstenii* Ds. de vita et scriptis Porph. Rom. 1630; (*Fabricii* Bibl. Gr. Th. IV. p. 207ss.) [Select Works of Porph. transl. by Taylor. Lond. 1823. 8.] *d*) Λόγοι φιλαλήθεις πρὸς Χριστιανούς. Fragments in the polemical writings of *Euseb.* contra Hierocl. liber.—*Lactant.* de mortib. c. 16. *e*) *Codex Justin.* l. I. tit. 1. const. 3.

a) *Euseb.* H. ecc. IV, 3. comp. *Hieron.* catal. c. 19s. *b*) Apologia I. et II. ed. *Thalemann.* Lps. 1755; Opp. rec. *Otto.* Th. I.—*Arendt*, Krit. Unters. ü. d. Schrr. Just. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1834.

under a sense of unjust oppression, are valuable rather for the spirit, than for the talent or caution displayed in them. Even after he had become an evangelist, he still retained his philosopher's cloak, and having wandered through all the existing schools of philosophy, he had found peace at last in the gospel of Christ. Although he disparages Greek learning by maintaining that it had been borrowed from Hebrew sources, he acknowledged that what was a perfect light in Christianity may have been essentially the same with the dim revelations of the divine Spirit in the Grecian systems. In this way he found a point of accommodation by which he could unite both systems together. Occupying essentially the same ground with that which had been taken by the apostle Paul, he seems either totally unconscious of the fact, or to have regarded it with the prejudices of a Jewish Christian. (*c*) The only answer which the philosophical emperor, and perhaps also the cynical philosopher Crescens, who was attacked in the second Apology, condescended to give, was the execution of the Christian philosopher at Rome (161–8). (*d*) His disciple *Tatianus* from Assyria, wrote intelligently, but with passionate errors respecting Greek customs and philosophy. (*e*) The author of the epistle to *Diognetus* shows that he had enjoyed a Greek education, and that he was animated by a Christianity which was entirely a new religion. (*f*) *Athenagoras*, by mild and judicious appeals to Marcus Aurelius, attempted to prove that Christians were innocent of the crimes imputed to them and were worthy of the imperial favor. (*g*) *Melito*, Bishop of Sardis, especially skilled in the literature of the Old Testament, a eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and esteemed by his people as a prophet full of the Holy Ghost, sought justice from the same prince in behalf of a philosophy which had indeed originated among barbarians, but had risen under Augustus as a propitious star for the Roman empire, and had advanced simultaneously with it. (*h*) The three books of *Theophilus* of Antioch (170–180), addressed to Autolycus, contain a carefully written but narrowly conceived defence of the Christian party; (*i*) and the mockeries heaped upon the philosophers of that period by *Hermias*, present a superficial but witty caricature of the paradoxical questions which engrossed their attention. (*k*) The Octavius, a colloquy written by the African rhetorician and Roman advocate, *Minucius Felix*, in the style of Cicero, is a clear and concise statement of the real questions gen-

§ 256ss.); *C. Semisch*, J. d. Märt. Brsl. 1840s. 2 vols.; *Otto*, de Just. Mart. scriptis et doctrina. Jen. 1841; *E. C. Bohl*, ü. d. Verhältniss der beiden Apol. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1843. P. 3). [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. V.] *c*) Comp. however, *Otto*, in Illgen's Zeitschr. 1841. P. 2. 1842. P. 2. 1843. P. 1. *d*) *C. Semisch*, ü. d. Todesj. Just. (Stud. u. Krit. 1835. P. 4); *A. Stieren*, ü. d. Todesj. Just. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1842. P. 1.) *e*) Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας. ed. *Worth*, Oxon. 1700.—*H. A. Daniel*, Tatian der Apologet. Hal. 1837. *f*) Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Διόγνητον. ed. *Bohl*, in Opp. Patrum sel. Ber. 1826. P. I.; *Otto*, in Opp. Just. Th. II.—*C. D. a Grossheim*, Comm. de Epist. ad Diogn. Lps. 1828. 4; *Otto*, de Epist. ad Diogn. Justini nomen prae se ferente. Jen. 1844. *g*) Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν. ed. *Lindner*. Longosal. 1774.—*Clarisse*, de Athenagorae vita, scriptis, doctr. Lugd. 1819. 4. [Athenagoras, transl. into Eng. with notes by Humphreys. Lond. 1714. 8.] *h*) According to the Fragments in *Euseb.* H. ecc. IV, 26, comp. V, 24; *Hieron.* catal. c. 24; *Piper*, Melito. (Stud. u. Krit. 1838. P. 1.) *i*) Περὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως. ed. *J. C. Wolf*. Hamb. 1724; Uebers. mit Anm. v. Thienemann. Lpz. 1834. *k*) Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων. ed.

erally discussed in his day. (*l*) *Tertullian*, especially in his Apologeticus, not only demonstrated the perfect right of the Church to civil protection, but inveighed with bitter eloquence against the vile amours of the ancient gods in the shape of fishes, birds, and beasts. *Origen*, whose philosophical views were fundamentally similar to those of his opponent, with an untiring industry met all the objections which Celsus had urged, and while doing so, presented a doctrinal defence of Christianity, with very little care or success in the discussion of the political question. These works of Origen and Tertullian indicate that their authors fully believed that Christianity had already reached a point which rendered its future progress inevitable. *Arnobius* of Sicca endeavored, in a controversial work (about 303), to obtain the confidence of the Christians, whom he had before persecuted; and though it contained many needless speculations, it defended also the more profound doctrines of the Church, and exposed the errors of heathenism with much rhetorical skill. (*m*) The object of the apologists was: 1) To answer the objections made against Christians. They met the charge of atheism by pointing to the well-known piety of Christians and showing the true nature of a spiritual worship. To the imputation of unnatural crimes they opposed the strictness of their morality, and in refutation of the charge of treason, they appealed to the submission shown by Christians in time of persecution, and to the prayers which they offered up in behalf of the emperor. The sufferings of Christians were ascribed to demoniac agency; the death of the martyrs was shown to be no real evil; the representation of a Deity enduring sufferings but glorified even in death, they proved was not unknown even in Grecian mythology; public calamities were attributed to the divine displeasure on account of the persecution of Christians; and although they did not concede that the recent introduction of a religion was a proper argument against its truth, they traced the radical principles of Christianity back to a time before Moses and Abraham—a period prior to the existence of any of the Grecian systems of philosophy. 2) To contend against the Hellenistic systems. By appeals to facts and to reason, they showed the utter insufficiency and the immorality of polytheism; they objected to the spiritual explanations given of the myths as uncandid; and while they acknowledged all that was true and consistent with the gospel in philosophy, they proved that this was quite unsatisfactory as the basis of a national religion. 3) To prove the truth and divine authority of Christianity. Among the arguments used for this purpose, were, the moral power and divine wisdom exhibited even by poor and uneducated people, the religious peace conferred by Christianity, its perfect reasonableness and its rapid and irresistible progress, the triumph with which the martyrs met their fate, and the historical proofs of divine assistance.

Dommerich. Hal. 1764. *l*) Ed. *Lindner.* Longosal. (1760) 1773; Uebers. m. Anm. v. *Russwurm.* Hamb. 1824. 4; Neu hrsg. erklärt u. übers. v. *Lubkert.* Lps. 1836; Ad fidem cod. Regii et Brux. rec. *Eduard. de Muralto*, praefatus est *Orelli.* Tur. 1836.—*H. Meier*, Comm. de Min. Fel. Tur. 1824.—Doubtful whether it was written in the age of the Antonines, or after Tertullian. Probably in the former. *m*) Disputationes adv. gentes. l. VII. ed. *J. C. Orelli*, Lps. 1816; Additamentum. Lps. 1817; ex nova cod. Paris collat. rec. *G. F. Hildebrand*, Hal. 1844; Uebers. u. erläut. v. *E. A. v. Besnard.* Landsh. 1842.—*P. K. Mayer*, de ratione et argumento apologetici Arnobiani. Havn. 1815.

Among the last, a superior place was given to fulfilled prophecies, but next to them stood the miracles which had been wrought by Jesus and his followers in the different periods of the Church.

§ 53. *Religion of Barbarous Nations.*

Roman power and Greek culture had either broken up, renovated, or adopted into the Roman Pantheon the religions of all conquered nations. In the East, ever since the time of the Grecian conquests, nothing remained in *Asia*, with the exception of the established local worship of some favorite gods, but a sensuous glow of devotion, or occasionally in *Egypt* a gloomy, pensive and mysterious form. In Western Europe, the religion of the Celtic nations was evidently declining. In *Gaul*, the *Druids*, as priests, judges, sages, and physicians, had monopolized all intellectual pursuits, and established a powerful hierarchy. In contrast with them existed a nobility, whose sole occupation was war. To these two classes the common people gradually became completely enslaved. But when the common people sunk into this state of insignificance, the priesthood lost their principal support in opposition to the nobility, and it was on account of the discord which prevailed between these states, that the Romans were invited into their country. Cæsar came, and saw, and conquered. The national religion was then restricted within certain limits by the Roman law. Augustus required that no Roman citizen should take any part in its rites, and Claudius finally prohibited all human sacrifices. It was not, however, so much by the direct power of their conquerors that the Druids were overthrown, as by the new social relations then introduced. As early as near the close of the first century, the Order of the Druids was an independent and learned association, and the old popular faith was mingled with the Roman mythology. (*a*) In *Britain*, the power of the Druids, which was continually exerted to arouse the people to renewed efforts for freedom, could only be destroyed by violence (62). Under the conciliatory administration of Agricola, Roman habits and arts of life acquired ascendency even to the foot of the Highlands. (*b*) Hence, no province of the empire opposed Christianity with any remarkable or long-continued energy, and the West presented but little more resistance to its progress than had been awakened in its own eastern home.

§ 54. *Spread of Christianity.*

Near the middle of the second century, the gospel had, in the East, passed beyond the limits of the Roman empire. In Edessa especially it gained possession of the throne, and a few churches were collected in Parthia, Persia, and India. Proceeding from Rome, it obtained an established position in Carthage and in the western provinces of Africa. In Western

a) *Caesar*; de bello gall. I, 31. VI, 12–16.—*J. G. Frick*, de Druidis, ed. *A. Frick*, Ulm. 1744. 4; *Duclos*, Mém. sur les Druides. (Mém. de l'acad. des inscript. Th. XIX.); *Mone*, Gesch. d. Heidenth. im nördl. Eur. Lps. u. Darmst. 1822s. vol. II. p. 358–426. *b*) *E. Davies*, Celtic Researches on the Origin and Traditions of the Ancient Britons. Lond. 1804. [*Idem.* Rites of the British Druids. Lond.; *G. Higgins*, The Celtic Druids. Lond. 1827. 4.] *Toland*, Hist. of the Druids, with additions by *Huddleston*. Montrose, 1814; *Mone*, vol. II. p. 426–548. [*Littell's Rel. Mag.* vol. II. 1828. pp. 31–40. 119–122. 490–503; Incidents of the Apostolic Age in Britain. Lond. 1844. 12.]

Europe it pressed onward to Spain and even gained some possessions in Britain. Flourishing churches from Asia Minor were planted in Lyons, Vienne, and Paris, from which Christianity was extended to barbarous nations whose language had never been reduced to writing. (*a*) Near the close of the third century, churches were established in Armenia, and a few bishoprics were formed on the Rhine and in Britain. The manner in which religion was propagated was, commencing generally with the large cities, it was carried forward not so much by organized missions as by ordinary social intercourse. It had become powerful as a popular element, prevailing most among the lower classes, but by means of slaves and women it had penetrated, as early as near the end of the second century, every order of society. About that time the Apologists speak of the number of Christians with skilful and enthusiastic declamation; (*b*) and though even in the commencement of the fourth century they were far from being a majority of the population, their intimate fellowship and zeal gave them a predominant influence in society. The barbarous Jewish origin and the strict and self-denying morality of their religion, the suspicion of political disaffection under which they rested, and their simple, lowly character at first, were powerful difficulties in the way of its propagation. But to be weighed against these, as secondary causes of its victory, must be noticed the advantage which it enjoyed on account of the unity of the Roman empire and the general prevalence of Greek culture, its miraculous powers, and the benefits which it offered to the poor, the sick, travellers, and those who were in any way destitute. Even the persecutions through which it passed were beneficial, since they were severe enough to arouse in its followers an heroic courage, and in those who observed them an admiring wonder, and yet were not protracted or general enough to destroy the Church. Next to the vital decline of heathenism, however, the essential reason of its success was the real truth and power of Christianity presenting itself in the happiest of all forms—a religion adapted to the masses of the people.

§ 55. *The Last Persecution.*

Lactant. de mortib. c. 7–13. *Euseb.* H. ecc. VIII. IX.

In the enjoyment of forty years of peace Christianity had time to perfect its victories. It was then that *Diocletian* (284–305) by his protracted course of real success, was induced to hope he might restore the empire to its former glory. He regarded the restoration of the established religion to its former ascendency as a primary condition on which such a result depended. His son-in-law the Caesar *Galerius*, in consequence of his low disposition and heathenish superstition, became the instrument of a party in the court, which demanded the subversion of Christianity as indispensable to the stability of their power. The heathen government, conscious that it was sinking in its proper character before the spiritual power of the Church, commenced another struggle, on the issue of which was staked its life or death. Galerius first removed all Christians from his army (298). Diocletian still

a) *Iren.* III, 4. *b*) *Tertul.* Apologeticus, c. 37. c. Jud. c. 7.

shrunk from the contest, for he well knew it would be terrible. Finally, when counsel had been sought from gods and men, the destruction of the Church of Nicomedia (Feb. 23, 303) proclaimed that the persecution of the Christians had commenced. The imperial edict which immediately followed that event, commanded that all Christian temples should be destroyed, and the books belonging to them burned; that all civil officers professing Christianity should forfeit their dignities; that Christian citizens should be deprived of their civil privileges, and that even slaves who avowed faith in Christ should lose all prospect of freedom. (*a*) The indignation such a proceeding provoked against the emperor, and the real or imaginary perils which now threatened him, required that the whole power of the empire should be arrayed against the Christians. After two other edicts had been put forth, each more rigorous than that which preceded it, a fourth (304) required that all Christians should be compelled to offer sacrifice by every practicable means. (*b*) The persecution raged in nearly every part of the empire. The spirit of the Church was divided by the most heroic courage and base cowardice. Monuments were erected in honor of the emperor, implying that he had utterly abolished the name of Christian. But in Gaul, Spain, and Britain, the sufferings of the Christians were much mitigated by the conduct of the Caesar *Constantius Chlorus*. His son, *Constantine* (after 306), inherited his father's spirit in a still higher degree. In the East, Galerius, tired of the useless effusion of blood, on his deathbed (311) suspended the progress of the persecution, (*c*) but it was immediately renewed in Asia by Maximinus. When Constantine, however, had overthrown Maxentius, he, in conjunction with Licinius, the Augustus of Eastern Europe, was induced by his regard for Christians to proclaim (312) a universal toleration for all religions. (*d*)

§ 56. The Martyrs.

There are commonly reckoned ten persecutions, as that number is convenient for popular recollection, and accordant with certain allegorical relations, (*a*) but some of them scarcely deserve the name. Those who were disposed to fly from the danger usually found the way of escape unobstructed; when any actually suffered they were generally those whose lives were regarded as of no value, those whose death appeared needful, on account of their superior guilt, as a warning to others, and those who occupied prominent stations in the Church, or slaves. Accordingly, even in the time of Origen, the number of those who had died as martyrs was very small, and easily reckoned. (*b*) We read of a blind fury, in the times of Decius and Dioeletian, which no longer regarded individuals, but vented itself in the sacrifice of whole masses of people at once; but in general, the first notices we have respecting it are in the exaggerated accounts which have come down to us in

a) *Lact.* c. 13. *Euseb.* VIII, 2. *b*) *Euseb.* de martyribus Palaest. c. 3.

c) *Lact.* c. 34. *Euseb.* VIII, 17.

d) Its contents may be inferred from the edict of 313: *Lact.* c. 48. Euseb. X, 5.

a) *Apoc.* 17, 12ss. Exod. 7ss.

b) *Orig.* c. Cels. III. (Th. I. p. 452.) Yet comp. *Iren.* IV, 33, 9.—*Dodwell*, de paucitate martyrum. In his Dss. Cyprianicis. On the other hand, *Ruinarti* Praef. ad Acta martyrum.

legends. Thus we find that eleven thousand virgins are said to have perished with *St. Ursula*. The most credible evidence on which this story was built, consists in a false construction of an ancient manuscript, and a revelation from heaven to a company of monks first in the year 1163, which pointed out their bones. The story of the massacre of the Theban legion (268) appears in a fluctuating state even in the sixth century. (*c*) The executions generally took place in strict conformity with the demands of the penal law, but when the feelings of the populace were especially embittered, or when it seemed desirable to terrify survivors, the most dreadful illegal torments were devised. (*d*) Many saved themselves by denying Christ, and offering sacrifice to the gods (thurificati, sacrificati), some by bribing the magistrates to grant them certificates that they had sacrificed (libellatici), and others by surrendering the sacred books (traditores). But so great was the joy of the *Confessors* and the *Martyrs*, that they were sometimes reproved by judicious pastors for pressing too eagerly forward to death. The virtues of Greek and Roman antiquity were revived, as the people surrendered themselves that they might obtain a home beyond the skies. (*e*) The power of faith was triumphant even over the feelings of our common nature, and over the shuddering horror which persons of a delicate habit and of refinement are apt to feel on such occasions. Even children took pleasure in death, and noble maidens endured what was far worse. (*f*) Although many encountered death cheerfully, because they preferred it to the disgrace which must have been the lot of the apostate and the traitor, and because they longed for the honor and glory which the martyrs attained even on earth in the admiration of their friends and expected immediately after in Paradise, there was beyond all this a genuine delight in following Jesus, which gave to the Church a consciousness that it was invincible.

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

J. H. Böhmer, Entwickl. d. KStaats d. ersten 3 Jahrh. Hal. (1718) 1738. *W. K. L. Ziegler*, Vrs. e. pragm. Gesch. d. kirchl. Gesellschaftsformen in d. ersten 6 Jahrh. Lps. 1798. *Möhler*, die Einh. in d. K. o. d. Princip. d. Kath. im Geiste d. KVerf. d. 3 ersten Jahrh. Tüb. 1825. *Hase*, de jure ecc. Commtr. hist. Lps. 1828. P. I. *J. H. M. Ernesti*, KStaat. d. 3 ersten Jahrh. Nürnb. 1830. *W. Böhmer*, die socialen Verh. d. K. alter Zeit. (Alterthumsw. vol. I.) Bresl. 1836. *K. Rothe*, die Anfänge d. K. u. ihrer Verf. Witt. 1837. vol. I. [*Riddle's* Manual of Christian Antiquities, Lond. *Bingham's* Origines Ecclesiasticae, Lond. 1845. *L. Coleman*, Primitive Christianity Exemplified, Philad. 1852. 2 vols. 8.]

§ 57. *Original Documents on Ecclesiastical Law.*

The usages and laws which prevailed in particular provinces were not essentially different from each other, since the general relations of society were

c) Vita Romani. (Acta Sanctor. Feb. Th. III. p. 740.) *Trithemii* Ann. Hirs. Th. I. p. 450. *G. Hagens* Reimchronik d. Stadt Cölln. Edited by *Groote*, Cöll. 1834. Comp. Rheinwald's Rep. 1835. vol. IX. p. 201ss.—*Du Bourdieu*, sur le martyre de la légion thébéenne. Amst. 1705. 12. *Jos. d'Isle*, défense de la vérité de la légion thébéenne. Par. 1741. 12.—Respecting Massa candida; in *Prudent.* Hymn. 13s. sec. *Tillemont*, Th. IV. p. 175ss.

d) *Sagittarius* de mart. excruciatib. Frcf. et Lps. (1673) 1696. 4. *e*) *Euseb.* H. ecc. V, 1.

f) *Lact.* Instt. V, 13.

every where the same, and a continual intercourse was carried on between the several parts of the empire. They may be learned partly from the writings of the contemporaneous fathers, in which individual facts are referred to, and partly from later enactments, which, without hesitation, refer to primitive usage. The *Apostolical Constitutions* which bear the name of Clemens Romanus, in the first six books contain the oldest usages and laws prevalent among the Jewish Christians of the Oriental Church of the third century. In the fourth century, when the seventh and eighth books were added, this work received some interpolations with respect to ecclesiastical usages, though not in the sense charged by the Arians. As a collection they have never attained any legal authority. (*a*) The *Apostolical Canons* are a compilation gradually formed of the constitutions and enactments of Synods during the fourth century, and therefore are supposed to embrace the traditions respecting law, which had come down from the Apostles. The Roman Church having once rejected this collection as a whole, decided (after 500) to receive the first fifty canons. (*b*) John Scholasticus (middle of the 6th century) found all the eighty-five canons already in the books of laws used in the Greek Church. (*c*) No proof therefore in favor of a regular system of legal relations in the churches of the second and third centuries can be drawn merely from this collection, because it bears the apostolic name.

§ 58. *The Clergy and the Laity.*

The offices of the Church at this period presented very little to excite the cupidity of ordinary men, and even the honor attending them was counterbalanced by the dangers. And yet it seemed desirable to increase the veneration which necessarily attends the virtues and a faithful performance of official duty in the Church, by mysterious forms of ordination, by connecting them through various associations with the Old Testament priesthood, and by external tokens of peculiar sanctity. The result was, that even in the second century the priests (κλῆρος, ordo) were represented as the official mediators between Christ and the congregation (λαός, plebs). To speak in the church, and to administer holy rites, were conceded to be the special prerogatives of the clergy, although learned laymen were sometimes heard in the public assembly, with the consent of the bishop. (*a*) In all things relating to the business of the congregation, the principal care and authority devolved upon the clergy, But this power was generally exercised mildly and with a true regard for the public good, since those who possessed it could use no external means of coercion, and the clergy, being generally without fixed sala-

a) Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγ. Ἀποστόλων, printed in Cotelerius' Edit. of the Patres App. Th. I. p. 199. [*Veltzen* has publ. a new edit. of the Ap. Constt. Lps. 1854. 12.]—*O. Krabbe*, ü. Ursprung u. Inhalt der apost. Constitt. Hamb. 1829. *J. S. v. Drey*, neue Unters. ü. d. Constitt. u. Kanones der App. Tüb. 1832.

b) *Gelasii*, Decretum a. 494. (*Gratian:* c. 3. D. XV. § 64.) *Dionysii* Praefatio. (*Mansi*, Th. I. p. 3.)

c) Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγ. Ἀποστόλων, printed in most of the eccles. collections of laws and in *Cotelerius*, I. p. 437.—*M. E. Regenbrecht*, de canonib. App. Vrat. 1828. *Krabbe* de cod. canonum, qui App. nomine circumferuntur. Gott. 1829. 4.

a) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 19. *Constt. app.* VIII, 32. comp. *Conc. Carth.* IV. a. 419. can. 98. (*Mansi*, Th. III. p. 959.) [*Conc. Carth.* an. 398. can. 22. in Landon's Manual of Councils.]

ries, were dependent upon the voluntary contributions of the people. (*b*) Their authority was often much straitened by the influence of the confessors, and the idea was not yet removed of a priesthood embracing all true Christians. (*c*) The congregation still possessed the undisputed, though often the violated right, to decide upon the exclusion and the restoration of its own members, to confirm the choice of its presbyters, to be heard upon every important matter, and to elect its own bishop. This last mentioned public privilege, near the close of the third century, was much curtailed by the interference of the clergy who presided over the congregation, and of the neighboring bishops. (*d*) As many presbyters were elected as appeared necessary at the time, until in each congregation such a number was gradually settled upon as its circumstances seemed to require. In the African churches the *Elders* (seniores) do not seem to have been devoted to the business of instruction, nor to have belonged to the clerical order. Their office did not then imply a clearly recognized distinction between lay and clerical presbyters, and they were probably relics of the original equality of the clergy and all God's people in the primitive Church, when all the presbyters were not fitted for the work of instruction and private members of the Church were not excluded from it. (*e*) *Deacons* were not regarded as belonging to the proper priesthood (sacerdotium), but as ecclesiastical servants (ministres). As the number seven originally connected with the deacon's office was not willingly exceeded, the larger churches in the third century were supplied with sub-deacons. To the appropriate duties of the deacon's office were added liturgical exercises, and sometimes also preaching. As they were elected by the bishop alone, they were sometimes through his influence exalted above the presbyters. The inferior services pertaining to the Church were performed by laymen, from whom were gradually formed four gradations of a semi-clergy, called Ostiarii, Lectores, Exorcistae, and Acoluthi. The clergy became more and more separated from all secular employments, but as they were generally obliged to pass through the inferior offices, they obtained a practical education, and many of them in the catechetical schools of the Church or in the philosophical schools of the heathen, acquired considerable learning. The rule that no one should be advanced to the higher stations in the Church until he had performed for a certain period the functions of each inferior office, was frequently dispensed with by the favor of the bishop or of the people, and laymen and even catechumens were sometimes immediately elevated to the episcopal office.

b) *Ziegler*, die Einkünfte des Clerus in d. ersten 3 Jahrh. (Henke's N. Mag. vol. IV. p. 11ss.)

c) *Iren.* IV, 20. *Tertul.* de bapt. c. 17. Exhort. ad cast. c. 7. *Orig.* in Jo. tom. 1, 3. (Th. IV. p. 3.) de orat. c. 28.

d) *Cypr.* Ep. 31. § 5. Ep. 59. § 1.—*Euseb.* II. ecc. VI, 43.—*Cypr.* Ep. 6. § 5.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55. § 6. Ep. 68. § 6.

e) *Calvini* Inst. IV, 3, 8. Corrected by *Vitringa*, de syn. vet. II, 2.

§ 59. *Bishops.*

Walonis Messalini (*Salmasii*) Ds. de Episcopis et Presbb. c. Petavum. L. B. 1641. *D. Blondel*, Apol. pro sententia Hier. de Episc. et Prr. Amst. 1646. 4. On the other side: *H. Hammond*, Dss. 4. quibus Episcopatus jura ex Sc. S. et antiquitate adstruuntur. Lond. 1651. 4.—*Lücke*, Ecc. app. p. 106ss.—*Kist*, ü. d. Urspr. d. bisch. Gewalt. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1832. vol. II. sect. 2.)—*Rothe* die Anf. d. chr. Kirche. p. 171ss. On the other side: *Baur* ü. d. Urspr. des Episcopats. (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1838. P. 3.) Comp. § 42. note c. [*Jamieson*, Cyprianus Isotimus. Lond. 1705.]

In the Epistles which bear the name of *Ignatius*, the episcopate is represented as the divinely appointed pillar which sustains the whole ecclesiastical fabric, and yet much needing the writer's most earnest commendations. So general and so thorough a change as that which in any view of the case it must have passed through after the middle of the second century, could then have been effected by no personal influence, nor by general consent, but only by the concurrent power of circumstances. Wherever there was more than one presbyter, some individual on account of his personal influence would be called to preside, or all would do so in rotation. When different portions of the larger congregations met, as they sometimes did in different places of worship at the same time, each congregation would naturally be anxious to preserve as much as possible its existing unity, in spite of its accidental separation. This was accomplished by retaining a common connection with the presbyter who had previously presided over them. But by this means his jurisdiction became much enlarged and strengthened. The name Overseer was especially applied to the peculiar office which such a presbyter filled. (*a*) As soon as this name became thus appropriated to designate a superior dignity in the larger cities, those presbyters who stood alone in the smaller towns would naturally prefer the original Greek appellation which was common to them all. Hence Irenaeus continued to use both names interchangeably, and this memento of the original equality of presbyters and bishops remained firmly in the Church for a long time after new relations entirely inconsistent with it had become established. (*b*) At the same time also those Elders of the former age who had been distinguished for their personal character were always spoken of under the name of Bishops. The complete realization of the Episcopate may be seen in the Epistles of *Cyprian*. The Bishop, as the successor of the apostles, there appears as the representative of his Church, and at the same time to the Church itself he is the vicar of Christ; he is espoused to the local congregation, and also to the general Church; he is responsible to God alone, and yet is an individual organ of the whole episcopate. (*c*) He possessed supreme power in the Church, and yet in important matters was to do nothing without the counsel of his presbyters. (*d*) All ordinations proceeded from him. At first

a) In Justin (Apol. I. c. 65.) still called παρεστῶς.

b) *Hieron.* ad Tit. I, 7. Ep. 101. (al. 85.) ad Evangelum. *Ambrosiaster.* (*Hilarius Diac.*) ad Eph. IV, 11. ad I. Tim. III, 10. *Chrysost.* Hom. in Phil. I, 1. (Th. XI. p. 195.) Both passages of Jerome in Gratian: c. 5. D. XCV. and 24. D. XCIII. [also in *Gieseler* Ecc. Hist. vol. I. p. 106. note 2.] But *Urban II.* in *Conc. Benevent.* can. 1. (*Mansi.* Th. XX. p. 738.) can be appealed to on this subject only when the context is disregarded.

c) *Cypr.* Oratio ad Conc. Carth. (p. 443.) Ep. 72. § 3. ad Stephan. Ep. 67. § 3. De unitate Ecc. c. 4.

d) *Cypr.* de aleator c. 1. Ep. 69. § 7. Ep. 6. § 5. Ep. 25. § 2. comp. *Conc. Carthag.* IV. a. 419. can. 34, 35. (*Mansi*, Th. III. p. 954.)

he was himself ordained by the imposition of the hands of the presbyters, but afterwards by the neighboring bishops. Every translation of a bishop appeared of doubtful propriety, although it was often necessarily conceded to the demands of ambition and of higher powers, as well as to the common welfare. Many of the bishops of the country congregations (χωρεπίσκοποι) continued from the very commencement of their existence dependent upon those bishoprics in the city from which they sprung, and others originally independent gradually submitted to the influence of the neighboring city bishop. In Africa alone no distinction between the names ever appears. The bishops of the larger cities in like manner became exalted in power and authority above the others. But all bishops possessed the right of perfect equality among themselves since their prerogatives depended not upon the transitory possessions of this world, but upon the common investiture which they had all received from Christ.

§ 60. *Synods.*

Ziegler, pragm. Darst. des Ursprungs d. Synoden u. d. Ausbildung d. Synodalverf. (Henke's N. Mag. vol. I. p. 125ss.

Ever since the latter part of the second century a number of assemblies, composed of bishops residing near each other, had been held to obtain the highest possible authority for a decision of the controversies which had sprung up. (*a*) But in the commencement of the third century the provincial synods, at first in Greece, (*b*) and soon afterwards in the whole Eastern world, became the formal basis of an ecclesiastical constitution, as the supreme courts of legislation, administration and jurisdiction. Their meetings were held either annually or semi-annually, and every bishop in the province had a seat and a voice in them, and as exceptions to the rule, even presbyters and confessors. The bishops were heard not as representatives of their churches but in their own name, in consequence of a right received from the Holy Ghost. (*c*) The meetings however were public, and the people who were present made their influence felt. The possession of infallibility was never thought of, and their decisions had no authority beyond their respective provinces. (*d*) The ecclesiastical provinces which in this way appear as communities, to which all individual bishops were amenable, generally corresponded with the provinces of the empire.

§ 61. *Metropolitans.*

The natural presidents of the ecclesiastical provinces were the bishops of the principal cities (μητροπόλεις). The grounds on which their pre-eminence was founded were generally the apostolical origin of their churches, the wealth of their congregations, and their frequent opportunities of assisting those who resided in the provinces. The Metropolitans therefore, as the first among their equals, soon obtained the right of convening and conduct-

a) *Euseb.* H. ecc. V. 16. 23. *b*) *Tertul.* de jejun. c. 13.
c) *Cypr.* Ep. 54. § 5. Comp. *Conc. Arelat.* a. 314. (*Mansi*, Th. II. p. 469.)
d) *Cypr.* Ep. 14. § 2. Ep. 54. § 5. Ep. 72. § 3.

ing the proceedings of the Synods, and of confirming and ordaining the provincial bishops. But it was only in the East that this Metropolitan system was completely carried out. The Bishop of Carthage sometimes claimed the right of a Metropolitan over the churches in Mauritania and Numidia, where there was no great city naturally possessing the right of precedence, but the presidency in their synods was always given to the oldest bishop (Senex).

§ 62. *The Three Great Bishops.*

The same causes which produced the elevation of the metropolitans, operated in a still higher degree to give the largest metropolitan diocese to the bishops of the three principal cities of the empire, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. Rome obtained Middle and Lower Italy with uncertain limits, and by means of a colony of bishops sent into Southern Gaul (about 250) an indefinite influence was secured in the affairs of that region. (*a*) Alexandria obtained possession of Egypt, and Antioch of Syria. The successor of St. Peter received an honorable rank above all other bishops, on account of the majesty of the eternal city, and the vast and skilfully used wealth at his disposal even when Laurentius could present to the avaricious magistrate the poor of the city as the treasure of the Roman Church. (*b*) Roman bishops of that period have since been canonized, who were great only in their deaths. No extraordinary individuals were concerned in laying the foundations of her subsequent empire. The first presage of its future position was afforded in two attempts which it made to impose its usages upon other churches. These were sternly repelled by the Asiatic and African bishops. (*c*) The thought of a Bishop of bishops was first advanced in favor of James, about the middle of the second century, by a Jewish party in Rome, and was regarded in Africa as equivalent to an ecclesiastical tyranny. (*d*) The first voluntary recognition of Roman authority in matters of faith, was occasioned by the report that the apostolical traditions had been preserved with especial purity in the West. (*e*) Cyprian saw in the pre-eminence of Peter a symbol of the unity of the Church. (*f*) Even when *Marcellinus* offered incense to the gods (302), the very infirmity of a Roman bishop has been made

a) *Cypr.* Ep. 67. comp. *Gregor. Turon.* II. Francor. I, 28.

b) The proofs are collected by *Tillemont.* Th. IV. p. 41. *c*) § 69. 84.

d) Ep. *Clementis* ad Jac. in Clem. Homil. (P. app. ed. Coteler. Th. I. p. 605). *Cypr.* in Conc. Carthag. (*Routh*, Reliq. sac. III. p. 91) conf. Tertul. de pudic. c. 1.

e) *Iren.* III, 3, 2: "Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potiorem (potentiorem) principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quae est ab Apostolis traditio. (Πρὸς ταύτην ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τὴν ἱκανωτέραν ἀρχὴν ἀνάγκη πᾶσαν συμβαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦτ' ἐστι τοὺς πανταχόθεν πιστούς, ἐν ᾗ ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πανταχόθεν συντετήρηται ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων παράδοσις.) Comp. *Tertul.* de praescr. c. 36. 20ss.—*Griesbach*, de potentiore Eccl. Rom. principalitate. Jen. 1778. (Opp. ed. *Gabler*, Th. II. p. 136ss.). *Paulus* in the Sophronizon. 1819. P. 3. On the other side: *Katerkamp*, ü. d. Primat. Münst. 1820. p. 30ss. *Roskovany*, de primatu R. Pontif. Aug. V. 1834. p. 28ss.—*Thiersch*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1842. P. 2. comp. *Neander*, [Church Hist. vol. I. pp. 263-265.]

f) De unit. Ecc. c. 3. Here, even in the genuine text, and often in the epistles (52. 55), he acknowledges Rome as the *ecclesia principalis*, without, however, conceding to it a supremacy inconsistent with the parity of all bishops (Ep. 71). Antirom. interpretation of Matt. 16, 18. in *Orig.* in Mt. tom. 12. § 10ss. 14.

to wear such an aspect in popular reports, as to promote the glory of the Roman see. (*g*)

§ 63. *The Catholic Church and its Various Branches.*

The internal and essential unity of the Church as the kingdom of God on earth, suggested the idea of an external unity also. The effort to attain this was much favored by the political unity of the whole civilized world. The religious consciousness which prevailed in the Christian Church with more or less distinctness, when assailed by theological or moral elements inconsistent with itself, was accustomed to appeal to the apostolical traditions which remained in the churches founded by the apostles. From this sprung up the *Great* or *Catholic Church*, (*a*) in distinction from the heretics who defended these foreign elements, and who were disunited among themselves. By the former term was meant the great body in which all the congregations founded by the apostles, and such as were connected with them, had hitherto felt conscious of a unity through faith and love, and which was the only source of true Christianity, of grace, and of salvation. The first hint of this representation was given by Ignatius, but it was further developed by Irenaeus, and was completed by Cyprian. (*b*) This unity was realized in many transactions in which the bishops and churches held intercourse with each other. But without detracting from it, a *Church of the East* and a *Church of the West* began to be distinguished from each other with respect to language, customs, and theological tendencies. Peculiar usages, in fact, sometimes became permanent even in different parts of the same metropolitan diocese, especially in those ecclesiastical provinces whose boundaries correspond with old national limits. Accordingly, in addition to the dioceses of the three great bishops, the first outlines of national churches were formed in correspondence with local attachments and interests. Thus the *African Church*, connected with Rome by feelings of free mutual sympathy, and exhibiting its peculiar spirit in the writings of Tertullian, sprung up, and completed an appropriate code of laws after the middle of the third century, in the provincial synods of Carthage. (*c*) Thus, also, the *Armenian Church* was originated, on which *Gregory the Enlightener*, who by his family connections had been deeply involved in the political disorders of his country, and when Christianity triumphed had been brought out of a long night of imprisonment to be made a metropolitan (302), so deeply imprinted his own spirit, that for a long time the superior bishop or Catholicus was selected from his family. (*d*)

g) *Harduin*, Acta Concill. vol. I. p. 217ss. *Baron*, ad a. 302. N. 88ss.

a) The former term may be found in Celsus (*Orig.* c. Cels. V. 59) and *Constitt. app.* II. 25, and the latter occurs in *Ignat.* ad Smyrn. c. 8. and in the Epistle to the Church of Smyrna respecting the death of Polycarp, in *Euseb.* H. ecc. IV, 15.

b) *Cypr.* de unitate Ecc. especially c. 4, 5, 21. Ep. 47. § 2.

c) *Schelstraten*, Ecc. afric. sub primatu Carthag. Par. 1679. 4. *M. Leydecker*, Hist. Ecc. afric. Utraj. 1694. 4. *Morcelli* Africa christ. Brix. 1816. 3 Th. *Münter*, Primordia Ecc. afric. Hafn. 1829. 4.

d) *Agathangeli* (revised), Acta S. Gregor. (Acta Sanctor. Sept. Th. VIII. p. 321ss.) *Moxis Choronensis* (about 440), Hist. Armen. l. III. ed. *Whiston.* Lond. 1736. 4. *Mal. Samueljan*, Bekehr. Armen. durch den h. Greg. Ill. Wien. 1844.—*Saint Martin*, Mémoires sur l'Arménie. Par. 1818. 2 Th. *Chamich*, History of Armenia, transl. by Audall. Calcutta. 1827. 2 Th.

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

§ 64. *Christian Morals.*

Those gifts which the Spirit of God had bestowed as first-fruits in the early periods of the Church, had now been expended, although Irenaeus testifies that the power of prophesying, of speaking with tongues, of healing diseases, and even of raising the dead, remained in his time. Neither of these, however, were common, except that method of healing the sick which consisted in the expulsion of demons. (*a*) Abstinence from blood and from things strangled may have been occasioned by the decree of the apostles, as it obtained prevalence with the writings of Luke. (*b*) The private life of Christians was regulated by principles directly opposed not only to the sensuous, but to the intellectual pleasures of heathenism. (*c*) In their estimation, the earth was a vale of tears, and the predominant feeling of the noblest minds was an ardent longing for their home in another world. Joy in death and love toward his brethren continued still to be the distinguishing badge of a follower of Christ. (*d*) This spirit became peculiarly powerful in times of persecution, but in the longer periods of tranquillity, envy and strife, covetousness and love of pleasure gained the ascendency. The more earnest of the public teachers, therefore, regarded the persecutions in the reigns of Decius and Diocletian as divine judgments to arouse a slumbering Church. (*e*) A pious abandonment even of the innocent enjoyments of the world (ἄσκησις) became a prevalent characteristic of the times, but among some individuals in the Church it was regarded as the ultimate object of all general effort. Although marriage had been exalted by Christianity to its true spiritual meaning, (*f*) vows of perpetual chastity were looked upon as meritorious, (*g*) and many virgins (συνείσακτοι, sorores) undertook the often unfortunate, and therefore gradually discountenanced task, of exhibiting the power of a holy will as brides of the Lord in most intimate companionship with the clergy. (*h*) These vows were not absolutely irrevocable, but the recantation of them was threatened with the severest penances. An entrance into the marriage state after consecration as a Deacon, was regarded as of doubtful propriety, and was limited by special restrictions. (*i*) In the extreme West, one Synod had already forbidden the clergy to enter the marriage state, and even the lower clergy were prohibited all connubial intercourse during seasons of public duty. (*k*) On the other hand, all attempts to

a) *Iren.* II, 57. V, 6. (*Euseb.* H. ecc. V, 7.) *Tertul.* ad Scapul. c. 2. Apolog. c. 23. *Orig.* c. Cels. I, 7. VII, 4. (Th. I. p. 325. 1696.)

b) *Tertul.* Apolog. c. 9. Only the Greek Church however has actually adhered to it.

c) E. G. *Tertul.* de spectaculis, c. 23. de cultu femm. II. 2.—*Hefele*, ü. d. Rigorism d. alten Christen (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1841. P. 3.)

d) *Minuc. Fel.* c. 8. *Euseb.* H. ecc. VII, 22.

e) *Cypr.* de laps. (Opp. Amstel. 700. p. 88.) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VIII, 1.

f) *Tertul.* ad uxor. II, 8. comp. *Orig.* in Num. hom. 6 (Th. II. p. 288.)

g) For heathen testimony, *Galen* in *Abulfeda*, Hist. Anteislam. ed. *Fleischer.* p. 109.

h) The first trace occurs as early as in *Hermae* Pastor III. Sim. 9, 11.—*Cypr.* Ep. 62. *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 19. *Nic.* c. 3.

i) *Constitt. app.* VI. 17. *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 10. *Neocaes.* c. 1.

k) *Conc. Illiberit.* (305–309.) c. 33. comp. c. 65.

impose a rigid system of asceticism as a matter of universal obligation, were discountenanced by the Church. In consequence of this, the Church frequently came into collision with the various classes of *Encratites*, some of whom rejected the use of wine even in the Lord's Supper (ὑδροπαραστάται, aquarii.)

§ 65. *St. Anthony.*

Athanasius, Vita S. Antonii. (Th. II. p. 450ss.) *Sozom.* II. ecc. I. 13. *Hieron.* catal. c. 88. Other things: *Tillemont*, Th. VII. p. 101ss. [*H. Ruffner*, The Fathers of the Desert. New York. 1850. 2 vols. 12.]

The more rigid ascetics in Egypt lived as hermits, although, during the third century, most of them continued near their own homes. Elias and John were their predecessors, and the Therapeutae their countrymen. A complete withdrawal from the world seemed the necessary consequence of the rupture between Christianity and the world. This philosophical mode of life received its permanent form through the influence of *Anthony*. When a mere youth, he had become independent and wealthy by the early death of his parents. On one occasion he stepped into the temple, and heard read from the gospels the word of the Lord to the rich young man. This, like the voice of God to him personally, decided his future course of life. He distributed his goods among the poor (about 270), and betook himself first to a tomb, and then to a dilapidated castle in the mountain, there to wage a fearful conflict with himself under the idea of an encounter with Satan. The visible form in which his adversary assailed him, was sometimes that of a beautiful woman, and at other times that of wild beasts and monsters. His friends, who brought him bread once in six months, heard his wild shrieks, or found him powerless and prostrate on the ground. The report of a persecution of the Christians (311) allured him from his solitude. The Alexandrians gazed upon this man of the desert with amazement. In the very courts of justice, he encouraged the confessors and waited upon the prisoners, but found not a martyr's death. From that time his fame spread abroad, the desert became peopled with his disciples, whom he directed to engage in prayer, and manual labor for their own support and for the relief of the poor. He himself would watch through many nights in succession; bread and salt was his only food, and of this he partook only once in three days, ashamed that an immortal spirit should need even that. He was without human learning, but endowed with eminent natural abilities, and in the service of the King of kings was exalted above the fear, as he was afterwards above the favor of earthly monarchs. His word healed the sick and cast out devils. When his prayers were answered, as they not unfrequently were, he boasted not of his power, nor did he murmur when they were unheard, but in both cases he gave praise to God. No angry person went from his presence unreconciled with his adversary, and no mourner uncomforted. He seemed to have been provided by God to be a physician in bodily and spiritual things for the whole land of Egypt. In the blissful enjoyment of this earthly poverty, it was revealed to him that there was one man more perfect than himself. Since the Decian persecution, *Paul of Thebes* had resided in a cave of the desert, with a single palm-tree to give him provision, shelter, and clothing.

Ninety years had passed away since tidings of him had reached a human ear. Anthony visited him in season to witness his death (340).* In the evening of his life, and annoyed by the honors and interruptions of men, Anthony withdrew still further into the desert, where he cultivated the fruit needful for his food, and presenting himself only occasionally among men, to contend for the true faith, or to protect the oppressed. He finally attained the age of a hundred and five years, when he expired (356). His glory sprung from no books, worldly wisdom, or work of art, but only from his piety; and he departed childless indeed, but the father of an innumerable spiritual family.

§ 66. *Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

I. *Tertul.* de poenitentia. *Cypr.* de lapsis. Epp. canonicae *Dionysii Alexandrini* (about 262), *Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, *Petri Alexandrini* (306). Canones *Conc. Illiberitani.*

II. *Tob. Pfanner*, de catechumenis antiquae Ecc. Francof. 1688.—*Io. Morini*, Commentr. hist. de disciplina in administr. sacram poenitentiae XIII. primis Saec. Par. 1651. Antv. 1681. Ven. 1702. f. *Flügge*, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Rel. 1798. vol. II.

Candidates for admission to the Church (κατηχουμενοι) were first carefully instructed, and rigidly examined in all the studies of the several stages of their education. They were then admitted by baptism and confirmation to all the rights and privileges of a Christian citizen. Such a process was regarded as important, because real goodness of heart and a good character were then of far greater value than numbers. A high degree of public morality was upheld by a rigid discipline. Only public scandals, or offences voluntarily confessed, were subjected to its penalties. All who appeared unworthy of Christian fellowship on account of adultery, murder, or apostasy from Christianity, were immediately excommunicated. These could be restored to their former position in the Church only after a series of penances adjusted to the nature of the offence by the various codes of discipline, and sometimes protracted to the end of life. The power of a disturbed conscience, and the terrors of an exclusion from the Church, in which alone salvation was thought to be attainable, induced many to undergo the most fearful penances. At that time, few could perceive a distinction between an abandonment by God and an exclusion from his Church. The power to relax the severity of the penitential laws in particular instances, was indispensable in times of persecution, on account of the multitude of those who fell away and subsequently returned with sorrow. It was usually exercised by the churches and the bishops with scrupulous restrictions, but by the confessors and martyrs with so much indiscretion, that the discipline of the Church was in danger of becoming ineffectual. In general the principle was conceded, that every actual penitent, at least in the hour of death, should be admitted to reconciliation for all his offences. As a mere outward form in connection with excommunication, particular bishops or synods withdrew ecclesiastical fellowship from whole churches or parties, on account of what was regarded as unchristian sentiments.

* *Hieron.* Vita Pauli Eremitae. Instances more like that of the shoemaker at Alexandria, in *Vitae Patr.* P. II. § 121. comp. *Apologia Conf. Aug.* p. 285.

§ 67. *The Montanists.*

I. *Euseb.* H. ecc. V, 3. 14–19. *Epiphan.* haer. 48s. Kindred matters, and a treatment of the subject which goes much beyond ordinary views of it in all the writings of *Tertullian.* II. *G. Wernsdorf*, de Montanistis. Gedani. 1751. 4. *F. Münter*, Effata et orac. Montanistar. Havn. 1829. *C. M. Kirchner*, de Montanist. Ds. I. Jen. 1832. *F. C. A. Schwegler*, d. Montanismus, u. d. Kirche des 2 Jahrh. Tüb. 1841. See also his Nachapost. Zeitalt. vol. II. p. 259ss.

In an excitement which originated in Phrygia, and extended over all the churches of Asia Minor, not only the rigor of ecclesiastical morals and discipline, but the extraordinary zeal which prevailed in the apostolic Church, was revived and even exceeded. It was there maintained, that the life of a true Christian was a continual self-denial, that he should find pleasure in nothing but God and a martyr's death, and that all earthly delights, even those which science affords, are sinful. Murder, lewdness, and apostasy subjected those who were guilty of them to a hopeless exclusion from the Church. No church was regarded as genuine which would not carry out this rigid system of morals, or which allowed of second marriages, and readmitted those who had once been excluded as offenders. Such churches they denominated *carnal* (the ψυχικοί), superior to which stood the Church of the Spirit (the πνευματικοί), since the Spirit was to be looked for in the Church, and not exclusively in the assembly of the bishops. An ecstasy which proceeded from within themselves, or a divine frenzy, they looked upon as the most exalted condition in which a Christian could be found. A prophet in this state was far superior to a bishop. The peculiar form of apostolic Christianity exhibited in the Apocalypse, while struggling with Gnosticism, and pressing forward after a still higher development of religion, might possibly have become gradually perverted into this *Montanism*, but its assertion respecting higher revelations of truth to be expected in the Church, indicates a consciousness of innovation. *Montanus* of Mysia is designated by some contemporary writers at a distance from him, as the author of this movement. He had probably been a priest of Cybele, and was at this time attended by two prophetic women. With the imaginative, enthusiastic spirit which characterized his fellow-countrymen, he announced himself as the individual in whom the promised Paraclete had completely revealed himself, that the Church might be carried forward to its perfection just before the introduction of the millennial kingdom. The heavenly Jerusalem, the metropolis of that kingdom, was to descend to earth at Pepuza. The Montanists (οἱ κατὰ Φρύγας, Pepuziani) were expelled from the Church by the Asiatic bishops (about 170), not, however, without great hesitation, since their new prophecies were not absolutely inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church of that period, and it was therefore difficult to determine whether they were of divine or demoniac origin. In Asia, they continued to exist under an ecclesiastical constitution of their own, until some time in the sixth century. In the West, their moral principles obtained an influence which seemed almost a complete victory. What Montanus had announced in a fanatical spirit, Tertullian, with his polished and liberal views, presented to the apprehensions of men with a kind of twilight distinctness. All that either of these men did was boldly to complete what nearly the whole Church of that

age was striving for, and merely to demand of every one what was admired in individual saints, but which, if it had generally prevailed, would either have destroyed the Church or the nature of man.

§ 68. *The Novatians.*

Cypr. Epp. 41–52. *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 43–45. VIII, 8. *Conc. Nic.* can. 6. *Cod. Theod.* XVI. tit. 5. lex. 2. *Socrat.* H. ecc. I, 10. IV, 28. V, 21.

In opposition to *Cornelius*, the newly elected bishop, *Novatian*, his presbyter, violently opposed the readmission of those who had once fallen. This man was a philosopher who had embraced Christianity in the midst of sickness and severe spiritual conflicts, and after his conversion had become an ascetic, and a prudent advocate of the faith generally embraced in the Church.* By his own party, strengthened by some persons from the African Church, he was elected a rival bishop (251). The Novatians excluded from the Church all those who had been guilty of deadly sins, and taught, that while such should be exhorted to repentance and hope of the divine mercy, no prospect should be held out to them that they would ever be readmitted to a Church which should consist only of saints and purified persons (καθαροί). They withdrew all fellowship from the Catholic Church, and re-baptized all who came from it to them. Their party was sometimes treated with respect, generally with forbearance, and by the emperor himself, at Nicaea, with good-humored raillery, but it was overwhelmed by the authority of the Catholic Church. Its adherents continued without a visible organization for some centuries, though in Phrygia they were sometimes confounded with the Montanists. In other countries also a similar uncertainty with respect to the true idea of the Church, and strict discipline, produced similar divisions, but all these necessarily ceased when heathenism was overthrown, and milder views gained the ascendency.

§ 69. *Holy Seasons, and the Controversy about Easter.*

Hospinianus, Festa christ. (Tigur. 1593.) Genev. 1674. *Augusti*, die Feste der alten Christen. Lps. 1817–20. 3 vols. *Ullmann*, Zusammenst. des chr. Festcyclus mit vorchristl. Festen. Appendix to *Creuzer's* Symbolik. vol. IV. separately printed from the third ed. Darmst. 1843. *Staudenmaier*, d. Geist d. Christenth. in d. heil. Zeiten, Handl. u. d. heil. Kunst. Mainz. (1835.) 1838. 2 vols.

The three hours of the day observed by the Jews as seasons for prayer, were recommended to those whose secular employments were likely to withdraw their thoughts from God, as an excellent means of reminding them of their duty. The dawn of the day, and in times of persecution the night, was preferred for public assemblies. That they might give special solemnity to their higher festivals, the preceding night was made a part of them (vigilia). In determining what days should be observed as holy, they paid attention to the critical seasons of joy or grief which occurred in the course of our Saviour's life. *Wednesday*, and especially *Friday* (dies stationum, feria quarta et sexta), were consecrated as partial fast-days (till 3 P. M.) in commemoration of his sufferings. The Roman Church regarded Saturday as

* De Trinitate, Opp. ed. *Jackson*. Lond. 1728. (*Galland.* Th. IV.) Comp. *Hieron.* catal. c. 70.

a fast-day, in direct opposition to those who regarded it as a Sabbath. *Sunday* remained a joyful festival, in which all fasting and worldly business was avoided as much as possible, but the original commandment of the Decalogue respecting the Sabbath was not then applied to that day. (*a*) A season of fasting of greater or less length in different places (afterwards called Quadrigesima), was observed just before the passover. In Asia Minor, the paschal supper was eaten as a type of Christ's sacrifice on the night of the fourteenth day of the month Nisan. But in other parts of the Church, the Jewish festival was altogether set aside. The Resurrection of our Lord was celebrated on the Sunday after the full moon in the spring, and the day of his death on the Friday preceding. When *Polycarp* visited Rome (about 160), this difference in reckoning was discussed, though without injury to Christian unity. But the Roman bishop *Victor* threatened to withdraw ecclesiastical fellowship from the Asiatic bishops, on account of their course in this matter (196). Public opinion was in favor of the usage in the Roman Church with respect to this festival, but the violent measures pursued by the Roman bishop were decidedly condemned by all distinguished teachers. (*b*) The fifty days which immediately followed Easter (Pentecost), formed a season of festivity for the commemoration of the glorification of Christ, and the last day of that period was kept as the proper *Pentecost*, in honor of the effusion of the Holy Spirit. According to the oldest authorities, heretics were baptized on the *Feast of the Epiphany*, which was celebrated in conformity with the views of the heretics, in commemoration of the Manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) of the Messiah. In this festival the Church had reference to the revelation of Christ in the flesh, and hence in the oriental churches, after the close of the third century, the sixth of January appears to have been observed in the double sense of a baptismal and a birth-day festival. (*c*) Some churches annually celebrated the days on which the martyrdom of some of their number took place, as if they were birth-days (natalia), when assemblies were held around their graves; and about the close of the third century some amusements were allowed on such occasions, instead of the heathen festivities formerly enjoyed. (*d*) As these martyrs were looked upon as the best representatives of Jesus Christ on earth, the relation of the Church to them was that of an affectionate fellowship. Even then we find some indications of a confidence in their power to aid men either in the present life or at the final judgment. In accordance with the ancient doctrine of the saving efficacy of an expiatory death, a degree of influence was ascribed to their death as well as to that of Jesus. (*e*)

a) *F. Liebetrut*, d. Tag d. Herrn. Berl. 1837. *F. W. Rücker*, v. Tage d. Herrn. Erl. 1839.

b) *Euseb.* H. ecc. V, 23-25. Vita Constant. III, 18. *Socrat.* H. ecc. V, 21. Chronicon pasch. ed. *Dufresne*. Par. 1688. Add. N. 14.—*Neander*, ü. Veranlass. u. Beschaffenh. d. ält. Passahstreitigkeiten. (KHist. Archiv. 1823. St. 2.) *Rettberg*, d. Paschastreit. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1832. B. II. St. 2.) *Gieseler* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 4.

c) *Clement.* Strom. I. p. 407s. comp. *Cassiani* Collat. X, 2.—*Jablonsky*, de orig. festi nativ. Christi, Ds. I. § 7. (Opp. Th. III. p. 328ss.) *Gieseler* in d. Hall. Lit. Z. 1823. p. 836.

d) *Greg. Thaumaturgi* Opp. ed. *Voss.* Mog. 1604. p. 312. comp. *August.* Ep. 29. § 9. ad Alypium.

e) *Ep. Eccl. Smyrn.* (*Euseb.* H. ecc. IV, 15.) *Cypr.* de laps. c. 17. (al. 14s.) *Orig.* exhort. ad mart. c. 50.

§ 70. *Sacred Places and their Decoration.*

Ciampini, vett. monumenta. Rome. 1743. 3 vols. f. *Jacutii* chr. antiquitatum specimina. Rome. 1752. 4. *Münter*, Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorst. d. alten Christen. Alton. 1825. 2 parts. 4. *Gränzen*, v. d. Ursachen u. Gränzen d. Kunsthasses in d. ersten 3 Jahrh. (Kunstblatt. 1831. N. 2888.) [*Mrs. Jameson*, Sacred and Legendary Art. Lond. 1848. 2 vols. 8. *Lord Lindsay*, Sketches of the Hist. of Christian Art. Lond. 1847. 3 vols. 8.]

The halls in which the Christians were accustomed to assemble, were furnished for public speaking with an elevated platform, and for the administration of the Lord's Supper with a table which, near the end of the second century, was called an altar. Churches began to be constructed after the close of the third century, and during the reign of Diocletian some were built of considerable size. When the people very generally adopted the sentiment, that God was present in some peculiar sense in the house of worship, their more intelligent public teachers reminded them that the world was his temple. (*a*) Christians were fond of holding their religious assemblies over the graves of the dead, and sometimes they even descended into the vaults of the catacombs to find a place for prayer. Such places, however, at least in Rome, were never fitted to accommodate their larger assemblies. (*b*) The imitative arts had flourished principally in the service of the ancient gods, and hence the same hatred which had prevailed against them among the Jews, was continued in the Christian Church. None but heathen who revered Jesus, as either a sage or a Son of God, or heretics, who mingled together pagan and Christian principles, ever possessed images of him. In place of these, however, and with the direct object of excluding heathen images, were introduced various Christian emblems, such as the cross, the good shepherd, the ram and the lambs, the fisherman and the fishes (ΙΧΘΥΣ), the ship, the dove, the palm, the lyre, the phœnix, and the cock and anchor. At first, these were used only in private dwellings, but gradually they were introduced as ornaments of tombs, and as works of art in fresco or mosaic, to decorate their churches. But even as late as the fourth century, they were censured as innovations. (*c*)

§ 71. *Sacred Services.*

The worship of the Temple described in the Old Testament, was the model to which was conformed as much as possible the public services of the Christian assemblies. In compliance with the spirit of the times, though it was originally a matter of necessity, the Lord's Supper was administered near the close of the second century as a Christian mystery, with the view of investing it with an increased sanctity by its seclusion and secresy. By this means, a mysterious character was imparted to a number of the usages and

a) *Tertul.* de orat. c. 24.

b) Comp. *Hieron.* in Ezech. c. 40. After the works of *Bosio*, *Arringhi*, *Baldetti*, and *Bottari*, see *Rostell.* Roms Katakomben. (Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, von *Platner*, *Bunsen*, and oth. Stuttg. 1830ss. vol. I. pp. 354–416.) *C. F. Bellermann*, ü. d. ältesten chr. Begräbnissstätten u. bes. d. Katakomben zu Neapel m. ihren Wandgemählden. Hamb. 1839. 4. [*C. Maitland*, The Church in the Catacombs, or a Description of the Prim. Church of Rome. new ed. Lond. 1850. 8.]

c) *Conc. Illiberit.* can. 36. *Epiphan.* Ep. ad Jo. Hieros. (vol. II. p. 317.)

forms of the Church. (*a*) The *Lord's Supper* was celebrated at the close of every solemn assembly, but the much-abused and more infrequent *Love-Feast* was generally held apart from the public services, and in the evening. The bread and the wine were in some instances regarded as the symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and in others as pervaded by the Logos. This sacred ordinance was supposed to be a thank-offering, and to have some special influence upon the resurrection of the body. The consecrated bread was sent to those who were absent, or taken home for subsequent use, and sometimes bottles of the wine, labelled with some pious toasts, were even placed on the coffins of the dead. (*b*) Origen found *Infant Baptism* an old ancestral usage in the region where he resided, but others advised that, as a matter of policy, the baptism of even adults should be deferred as long as possible (procrastinatio). (*c*) The solemn act by which the worship of the gods was abjured, taken in connection with the Jewish notion of the expulsion of demons, gave occasion to the practice of uniting *Exorcism* with the ordinance of baptism. The principle that baptism was to be administered but once to the same person, was universally acknowledged. But the African, and even some of the Asiatic churches, baptized those who came to them from any of the heretical sects, because they denied the Christian character of baptism when administered among those sects. The Roman Church, however, recognized the validity of all baptisms in which the subject formed a full purpose to enter into fellowship with Christ. (*d*) Those catechumens who suffered martyrdom before baptism, were looked upon as *baptized in blood*. The reception or addition of a name in baptism, had reference to apostolic example, and a cycle of Christian names, of Jewish or heathen origin, was in this way formed. *Sponsors* (*ἀνάδοχοι*, sponsores) were introduced in the administration of baptism, that they might be sureties for the good intentions of adult candidates, and for the future education of infants, and as witnesses in all cases. The seasons in which baptism was ordinarily administered, were Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany. During the performance of the rite, the candidates were clothed in white garments (vestis alba). The imposition of hands for the communication of the Holy Ghost (*χειροθεσία*), was originally connected with and immediately followed by the rite of baptism. But when, in the West, the imparting of the gift of the Spirit was looked upon as the prerogative of the bishops, the ceremony of confirmation was performed as a distinct rite. The intention of those who were about to enter the *marriage relation*, was previously made known to the assembled congregation. The betrothed parties, after partaking of the Lord's Supper, received the benediction of the priest. There was much contention between the respective advocates of the

a) These were not called *disciplina arcani* until after the Reformation, and in the Catholic Church they were then referred as apostolic to religious doctrines. Controversial writings of *Schelstrate* and *Tentzel*. 1678ss. *C. Frommann*, de disc. arc. Jen. 1833. *R. Rothe*, de disc. arc. Heidelb. 1841. comp. *Grossmann*, de Judaeor. disc. arc. Lps. 1833s. 2 P. 4.

b) *Eusebius Romanus* (Mabillon), de cultu sanctorum ignotor. Par. 1688. (ed. 2. 1705.) 4. Beschr. d. Stadt Rom. vol. I. p. 400ss. *Bellermann*, p. 60s.

c) *Orig.* in Rom. V, 9. (vol. IV. p. 565.) On the other hand: *Tertul.* de bapt. c. 18.

d) *Tertul.* de bapt. c. 15. *Cypr.* Epp. 69–75. Conc. Carth. III. (*Cypr.* Opp. p. 158ss.)—(Marchetti) Esercitazioni Ciprianiche circa il battesimo degli eretici. Roma. 1787.

Jewish and the Roman law, regarding what ought to be considered legal *impediments to marriage*. The different moral principles of the parties, and the precepts of the Old Testament, were looked upon as valid objections to all intermarriages with the heathen. (*c*) *Divorces* were seldom recognized by the Church for any other cause than adultery. All who had died in the Lord were committed to the grave with ecclesiastical solemnities. The mode of burial was generally conformed to the usages of the ancient Jews, or to other customs not inconsistent with the habits of the ancient Romans. On anniversaries of the decease of beloved friends, alms were distributed in their name among the poor, or gifts were presented in their behalf at the altar, by which means their names continued to be remembered and mentioned in the prayers of the Church.

CHAP. IV.—DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH, AND OPINIONS OPPOSED TO THEM.

§ 72. *Sources from which the Church derived its System of Faith.*

The books of the Old Testament were at first the only books which the Church regarded as sacred. Although Paul's views respecting them avoided all extremes, public opinion generally agreed with him, and the clergy did not hesitate to appeal to them as authority for what they wished to prove. *Melito* visited Palestine for the express purpose of ascertaining what books belonged to the canon of the Old Testament, and finally settled upon those recognized by the Jews of that region. To these, Origen subsequently added the book of the Maccabees, (*a*) and as the Alexandrian version (LXX.) was in general use in the Greek congregations, all the books embraced in it (since the time of Jerome, so far as not contained in the original Hebrew, called the Apocrypha of the Old Testament) were esteemed as of nearly equal authority. But the necessity of the case, and a consciousness that Christianity had much peculiar to itself, produced during the second century, from the writings of its founders, a body of Sacred Scriptures exclusively its own. *Justin* made use of an indefinite multitude of apostolic memoirs, among which we find mentioned a gospel of the Hebrews. (*b*) The unity of the Church, however, rendered it indispensable that there should be an agreement in all its parts respecting the canon of its Holy Scriptures. *Marcion* was probably not merely the first witness, but in accordance with his peculiar views of the nature of Christianity, the first author of such a canon. He testifies to one gospel and the ten epistles of Paul, but those who, in a short time, were opposed to him, mention four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one epistle of Peter, and one of John. Respecting the remaining portions of the New Testament, the views of the

c) *Tertul.* de monog. c. 7. 11. *Cypr.* de lapsis. c. 6.

a) *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 26. *Orig.* in Ps. 1. (vol. II. p. 529.)

b) *Winer*, Just. Evv. can. usum fuisse ostenditur. Lps. 1819. 4. On the other hand: *Credner*, Beitr. z. Einl. in d. Bibl. Schrr. vol. I. p. 211ss. Comp. *Bindemann* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1842. P. 2. *Franck* in d. Stud. d. Geistlichk. Wurtemb. 1846. P. 1.

Church were not then quite settled. (*c*) In deciding whether any book was canonical, they were determined on the one hand by the apostolic character of the author, and on the other by the Christian popular character of the book itself. In conformity with the views of the Jews respecting the Old Testament, the writings of the *New Testament* were regarded as inspired by the Holy Ghost, but this inspiration was looked upon only as the highest state of religious fervor. The Holy Scriptures, in the ordinary language of the people, were made the basis of all public devotional exercises, and all were frequently urged to peruse them in private; but copies of them were very expensive, and only a few among the people were capable of reading them. (*d*) In opposition to worldly wisdom, and the esoteric doctrines of the heretics, the Church appealed to the literal meaning of the sacred writings. (*e*) But the only way in which it seemed possible satisfactorily to confute heretics, was by appealing to *Tradition*, (*f*) by which was meant the doctrines of the Church orally communicated by the apostles to the first bishops, and propagated by them in an unadulterated form among their successors. It was, in fact, an abstract of every thing which the Christian consciousness of each age had uttered through public opinion, against views inconsistent with it. As a summary of these traditionary doctrines, the *Apostles' Creed* (*g*) was gradually formed out of the confessions of faith used in baptism. As these were intended to be opposed to the heretical opinions of the day, this creed possessed a tolerably uniform character, though some of its particular expressions were still undetermined. The *Rule of Faith* to which some ecclesiastical fathers alluded, was only a free amplification of this creed, adapted to the wants of the period in which it was composed. (*h*) In this way a scale was in practice formed, according to which tradition was placed in a station superior to that of the Scriptures as a rule of interpretation and a necessary complement to the system of faith; and the Creed was looked upon as superior to tradition, on the ground of its being an authorized abstract of it; but in principle all three were regarded as equally safe and necessarily harmonious sources of Christian truth.

§ 73. *Apostolic Fathers of the Second Century. Cont. from* § 39.

A few Asiatic bishops who had beheld the face of the apostle John, were numbered among the apostolic Fathers. Their writings belong to a period anterior to the cultivation of Greek literature and the principal contest with heathenism, and they had access only to particular books of the New Testament. The Seven Epistles of *Ignatius*, written while their author was on his journey to his place of martyrdom, have been altered, certainly in their

c) *J. Kirchhofer*, Quellensamml. z. Gesch. z. neutest. Can. bis Hieron. Zür. 1844.

d) *F. Walch*, v. Gebrauch d. H. Schr. in d. ersten 4 Jahrh. Lps. 1799. (On the other hand: *Lessing*, Sämmtl. Schrr. Berl. 1840. vol. XI. p. 561ss.) *L. v. Ess*, Auszüge ü. d. nothw. u. nützl. Bibelles. a. d. KV. Lps. (1803.) 1816. See also his Chrysost. o. Stimmen der KV. f. Bibelles. Darmst. 1824.

e) *Iren.* I, 8. 1. III, 2. *Tertul.* de resurrect. carn. c. 3.

f) *Iren.* III, 3s. *Tertul.* de prescript. c. 13–27. de corona c. 3.

g) *Rufini* Expositio in Symb. App.—*Sir Peter King*, Hist. Symb. of the Ap. Creed. Lond. 1702. 8.

h) *Iren.* I, 10. *Tertul.* d. virgg. vel. c. 1. De praescr. c. 13. Adv. Prax. c. 2. *Orig.* de princ. Prooem. § 4ss.—*A. Hahn*, Bibl. d. Symb. u. GRegeln d. Ap. Kath. Kirche. Bresl. 1842.

more extended, and probably in their most abridged form. But even the latter more authentic portions, though regarded as a fabrication of the middle of the second century, give us an authentic representation of the high-wrought feelings of a martyr, and of a general desire to secure the Christian unity of the congregations to which they were addressed, by bringing them together under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Its general characteristics are, a spirit formed under the combined influence of Paul and John, a practical opposition to the system of the Docetae, and a conception of Christianity as something wholly internal, and independent of historical evidence. (*a*) The recently discovered Syriac version of his epistles, and especially of his epistle to the Ephesians, presents us with a much more concise, but a no less hierarchical text. (*b*) The epistle of *Polycarp* to the church of Philippi, written soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius, with reference to that event and to various circumstances connected with that church, is a modest and spiritual work, which refers to Paul, and in some passages reminds us of the first epistle of John. (*c*) *Papias* (d. about 163), bishop of Hierapolis, in his account of the facts in the life of our Saviour, has recorded those things which he had learned from the lips of such as had had intercourse with the apostles. Having been in early youth a pupil of John, he took a peculiar pleasure in the living word; and it was only when he was judged by an age whose spirit had become essentially different, that he was accused of possessing a very contracted mind. (*d*)

§ 74. *Ecclesiastical Literature and Heresy.*

J. G. Rosenmueller, de chr. Theol. orig. Lps. 1786. *Marheinecke*, Ursprung u. Entwickl. d. Orthod. u. Heterod. in d. ersten 3 Jahrh. (Daub. u. Creuzer, Studien. 1808. vol. III.) *B. J. Hilgers*, Krit. Darst. d. Häresen u. d. Orthod. Hauptricht. v. Standp. d. Kath. aus. Bonn. 1837. 1st vol.

The sole object of the gospel was to awaken and to satisfy the religious spirit of man, by an exhibition of a true religious spirit. But when it came among a people highly educated in science, and was pressed by opponents, this spirit was obliged to seek for a more definite consciousness of its principles. Its opponents consisted principally of those who attempted to form

a) *Polyc.* Ep. c. 13. *Iren.* V, 28. *Orig.* in Luc. Hom. 6. (vol. III. p. 938.) *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 36. *M. J. Wocher*, die Br. d. h. Ign. übers. u. erklärt. Tüb. 1829.—*J. Dallaeus*, de scriptis, quae sub Dion. et Ignatii nomm. circumferuntur. Gen. 1666. 4.—*Baur*, in d. Tüb. Zeitschr. 1838. P. 3. p. 148ss. *J. E. Ch. Schmidt*, d. doppelte Rec. d. Br. d. Ign. (Henke's Mag. vol. III. p. 91ss. abbreviated in his KGesch. Th. I. p. 200s.) *G. C. Netz*, Vers. ü. d. Br. d. Ign. an Polyk. (Stud. u. Krit. 1835. P. 4.)—*K. Meier*, d. dopp. Rec. d. Br. d. Ign. (Stud. u. Krit. 1836. P. 2.)—*J. Pearson*, Vindiciae Epp. S. Ign. acc. *J. Vossii*, Epp. Cantabr. 1672. 4. (*Coteler.* PP. app. Th. II. P. II. p. 236ss.) *Rothe*, Anfänge d. Kirche. vol. I. p. 715ss. *Huther* in Illgen's Zeitschr. 1841. P. 4.—*Ch. Düsterdieck*, quae de Ignatianarum epp. authentia, duorumque textuum ratione hucusque prolatae sunt sententiae enarrantur. Gott. 1843. 4.

b) The ancient Syriac version of the epistles of S. Ign. to S. Polyc. the Ephesians and Romans, collected from the writings of Severus of Antioch, Timoth. of Alexandria, and others. by *William Cureton*. Lond. 1845.

c) *Iren.* III, 3. *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 36. V, 20. *Wocher*, Br. d. apost. Väter Clem. u. Polyc. übers. m. Com. Tüb. 1830. Reasons in Opposition to its Genuineness: *Schwegler*, Nachapost. Zeita. vol. II. p. 154ss.

d) Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. Lost except an inconsiderable fragment. *Iren.* V, 33. *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 39. comp. 36. Chron. ad Olymp. 220. *Grabe*, Spicil. Patr. P. II. p. 34ss. *Münter*, Fragmm. Patr. graec. Hafn. 1788. Fasc. I. p. 15ss. Comp. *Hess*, Bibl. d. heil. Gesch. vol. I. p. 297ss.

such a historical embodiment of its nature as would afford no room for the religion of the spirit, and of those who aimed at such a speculative refinement as threatened to destroy every historical element in Christianity. The former proceeded from the schools of Judaism, and the latter from those of heathenism. The principles which finally obtained the ascendency, and for that reason only became those of the Catholic Church, moved on with conscious security between both these extremes, although theological science was at different periods attracted more to the one side than to the other. Christianity was at first regarded as embracing so wide a range, that Justin did not hesitate (Ap. I. c. 46.) to consider Socrates, and all those who had lived up to the light of reason, as Christians. But the more the Church, during its severe conflicts, became conscious of its true nature, the more decidedly was every thing opposed to it separated from it as a *Heresy*, *i. e.* as what ought to have been and claimed to be Christian, and yet really was not. In this way it may have happened, that instead of an unchristian party, only a vanquished minority was sometimes excluded. The literature of this period was sophistical, and neither creative in its essential character, nor attractive in its style. The energy of faith which theological science then exhibited, was sufficient to supply the place of both these qualities, but could not call them into existence.

§ 75. *Ebionism. Cont. from* § 35.

Gieseler, Naz. u. Ebion. (Stäudlin's u. Tzschirner's Arch. vol. IV. Part 2.) *Huse*, ü. d. Empfänger d. Br. an d. Hebräer. (Winer's u. Engelh. Journ. vol. II. P. 3.) *L. Lange*, Beitrr. z. ält. KGesch. Lps. 1826. vol. I.—*Baur* and *Schwegler* (before § 29.) On the other hand: *A. Schliemann*, die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften u. der Ebionitismus. Hamb. 1844.

As the whole power and development of the Church was established among nations subject to Greek refinement and civilization, the Jewish portion of the Christian community, in its seclusion, began to be regarded as a mere sect, and the old name of *Nazarenes*, by which Christians in Palestine had been distinguished, as well as that of *Ebionites*, (*a*) which was probably quite as ancient, and had been applied to the congregations at Jerusalem and Pella, became simply designations of particular sects. Justin (*b*) made a distinction between those Jewish Christians who were satisfied with their own observance of the Mosaic law, and those who demanded that converts from heathenism should observe the same law as a necessary condition of salvation. The former he recognized as brethren, though even at that early period such a recognition had ceased to be universal among his fellow-Christians; but the latter he looked upon as incapable of salvation. Origen (*c*) found a type of the Ebionites in the blind man who prayed to the son of David, Eusebius (*d*) looked upon them as persons who were deluded, but not wholly estranged from Christ, and Epiphanius was the first to pour upon them the vials of that wrath which all heresies provoked from him. Even at this early period, however, there were not many Jewish Christians beyond the borders of Syria and Palestine. It is not impossible that a congregation at

a) *Epiphan.* haer. 30, 17. On the other hand: *Tertul.* de praescr. c. 33.
b) C. Tryph. c. 47. *c*) In Matth. tom. 16. (Th. III. p. 733ss.) *d*) H. ecc. III, 27.

Rome was the only one composed exclusively of them. But many even of these had renounced circumcision and all that was essential to their position, and retained nothing but an empty protest against the apostolic authority of Paul. Attempts at an accommodation with this party on the side of the great Church, would not therefore seem probable, nor have we any accounts of such attempts from contemporary writers. Even the Christianity of Paul had an acknowledged basis in the Jewish system, and not only were some fragments of the Mosaic law unintentionally preserved in the habits and customs especially of the churches of Asia Minor, but others were restored in order to promote certain hierarchical ends. The second epistle of Peter, and the union of the names of Peter and Paul in the watchword used at Rome, may have been occasioned by those Jewish Christians who needed such a reconciliation with the general Church. (*e*) Irenaeus was the first who reckoned the Ebionites indiscriminately among heretics. Their doctrine respecting Jesus was the same with that taught by Cerinthus; they adhered to the Mosaic law, used only one gospel, which was that according to Matthew, and rejected the authority of Paul as an apostate. (*f*) Origen and Eusebius distinguish between two different classes of Ebionites, which were agreed in their opposition to the progressive creed of the Church, but differed from each other in their Jewish representations of the Messiah. The one regarded Christ as the son of Mary and Joseph; the other looked upon him as born of the virgin through the Holy Ghost, and acknowledged him to be a superhuman, but not a divine being. (*g*) Jerome was the first who appropriated the name of Nazarenes exclusively to that party which held to the higher view of the nature of Christ, and were most tolerant toward the Gentile Christians, and he declares that they were united together in the most delightful fraternal affection. (*h*) When he wrote, they still maintained their synagogues, in which were found Elders and Overseers; but in the seventh century they had completely dwindled away, unable to maintain their position between the parties then contending for supremacy, and to both of which they professed adherence.

§ 76. I. *Gnosticism.*

I. *Iren.* adv. haereses. *Tertul.* de praescriptionibus haereticorum. *Epiph.* adv. haereses, and *Theodoret*, haereticorum fabb. articles relating to the subject. All the ecclesiastical writers of this period, especially *Clement* and *Origen* in particular passages.—*Plotinus*, πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικούς. (Ennead. II. lib. 9.) ed. *G. H. Heigl.* Ratisb. 1832. Comp. Stud. u. Krit. 1834. P. 2.

II. *Massuet*, Dss. previne to his edit. of Irenaeus. *Moshemii* de reb. Christ. ante Const. p. 333ss. [translated into English by *R. S. Vidal.* Lond. 1813. 2 vols. 8. and by *Dr. Murdock.* New York. 1850.] (*Münter,*) Vers. ü. d. kirchl. Alterthümer d. Gnostiker. Ansb. 1790. *E. A. Lewald*, de doctr. gnostica. Heidelb. 1818. *Neander*, genet. Entw. d. gnost. Systeme. Brl. 1818. See also his Hist. of

e) *Schwegler*, nachapost. Zeita. vol. I. p. 490ss.

f) I, 26. (The difficulty of the passage is to be removed not by correction, but by punctuation): Consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum, ea autem, quae sunt erga Dominum, non similiter: ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur.

g) *Orig.* c. Cels. V, 61. 65. *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 27.

h) In Jesai. VIII, 9. 13. XXIX, 20. XXXI. 6ss. comp. Ep. ad Aug. 112. (al. 89.) *Epiph.* haer. 29, 7ss. On the other hand: *August.* c. Faust. XIX, 18. with reference to the Nazarenes says: In ea perversitate manserunt, ut et gentes cogerent judaizare.

the Chr. Rel. [Torrey's Transl. vol. I. pp. 366–478.] *Lücke*, ü. d. Gnost. Systeme u. was neuerlich dafür gethan ist. (Theol. Zeitschr. Brl. 1819. vol. I. sect. 2.) *Gieseler*, Church Hist. [Davidson's Transl. Edinb. 1846. vol. I. § 44.] and in Halle Lit. Zeit. 1823. N. 104ss. *J. Matter*, Hist. crit. du gnosticisme. Par. (1828.) 1843. 2 Th. *J. J. Schmidt*, ü. d. Verwandtsch. d. gnost. theos. Lehren m. d. Religionssystemen d. Orients, vorz. des Buddhaism. Lps. 1828. (Comp. *Gieseler* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1830. vol. I. p. 373ss.) *Möhler*, Vers. ü. d. Urspr. d. Gnostic. Tüb. 1831. 4. *Baur*, d. christl. Gnosis in geschichtl. Entw. Tüb. 1835. and Stud. u. Krit. 1837. P. 3. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, Comp. d. DGesch. vol. I. p. 31ss. *Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Phil. Hamb. 1841. vol. I. p. 109ss. [*E. Burton*, Inq. into the Heresies of the Apost. Age. Bampt. Lectt. Oxf. 1829. An Epitome of the Hist. of Phil. transl. from the French by *C. S. Henry*. New York. 1841. 2 vols. 12. Per. III. § 1. *Tennemann's* Manual of the H. of Phil. transl. by *A. Johnson*. Oxf. 1832. 8. *J. P. Potter*, in Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Gnosticism. *J. D. Maurice*, Hist. of Philosophy, during the first six centuries. Lond. 1854.]

No sooner had Oriental become mingled with Hellenistic, and especially with Platonic speculations, than the old problem of speculative philosophy respecting the derivation of the finite from the infinite, became, in consequence of the profound consciousness which the age then possessed of its internal distractions and longings, the object of an extensively ramified system. The name *Gnosis* was applied to an extraordinary insight into divine things, beyond the system of faith which the people commonly received on authority. The commencement of Gnosticism may be discovered even in the time of the apostles, (*a*) but its influence never became sufficiently developed to appear dangerous, until since the reign of Trajan. (*b*) Its usual fundamental principles were: a God with no connection whatever with our world, and a matter entirely underived from and independent of the Deity; a revelation of the unknown deity by means of an intermediate divine being, whose contact with matter gave existence to our world, and all its series of events; a redemption of whatever is divine but confined in the material world, in consequence of the personal interference of a divine being in the affairs of the world. Wherever the peculiar principles of Gnosticism gained the ascendency, the intermediate divine being became individualized in a descending series of celestial natures (αἰῶνες), (*c*) from the lowest class of which proceeded the Creator of the world (δημιουργός), and from the highest the Redeemer. Gnosticism, like New-Platonism, was obliged to enter deeply into the popular religion of that period, and to become a philosophy of the three great forms of religions then in conflict. It even went still further, and aimed to become a particular form of religion itself. Its oriental element was derived from Persia, and was a dreamy blending of sense and allegory. Simon and Cerinthus had already shown how it could be brought into alliance with Judaism, but where no feelings of piety prevented, its advocates very naturally recognized their Demiurge in the representations of Jehovah in the Old Testament. On becoming involved in the powerful movements of Christianity, its principles were in some measure accommodated to those of the gospel, and never, indeed, found full development until it became connected with

a) § 32. 37. yet comp. *C. C. Tittmann*, de vestigiis Gnosticor. in N. T. frustra quaesitis. Lps. 1773. [transl. and publ. in Contribb. to For. Theol. Lit. New York. 1827. 8.] *J. Horn*, Bibl. Gnosis. Hann. 1805.—*Paulus*, die drey Lehrbriefe v. Jo. Heidelb. 1829. *Baur*, die sogen. Pastoralbrr. d. Ap. Paulus. Stuttg. 1835. On the other hand: *M. Baumgarten*, die Aechtheit d. Pastoralbrr. vertheidigt. Berl. 1837.

b) *Hegesipp.* in *Euseb.* H. ecc. III, 32. IV, 22. *Clem.* Strom. VII, 17. (p. 898.)

c) In accordance with the system of Aristotle, de coelo I, 9.

that faith. In the God of the Christian system, its votaries recognized their own perfect God, in Christ their redeeming Aeon, in the Christianity which he *really* preached their secret traditions, and in the faith proclaimed by the Church, the natural mode of representation in which these became adapted to the popular mind. Its ethical system, in which the greatest contempt for the world was expressed, harmonized with the most rigid requirements of the Church, and only a few of its parties were so demoralized as to justify licentiousness, on the ground of an exaltation above the terrestrial law of the Demiurge. The founders of the different Gnostic parties have been made known to us in history, but we are nowhere informed of him who originated the great system common to them all. The predominance of the Oriental, the Hellenistic, the Christian, or the Jewish element, presents us with a convenient principle in accordance with which these Gnostic systems may naturally be classified.

§ 77. II. *Syrian Gnostics.*

1) *Saturninus*, who lived at Antioch in the time of Trajan, taught that there was opposed to the good Deity (πατὴρ ἄγνωστος) a wild, tempestuous kingdom of evil, under the dominion of Satan. From the former emanated the spiritual world of Aeons. At its lower confines were placed the seven planetary spirits (ἄγγελοι κοσμοκράτορες). Far away from their divine source, but battling with the kingdom of darkness, these formed the world of sense, and made man according to their obscure recollections of the image of God. But the work which they had thus formed, helplessly collapsed, and could not stand erect until the unknown Father, pitying them, sent into it a spark of divine life. In opposition to this new race, Satan formed another after his own image. To redeem the more exalted race from the power of Satan and of the planetary spirits, one of the highest Aeons (νοῦς), as Christ, assumed the semblance of a body. That men may be redeemed, they must, on their part, abstain from every thing which brings them under the power of matter. The followers of Saturninus, for this reason, abstained from marriage, and many of them even from flesh. (*a*) After a brief period, nothing is known respecting them. 2) The *Disciples of John*, in the second century, looked upon John the Baptist as the true Messiah, though others regarded him as an angel in human form. Among the Simonians, he was supposed to have been the teacher of Simon. Though nothing was known of the Nazoraeans (Mendaeans, Zabians) until they were discovered by missionaries in Persia in the seventeenth century, their peculiar Johannic system of Gnosticism could only have originated when a particular party professed adherence to John, and when Gnosticism was in its forming state. They believed in a kingdom of darkness as well as of light, in a formation of the world and a struggle with the powers of darkness by an ambiguous intermediate being (Fetahil); that Judaism was the work of gloomy planetary spirits; that the redeeming Aeon appeared to John, and that Jesus was a false prophet, anointed by the planetary spirits. Baptism they regarded as an act of consecration to be annually repeated, and daily ablutions were practised as a religious duty. (*b*)

a) *Iren.* 1, 24. *Epiph.* haer. 23.

b) I. *Acts* 18, 25. 19, 2–7. *Clement.* Recogn. I, 54. 60. and Homil. II, 23ss. *Hieron.* in Aggeum.

§ 78. III. *Hellenistic Gnostics.*

1) *Basilides*, who lived at Alexandria in the time of Hadrian, believed that from the ineffable God (θεὸς ἄῤῥητος) proceeded certain images of himself according to the numeral relations of astronomy. The first of these were seven celestial powers (δυνάμεις), who, with the being from whom they sprung, constituted the first spiritual kingdom (οὐρανός). From this, in a gradually descending series, proceeded three hundred and sixty-four other spiritual kingdoms. The mystical watchword *Abraxas*, represents the God revealed in these three hundred and sixty-five spiritual kingdoms, in distinction from him who is the Ineffable. (*a*) The seven angels belonging to the lowest of these spiritual kingdoms, the first among whom is the God of the Jews (ἄρχων), created this world out of matter, and bestowed upon the human race inhabiting it all earthly endowments, together with all the spiritual powers which they themselves possessed. To effect the deliverance of this spiritual power from its bondage to matter, the first-begotten celestial power (νοῦς) united himself with Jesus at his baptism. Though this Jesus was a perfect man, he needed an expiation for his own sake, and it was he alone who suffered and died. The Archon was from the first only an unconscious agent of divine providence, and he no sooner discovers, from the words of Jesus, the actual design of God, than he submitted himself to it with devout reverence. An entrance into the kingdom of the Redeemer, is effected by a spiritual surrender of the soul to him (πίστις), and is by no means incompatible with a denial of him who was crucified. The *Basilideans*, who existed late in the fourth century, appear only to have embraced this doctrine of spiritual freedom in a still more decided form, and to have claimed an elevation above all positive religious rites. (*b*) 2) *Valentine*, who went from Alexandria to Rome about 140, and died in Cyprus about 160, has given us a most ingenious representation of Platonic ideas, in his fanciful scheme of the universe. In the depths of the Great First Cause (βυθός, προπάτωρ), existed Self-consciousness (ἔννοια) and Silence (σιγή). This concealed God reveals himself in three series of Aeons, in the names of the Ineffable, in certain images of God, and in the original types of all spiritual life, which emanate from him in pairs (σύζυγοι), and, in contrast with empty chaos (κένωμα), collectively represent the fulness of the revealed divine life (πλήρωμα). Every thing in the Pleroma has its individual properties assigned to it by Measure and Limitation (ὅρος). But Sophia, the Aeon most remote from the great Original, languished on account of its passionate longings to

c. 1. Part 6.—*Ignatii a Jesu* narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Joannis. Rom. 1652. Codex Nazaraeus, liber Adami appellatus, syriace transcriptus, lat. redditus a *Mat. Norberg.* Lund. 1815ss. 3 vols. 4.—II. *Tychsen*, in the Deutsch. Mus. 1784. vol. II. p. 414. *Gesenius*, Art. Zabier, in the proofsheets of the Encyclop. 1817. *L. E. Burckhardt*, les Nazoréens ou Mandai-Jahia. Strasb. 1840.

a) *Bellermann*, die Gemmen der Alten mit d. Abraxas-Bilde. Berl. 1817ss. P. 3. *Gieseler*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1830. P. 2. p. 403ss.

b) The original is scattered throughout Clement's Stromm. and in the διδασκαλία ἀνατολική ascribed to him. The figurative and fanciful side and its degenerate state in *Iren.* I, 24, 3ss. II, 16, 2. *Epiph.* haer. 24.

be reunited with its Source. This Wisdom, the *Achamoth*, (*c*) agitated by the intensity of its desires and wandering away from the Pleroma, communicated life to matter and gave birth to the Demiurge. The latter formed the world out of chaos in such a way that the divine idea, though correctly, is inadequately and feebly represented in its actual scenes and events. To restore harmony to the Pleroma, a new emanation of a pair of Aeons (Χριστὸς and Πνεῦμα ἅγιον) takes place, and from all the Aeons proceeded the Aeon Jesus (Σωτήρ), by whom the universe was to be properly formed and redeemed. It was by this Jesus that the Demiurge was unconsciously inspired, so as gradually to form the world according to the type of the divine Pleroma. Hence the Demiurge was often astonished at his own work, and his creatures shrunk from and adored those very things which the higher spirit created in them. For although heathenism was the kingdom of matter and Judaism of the Demiurge, individuals were raised up by the Soter in both, who, under the excitement of divine powers, and but half understood by themselves or their age, pointed forward to the future. Conscious of the unsatisfactory nature of his present system, the Demiurge, under the impression that he was himself the supreme Deity, and under the influence of an obscure presentiment, promised his beloved people that he would send them a Messiah. This Messiah he furnished, according to his ability, with psychical powers. At the baptism of this Messiah, the Soter became united with him. Miracles and prophecies were needful to induce psychical men to confide in the psychical Messiah, but the simple power of truth was sufficient to collect all men of a pneumatic nature around the true Saviour. The end of the world is to be a still higher restoration (ἀποκάτασταστις), for then the Soter will introduce the Achamoth as his bride, together with all pneumatic Christians, into the Pleroma, the Demiurge, in peace and joy as the friend of the bridegroom, will rule in the midst of all psychical Christians on the confines of the Pleroma, and all matter will return to its original nothingness. The Valentinian was the most influential of all the Gnostic parties, and with various modifications, continued in existence, especially in Rome, until some time in the fourth century. (*d*) It is said that the school of Ptolemaeus, (*e*) a flourishing branch of the same party, represented the Aeons, which Valentine had in fact only described as the forms by which the Deity was developed, more definitely as real persons. (*f*) In his epistle to Flora, (*g*) (of whose unity and Gnostic genuineness we need not yet despair), (*h*) he attempts to vindicate the creation, and the Testament of the Demiurge, who is regarded as a being of mere justice, from either of the extremes by which they had been ascribed to the supreme God or to the Devil. With an evident attempt to bring his views into nearer correspondence with the Catholic system, he accordingly finds in this fact a reason for a partial abolition and a partial pre-

c) Ἀχαμὼθ, חָכְמוֹת, ἡ κάτω σοφία, ἐνθύμησις.

d) They are the principal subject of Irenaeus. Some particulars may be found in Clement. *Tertul.* adv. Valentinianos. *Epiph.* haer. 31. *Münter*, Odae gnosticae, thebaice et lat. Hafn. 1812.

e) *Iren.* praef. ad lib. I. § 2. *f*) *Tertul.* adv. Val. c. 4. *g*) Communicated by *Epiph.* haer. 38.

h) *A. Stieren*, de Ptolemaei ad Floram ep. P. I. Jen. 1843. On the other hand, in apology: *H. Rossel*, in the Append. to the 2d vol. of the 2d edit. of Neander's Hist. of the Chr. Rel.

servation of the Mosaic law in consequence of its fulfilment by Christ. 3) The *Ophites*, whose origin may perhaps be discovered in a Jewish sect living in Egypt before the time of Christ, professed to believe that the Son of man was an emanation from the Original Source of all existence, and that from both of these proceeded the Mother of life (πνεῦμα ἅγιον). This being having espoused the former original type of mankind, gave birth to Sophia and Christ, *i. e.* the principle of Creation and of Redemption. When Sophia, the imperfect, adventitious offspring of this connection, aspired to be like God, she was hurled into the great abyss, and there gave birth to Jaldabaoth, *i. e.* the Son of Chaos, (*i*) the Creator of the world and the God of the Jews. With the assistance of his planetary spirits, the latter now made, after his own image, man, whom he indued with life and invested with authority to rule over divine things in his spirit. But by this very act he had divested himself of his most important power, and soon saw with dismay that his creature had become superior to himself. To prevent man at least from attaining the consciousness of divinity, he commanded the latter not to eat of the tree of knowledge, and then, filled with wrath, threw himself into the abyss, where he produced another image, the Serpent-Spirit (ὀφιόμορφος). But Sophia, now delivered from her fallen state in consequence of the birth of the Creator, sought once more to attract to herself and to purify the spiritual power in the world. She availed herself of the enmity of the Serpent-Spirit against its parent, to induce man to transgress the commandment which had been given him. According to this, what is related in the Jewish books as a Fall, was in fact a transition to a higher mental state. In great wrath the Creator now threw men down to the lowest material world, and harassed them with all the temptations and pains incident to matter. Individual persons endowed with high intellectual powers, are raised up by Sophia, but she struggles in vain to break the bonds which confine men, until the Aeon *Christ* unites himself with the psychical Messiah, and in consequence of the Creator's enmity, was crucified. Finally, Sophia, with all her spiritual followers among men, will be received back into the Pleroma, and the God of the Jews, gradually deprived of all his spiritual powers, will be swallowed up in the empty abyss of matter. The Serpent, who had been the means of man's first exaltation and therefore had been cursed by the Creator, was, in accordance with his two natures, both honored and feared. One Ophitic party went so far in their hostility to the Jews, that they paid honor to the most abandoned characters mentioned in sacred history as their highest examples, and were therefore called *Cainites*. Others, on account of their disapprobation of such extravagance, were called *Sethites*. The penal code of Justinian shows that the Ophites were not extinct even in the sixth century. (*k*)

4) *Carpocrates* and his son *Epiphanes*, Platonists of Alexandria and contemporaries with Valentine, described the Primal Being as the great Unity (Μονάς) toward which all finite things are striving to return. But the

i) יַלְדָּא בָּהוּת

k) *Iren.* I, 30. *Orig.* c. Cels. VI, 24ss. *Epiph.* haer. 37.—*Mosheim*, Gesch. d. Schlangenbruder. (Vers. e. unparth. Ketzergesch. Helmst. 1746. 1748. 4.) *G. H. F. Fuldner*, de Ophitis. Rint. 1834. 4.

earthly spirits (ἄγγελοι κοσμοποιοί) who have fallen away from this unity are continually obstructing this effort by religious enactments, the most perfect specimen of which is the Jewish law. A few wise men like Plato and Pythagoras, by means of some reminiscences of a lost state of blessedness, have sunk back into the divine unity. The same was true of Jesus, who overthrew the Jewish law. His image was therefore honored by the side of the statues of other great sages, in the temple of the deified youth Epiphanes, in the island of Cephalonia. The justification advocated by Carpocrates is not to be attained by works, but by love and faith, i. e. by a complete surrender to the attraction of the great Unity, in the presence of which all self-interest, and even all separate existence must disappear. In this state the mind is exalted above all need of precepts or moral rules. (*l*)

§ 79. IV. *Gnostics, in an especial sense, Christian.*

1) *Iren.* I, 27. *Tertul.* adv. Marcion. l. V. Διάλογος περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως, (4th cent.) ed. *Wetsten.* Bas. 1674. 4. & *Orig.* Opp. Th. I. p. 803ss. *Epiph.* haer. 42. *Esnig.* (5th cent.) Darst. d. marc. Syst. A. d. Armen. v. *Neumann.* (Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol. 1834. vol. IV. Sect. 1.)—*A. Hahn*, Antitheses Marcionis, liber deperditus, quoad fieri potuit restitutus. Regiom. 1823.—*Hahn*, de gnosi Marcionis antinomi. Regiom. 1820s. 2 P. 4. *Rhode*, Prolegg. ad. quaest. de Ev. Apostoloque Marc. denuo instituendam. Vrat. 1834. P. I.

2) *Iren.* I, 28. *Clem.* Strom. III. p. 547s. 553. *Epiph.* haer. 46.

3) *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 30. Praep. Ev. VI, 10. *Epiph.* haer. 56.—*Augustin.* haer. 35.—*F. Strunz*, Hist. Bard. et Bardesanistar. Vit. 1710. 4. *Hahn*, Bard. gnosticus Syrorum primus hymnologus. Lps. 1819. *C. Kuehner*, Bard. numina astralia. Hildburgh. 1833.

1) *Marcion* made his appearance at Rome as early as before 139, (*a*) filled with exalted views of the glory of Christianity, and fresh from a contest with the remnants of Judaism in the churches of Asia Minor. He had been excommunicated (*b*) by his own father, the bishop of Sinope, perhaps in consequence of the conflict of his youthful passion with an inexorable ecclesiastical discipline. He availed himself of a connection with Cerdo, a Syrian Gnostic, to form a theoretical system, in which a strong contrast was presented between the law and the gospel, and between the period before, and that after Christ. He made a distinction between three great powers (ἀρχαί), viz., the holy original Being (θεὸς ἀγαθός), the righteous Creator (δημιουργὸς δίκαιος), and the material world (ὕλη) with its wicked ruler (πονηρός, διάβολος.) The celestial relations of these principles to each other were not carried out in his theory. With the limited power in his possession, the Demiurge created a world like himself, and from its inhabitants the Jewish nation were selected as the objects of his peculiar favor. To them he gave a law, by which justification was to be obtained by works alone, and in connection with them maintained an impotent struggle with the empire of evil. Prompted by infinite love to man the good God then had compassion, and by the spiritual manifestation of Christ revealed his own nature, which had before been entirely concealed. All this occurred on a sudden, and with no preparation.

l) *Clem.* Strom. V. p. 511ss. *Iren.* I, 25. *Euseb.* II. ecc. IV, 7.—*Gesenius*, de inscriptione Phoenicio-Graeca in Cyrenaica nuper reperta ad Carpocratianorum haeresin pertinente. Hal. 1825. 4. As to their spuriousness comp. *Kopp.* Ep. crit. (Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 2.) *Gesenius* in d. Hall. L. Z. 1835. p. 462.—*Fuldner*, de Carpocratianis. (Illgens 3 Denk-schr. d. hist. theol. Gesellsch. Lps. 1824. p. 180ss.)

a) *Just.* Apol. I. c. 26. *b*) *Epiph.* haer. 42. 2s.

Those who believe in Christ, and from a voluntary love to God live a holy life, shall receive perfect blessedness in his celestial kingdom, while all others belong to the kingdom of the Demiurge, and by his righteous sentence, according to their works, shall find a limited degree of blessedness or perdition. That the ages before might be placed on an equal footing with those after Christ, our Lord was supposed, during his sojourn in the world of the dead, to have offered salvation to the heathen and to all who had been lost under the Old Testament, on condition that they would believe on him; while all the truly pious of the ancient dispensation, like the people of that nation on earth, were so habituated to the administration of the Demiurge, that they were kept back from faith in him. (*c*) Marcion thought he found evidence of the character of the Creator from the condition of the world, from the sensuous nature of the whole representation given of Jehovah in the Old Testament, and from the obvious distinction between the real Christ and the Messiah held forth in prophecy. He professed to form his scheme of Christianity upon a literal interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, and he would acknowledge nothing as Scripture except a collection of the epistles of Paul (ὁ ἀπόστολος) and a gospel of our Lord similar to that of Luke. Ecclesiastical tradition since the time of Irenaeus, accuses Marcion of having expunged from his text of even these sacred writings whatever was supposed to be inconsistent with his theological views, (*d*) but on the other hand it concedes that he suffered enough to remain to render those Scriptures irreconcilable with his system, without the most violent process of interpretation. The question therefore has necessarily been raised, whether he did not use an older gospel than any which we now have, and one of which Luke's is only a revision? (*e*) It must however be confessed that the authorities in favor of the superior originality of Marcion's gospel are as yet, when taken in detail, of very doubtful validity, and that those ecclesiastical fathers who assert that he, in like manner, corrupted the epistles of Paul, (*f*) in forming such an opinion must certainly have had the authentic documents before them. Besides, if Marcion in his extravagant view of the dissension at Antioch (Gal. 2, 11ss.) could look upon the other apostles as Jewish perverters of the gospel of Christ, he may have felt justified by omissions, or by explanations, in Christianizing, according to his view of the phrase, every gospel belonging to the Scriptures, inasmuch as no documents in the possession of the Apostolic Church, without some alteration, would correspond with his ultra-Pauline notions. His ethical doctrines constituted a vigorous system of asceticism which he enforced by his own example, and if any one felt unable to comply with its requisitions, the alternative was to remain a catechumen. (*g*) He

c) *Iren.* I, 27. 3.

d) *A. Hahn*, d. Ev. Marc. in s. urspr. Gestalt. Königsb. 1823. (*Thilo.* Cod. apocr. Th. I. p. 401ss.) *Ejusd.* de canone Marc. Ib. 1824.—*Ch. E. Becker*, Examen crit. de l'évang. de Marc. Strasb. 1837. P. I. 4.

e) *Ritschl*, d. Ev. Marc. u. d. kan. Ev. des Luc. Tüb. 1846. *Baur* in Zellers theol. Jahrb. 1846. P. 4.

f) On the other hand: *Löffler*, Marcionem Pauli Epp. et Lucae Ev. adulterasse dubitatur. Traj. et Viadr. 1788. (Commtt. theol. ed. *Velthusen* &c. Th. I. p. 180ss.) *Schelling*, de Marc. Paulinarum Epp. emendatore. Tub. 1795. 4. Against Tertullian's assertion that Marcion omitted the chief doctrines in Col. I, 15-17. we certainly have no other alternative than to suppose that that father invented them.

g) *Hier.* ad Gal. 6, 6. *Epiph.* 42, 4. Comp. *Tertul.* de praescr. 41.

rejected all mysteries, and allowed women to administer baptism. His life was spent in efforts to establish a congregation of those whom he was accustomed to call his companions in hatred and in persecution. The *Marcionites* continued as an ecclesiastically organized party until some time in the sixth century. Many divisions however existed among them, since the speculative tenets which he left in an incomplete form were perfected in various ways by additions from the different Gnostic systems, and many among the Gnostics endeavored to get nearer to the Church by joining their communion.

2) *Tatian* also seems to have found no way to justify his gloomy views of the world, but by a dualistic theory. His Demiurge Jehovah had obscure impressions by which he became conscious of a dependence upon the original source of light. He gave offence to his brethren of the Church by maintaining that Adam must have been finally lost. He prescribed a system of abstinence as the best means of disengaging ourselves from the world, after the example of our Saviour. A party of Encratites, calling itself by the name of Tatian, or by that of his pupil, Severus, existed as late as in the fourth century.

3) *Bardesanes* (Bar daizon), who resided at Edessa (about 170), would seem from his place of residence, as well as from some of his Gnostic formulae, which strongly remind us of Valentine, to have properly belonged to the number of the Syrian Gnostics. But the story of his change of faith at an earlier or later period is not as well authenticated as the general opinion that he was not prevented by his Gnosticism from denouncing in a very practical manner certain extravagances of the Gnostic schools, from asserting man's internal freedom in opposition to all necessary control of fate, (*h*) and from being a strenuous defender of Christianity, and a distinguished instructor of the Syrian Churches.

§ 80. V. *Judaizing Gnostics.* *Comp.* § 35. 75.

Credner, ü. Essäer u. Ebioniten. (Winers Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol. 1827. P. 2s.) *Idem*. die Evv. d. Judenchr. (Beitrr. z. Einl. in d. bibl. Schrr. Hal. 1832. Vol. I. p. 208ss.) *Schneckenburger*, ü. e. übersehnen Punkt in d. L. d. Ebion. v. d. Person Jesu. (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1830. P. I. p. 114ss.) *Baur*, d. Ebionitar. orig. et doctr. ad Essenis repetenda. Tüb. 1831. 4. *Idem*. in d. Tüb. Zeitschr. 1831. P. 4. 1836. P. 3. 1838. P. 3. & chr. Gnosis. p. 300ss. *Schliemann* (§ 75.) Comp. *Baur* in Zeller's theol. Jahrb. 1844. P. 3. *Schwegler*, nachap. Zeita. vol. I. p. 363ss. [*A. Hilgenfeld*, krit. Unters. ü. d. Evv. Just. d. Clem. Hom. u. Marcions. Halle. 1850. 8.]

In the *Clementine Homilies* an attempt is made to reconcile the Ebionite form of Christianity with that maintained by Paul, by showing that Judaism and Christianity were essentially alike. These Homilies were written in a lively and impressive style, and profess to present us with the doctrinal and polemical discourses of the apostle Peter, addressed principally to Simon Magus, but interwoven with the romantic history of Clement, the ostensible author. (*a*) The doctrine inculcated in them respecting God, is rigidly monotheistic, but all created existences are developed in contrasted forms, which

h) Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. Fragments in *Orelli*, de fato. Tur. 1824. p. 202ss.

a) Τὰ Κλημέντια, three prologues and nineteen (originally twenty) Homilies. In *Coteler*. P. app. Th. I. p. 597ss. Comp. *D. v. Cölln*, Clementina in Ersch. u. Grubers Encycl. Vol. XVIII. p. 36ss.

however are not absolute, and in their earthly state are related as male and female (*συζυγίαι.*) The Original Being has made a division of the world, and assigned it to two principles which proceeded from himself. To one of these called Satan, he has committed the present dispensation of things, and to Christ (also called *σοφιά, πνεῦμα ἅγιον, υἱὸς θεοῦ*) the future beyond it, although Satan even now, as an avenging power, advances the cause of goodness, and the world has never been destitute of some men of the future age. Moreover Christ became incarnate in Adam, and revealed the primitive religion which had been corrupted by Satan through the woman. To restore it, Christ, whose influence pervades all human affairs, appears again in the persons of the patriarchs and Moses, changing merely his form with the name. The revelations thus given, however, were much obscured by the Old Testament prophets, who having been born of women (Matth. 11, 11.), proclaimed partial error. Once more Christ appeared in the person of Jesus, to re-establish the primitive religion and make it universal. Of course the genuine religion of Moses which had been perpetuated as an esoteric doctrine, and genuine Christianity, could not be opposed to each other. To escape from the power of Satan's kingdom, men must live an ascetic life, and receive from the earth nothing but the bare necessaries of existence. The use of flesh and wine was prohibited, but marriage was recommended. The Homilies were composed or revised about the middle of the second century, at Rome, with the view of reconciling Jewish Christianity, then declining in that city, with the general Church, by means of an Essenic-Gnostic theory, and of vindicating that form of Christianity, not only from the Gnostic hatred of the Jews, but from the prophetic system of Montanism. While Peter is exalted as the true apostle to the Gentiles, the careful silence which they maintain with respect to Paul, renders it probable that in the person of Simon Magus, not only Marcion but Paul himself may be aimed at in some reproaches which would admit of such a reference. (*b*) They presuppose the existence of a sacerdotal system, of a chair of St. Peter at Rome, and of a patriarchate of James at Jerusalem. The adaptation of the Homilies to the promotion of ecclesiastical interests probably occasioned a revision of them, to make them conform to the views of the Catholics, and to meet the alterations which the heretics were supposed to have previously made in one of the sacred books. (*c*) It is impossible now to determine whether the Homilies were the literary composition of a single individual, or contain an expression of a distinct form of Ebionism then in Rome. But the Ebionites whom Epiphanius describes (*d*) as existing in his times, with their synagogues in the

b) Hom. XVII, 19. II, 17. Even in the Epistle of Peter prefixed as a Prologue: *τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον ἀπεδοκίμασαν κήρυγμα, τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν.* But in opposition to this reference first proposed by Baur, comp. *Niedner*, KGesch. p. 242.

c) Preserved in the Trans. of Rufinus: S. Clementis Recognitiones (*ἀναγνώσεις* of the first quarter of the third cent.) ed. *Coteler.* Th. I. p. 485ss. *E. G. Gersdorf*, Lps. 1838. The original Title perhaps also of the Homilies was *περίοδοι* (*πράξεις*) *Πέτρου* or *Κλήμεντος.* The latest revision and compilation of the pseudo-Clementine writings: *περὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐπιδημιῶν τε τοῦ Πέτρου ἐπιτομή*, ed. *Coteler.* Th. I. p. 749ss. *d*) Haer. 30. comp. 19, 1.

ancient abodes of the Essenes, and in Cyprus, maintained the same principles respecting the division of the world, the various transmigrations of the principle which they call Christ, with the semi-Gnostic peculiarity, according to which this principle had no connection with the son of Mary and Joseph until his baptism, the corruption of the Old Testament by a series of spurious prophets, and the necessity of a similar asceticism. Although they still required circumcision and the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, while the Homilies demanded only baptism, their national separation does not necessarily imply that they did not tolerate Gentile Christians, and even the Homilies allow a special pre-eminence to circumcised believers. (*e*) The only thing indicating the ancient grudge felt by Jewish Christians, appears in their idle legend respecting Paul. (*f*) The gospel commonly received by the Ebionites was used both among them and in the Homilies, and many things indicate that the work of Clement, with regard to the travels of Peter, which they possessed, was of a kindred origin with that of the Homilies. Epiphanius thought that this phase of Ebionism, which he looked upon as best exhibited in the persons of Ebion and Elxai, originated in the time of Trajan, from a combination of the Ebionites with the Elkesaites and Sampsaeans. He says the Elkesaites sprung originally from a branch of the Essenes (Ὀσσηνοί), and according to their own explanation, their name was given them because they believed that the divine power was concealed in the bodies of its human subjects. (*g*) The name of Sampsaeans was given because those who were so called turned their faces in prayer, not toward Jerusalem, but toward the rising sun. (*h*) The Elkesaites are mentioned by Origen as a Jewish sect, even in his time. (*i*) The ascetic system of the Ebionites, taken in connection with the fact that they believed that the mission of Christ was merely to abolish the sacrifices, has very much the appearance of Essenism. But if at an early period they extravagantly extolled celibacy, (*k*) their subsequent encouragement of early marriages shows that those views of life which ordinarily prevailed among the Jews had finally gained the ascendency over rigid Essenism. The independent position however which the latter maintained with respect to the Old Testament, gave it a much better prospect of continuance as a Jewish system, than that which ordinarily was received among the Jews.

§ 81. VI. *Influence of Gnosticism upon the Church.*

It was principally through the influence of the Gnostics, that the arts and sciences were introduced into the Church, that the Church itself became conscious of its true character, that the Jewish element in Christianity was repressed, and that its vast importance in the affairs of the world, and of God's kingdom, became appreciated. It is, however, difficult to estimate their

e) In the *Contestatio* prefixed. (*Coteler.* Th. I. p. 603.) *f*) *Epiph.* haer. 30, 15.

g) Haer. 19, 2: διὰ τὸ Ἠλ. (חַיִל or אֵל) καλοῦσθαι δύναμιν, Ξαὶ (כַּסֵּי) κεκαλυμμένην.—*Redepenning*, ü. d. Urspr. d. Elkesaiten. (Append. 1. to his Origen. Vol. II. [*Ritschl*, in Niedner's Zeitschrift for Sept. 1853.]

h) Haer. 53, 2: Σαμψαῖοι ἑρμηνεύονται Ἠλιακοί (from שֶׁמֶשׁ).

i) In Euseb. H. ecc. VI, 38. *k*) *Epiph.* haer. 30, 2.

number or their influence. We do not often find evidence that in any particular locality their number was superior to that of the orthodox, and yet some of them were to be found in almost every place, and in animation and spirit their writers excelled those of the Church. The minds of the Greeks were attracted by their striking opposition to Judaism, the intellect of all men was gratified by their promise of a dominion over matter and their independent development in the direction of a perfect knowledge, the fancy was stimulated by the boldness of their heaven-storming systems and by the opportunity of contributing something without much trouble to the formation of them, and even the Church could not but admire the contempt which they inculcated for the world. But the teachers of the Catholic Church were impressed with the conviction that it was essential to the very nature of Christianity that it should be a religion for the people, that all true religion was something more than a speculation, and that piety itself required that the revelation which God had made in Judaism and in Christianity, and indeed in all human history, should be *one* in its principles. They therefore placed themselves in direct hostility to the exorbitant pretensions and the allurements of the Gnostics. The arbitrary forms which the fancies of the Gnostics had constructed, could not long resist this united opposition, especially when the additional power of the New Platonists was brought against them. Even in the third century Gnosticism had lost all creative energy, in the fourth it was completely powerless, and in the sixth only a few vestiges of it remained.

§ 82. *Manichaeism.*

I. 1) All accounts given in the Greek Church refer back to: *Archelai* (Bishop of Cascar, about 278.) Acta disputationis cum Manete. (*Zacagni*, Coll. monument. vet. Eccl. gr. et lat. Rom. 1698. 4. and *Mansi* Th. I. p. 1129ss.) The Oriental accounts, later indeed, but derived from original ancient documents, are in: *Herbelot*, Bibl. oriental. Par. 1697. f. art. Mani & *Silv. de Sacy*, Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse. Par. 1793. 4. p. 42ss. Fragments of Mani's writings, especially Epistola fundamenti, in: *Fabricii* Bibl. gr. Th. V. p. 284ss. 2) *Titus Bostrensis* (about 360), κατὰ Μανιχαίων. (*Canisii* Lection. ed. Basnag. Th. I.) *Epiph.* haer. 66. *Augustinus:* Contra Ep. Manichaei. C. Fortunatum, C. Adimantum, C. Faustum l. 33. De actis c. Felice Man. l. 2. De natura boni. (Th. VIII.) De gen. c. Man. De morib. Ecc. cath. et morib. Man. (Th. I.)

II. *Beausobre*, Hist. de Manichée et du Manichéisme. Amst. 1734ss. 2 vols. 4. *A. A. Georgii* Alphabetum Thibetanum. Rom. 1762. 4. *Reichlin-Meldegg.* Theol. d. Manes. Frkf. 1825. *A. V. de Wegnern*, Manichaeor. indulgentiae c. brevi Manichaeismi adumbrat. Lps. 1827. *Gieseler*, ü. Reichlin-Meldegg, Wegnern & Neander. (Stud. u. Krit. 1828. P. 3.) *Baur*, d. man. RSyst. Tüb. 1831. (Comp. Schneckenburger in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 3. and *Zingerle* in d. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1841. p. 574ss.) *F. C. Trechsel*, ü. Kanon, Kritik u. Exeg. d. Manich. Bern. 1832.

The religious conflicts which took place on the confines of the Eastern world finally gave birth to Manichaeism. The history of its origin is founded upon traditions and uncertain documents. On the re-establishment of the Persian empire (after 227) under the Sassanides, the Magusaean sect, which had defended the doctrine of absolute Dualism, and various foreign systems were driven from the kingdom. *Mani*, a Magian of this sect, having discovered many points of agreement between the doctrines of Mithraism, of Buddaism, of Gnostic Christianity, and the principles of his own paternal faith, believed himself called to combine these popular religions, especially Parsism and Christianity, into one universal religion. He presented himself before

the Christians as the Paraclete and an apostle of Christ. Rejected by them and persecuted by the Magians, he is said to have been flayed alive under Baharam (272–5).—Manichaeism, as it existed in the fourth and fifth centuries, accounted for all events which have taken place in the world on dualistic principles. God in his kingdom of light, and the Demon with his kingdom of darkness, were directly opposed to each other—good and evil being in their nature identical with light and darkness. After long internal conflicts among themselves, the different powers of the demoniac kingdom became united in their opposition to the kingdom of light. The primitive man, who was the first-born of God, and who, in connection with the four pure elements contended for the kingdom of light, was overthrown, and was afterwards delivered, but a portion of his light was wrested from him and borne down to the abodes of darkness. God then brought into existence through the agency of the Mother of life (ζῶν πνεῦμα), the present universe, that it might be a new receptacle of this lost light. The vital power of this universe is the light retained in the bonds of darkness. Two new heavenly powers, Christ and the Holy Ghost, then proceeded from God, that they might redeem it from its imprisonment. The first is the Sun and Moon, and the other is the Air, which attract toward themselves all the powers of light in the earth. To retain these in his possession, the Demon formed man after the image of the primitive man, combining in him as in a microcosm the clearest light with his own darkness. From him descended the race of man, into whose souls the light penetrated. But although they were endowed with an inherent liberty to continue as they were, in spite of the necessity of evil in nature, they soon fell under the temptations of matter and the illusions of the Demon (Judaism and Heathenism). Christ himself then appeared on earth, and merely endured the semblance of suffering, and is regarded in this system as the type of all imprisoned light (Jesus passibilis). By his doctrine and his attractive power he commenced the process of liberating the light from its bondage, but even the apostles misinterpreted his instructions by giving them a Jewish sense. The Scriptures possessed by the Church have been partially corrupted by the Demon, and partially composed by unknown writers. Mani came to reveal the secret relations of the universe, and to secure the means of human freedom. Complete truth can therefore be found nowhere except in his writings. In the end there will be a complete separation between the light and the darkness, when the powers of darkness will have become conscious of their inability to contend with the light, and will resume their strife with each other. The Manichaeans assumed the name of a Church, which possessed a hierarchical form of government, and consisted of two great classes. The first was composed of the perfect (electi, perfecti), who alone possessed a knowledge of the mysteries; and the second was made up of the Catechumens (auditores), who were instructed principally in mythical allegories relating to the philosophy of religion and of nature, and were allowed to hope for pardon for their participation in the business and pleasures of life, in consequence of the intercessions of the perfect, for none but the perfect undertook the duties of self-mortification (signaculum sinus, oris et manus), and were sustained by the others principally on olives. Their pecu-

liar views of nature demanded that baptism should be performed in oil, and in some congregations they gave occasion to an abominable mingling of the elements in the Lord's Supper. The forms of worship practised by the Auditors were simple. Sunday was observed as a day of fasting, and the anniversary of Mani's death was celebrated as the great festival under the name of the Feast of the pulpit (*βῆμα*). The Manichaeans were still increasing in number in the fourth century, and were then scattered in every part of the Oriental world, and in Africa, Sicily, and Italy. Many persons of noble minds were attracted by the promise which their system held out, that it could solve all mysteries, and exalt man above the various parties which then distracted the world. Even then, however, they were persecuted with fire and sword by the heathen emperors, on the ground of their being a Persian sect. For this reason, as well as on account of their debasement in a corrupt indifference, by a pretended exaltation above all outward things, they sunk in the sixth century beneath the equal hatred of the Magians and the bishops. Still we find some vestiges of a secret and solitary Manichaeism even in the Middle Ages.

§ 83. *Historico-Ecclesiastical Theology.*

The ecclesiastical literature of the second century was partly of a devotional character, and partly consisted of controversial writings against pagans and Gnostics. Especially in the conflicts with the latter, a Christian theology was formed, in which an attempt was made to hold fast the historical basis of Christianity as the common property of all, and to apprehend its practical relations in a scientific manner. Hence all philosophy was studiously declined, and true Christianity was thought to consist wholly in its historical traditions and documents, and those obvious truths which could be easily comprehended by the people. The representatives of this tendency were Irenaeus and Tertullian, who also indulged in the expectation of a millennial kingdom nigh at hand. (*a*) *Irenaeus* was a disciple, and perhaps also a companion of Polycarp, during the journey of that martyr to Rome, and was a bishop of Lyons (177–202). He was a perspicuous, judicious, and philosophically educated instructor, with youthful recollections reaching back to apostolic times, and now came forward as the opponent of the Gnostic speculations. As his writings were regarded almost in the light of foreign productions in the country where he resided, they soon became little known, and were at an early period lost. (*b*) The only literature which the Latin Church possessed, consisted entirely of translations, until the appearance of Quintus Septimius Florens *Tertullianus*. He was at first a heathen rhetorician, and an advocate in Rome (about 190), but afterwards a presbyter in Carthage, his native city (d. 220). His character was severe, gloomy and fiery, but by great exertions he achieved for Christianity, in the Punic-Latin dialect, a literature in which an animated rhetoric, a sound and vivid conception of the

a) *Iren.* V, 33. *Tertul.* adv. Marc. III, 23.

b) With the exception of a few epistles and fragments, nothing remains but his 5 books against the Gnostics, *ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδονύμου γνώσεως*, in an old Latin translation, the 1st Book and a few fragments in the original. Opp. ed. *Grabe*. Oxon. 1702. *Massuet*, Par. 1710. Ven.

ideal, profound feelings, and legal intelligence contended for the supremacy. He placed a high estimate upon that consciousness of God which he contended might be found in the depths of every soul, but he was fond of contrasting with proud irony the foolishness of the gospel with the worldly wisdom of his contemporaries, and the incredibility of the divine miracles with the ordinary understanding of the world. (*c*) His writings are partly controversial, and in these he exhibits the utmost confidence in the catholic views, in opposition to those of Pagans, Jews, and Heretics, and partly devotional. They are, however, so written, that the devotional element constantly appears in the former, and the polemic in the latter, in behalf of a strict morality and discipline. (*d*) The Montanistic views are perceptible in them all, but they become prominent and hostile to the Romish Church in proportion to the degree in which the latter withdrew its countenance from Montanism, for the Roman Church, rather than Tertullian, experienced a change of sentiment on that subject. (*e*) And yet the western portion of the Church continued so tolerant toward Montanism, that some female martyrs adhering to that system in the African Church have always continued to be acknowledged as saints, (*f*) and Tertullian finally became so prominent, that he is regarded as the actual type of the Latin theology. That theology was then disinclined to any philosophical theories respecting divine things, and was entirely occupied with questions relating to the condition of the Church, and matters indispensable to salvation.

§ 84. *Thascius Caecilianus Cyprianus.*

I. Opp. *Cypriani* ed. *Rigaltius.* Par. 1648. f. *Fell.* Oxf. 1682. f. ed. 3. additae sunt Dss. Cypr. *Dodwelli.* (Oxf. 1684.) Amst. 1700. f. Baluz. Par. 1726. f. *Goldhorn.* Lps. 1838s. 2 P. Vita Cypr. per *Pontium*, ejus Diaconum (Cypr. Opp.) Among the actis martyrii the two older beginning, Cum Cypr. and Imper. Valeriano.—II. *Pearson*, Annales Cyprianici before Fell's edit. *H. F. Schmieder*, fi. Cypr. Schr. v. d. Einh. d. Kirche. Lps. 1822. *F. W. Rettberg*, Cypr. nach s. Leben u. Wirken. Gött. 1831.

The Church of his times is well represented in the life of Cyprian. Having enjoyed as a rhetorician, and perhaps also as an advocate in Carthage, all the pleasures of heathenism, he became impressed with a consciousness of the vanity of his life, and sought deliverance in the Church (246). Although, in the excitement of a new birth by baptism, he had sold his possessions, and distributed them among the poor, a sufficient amount of real estate and reve-

1734. 2 P. f. L. III. c. 1–4. in graecum serm. restituta per *H. G. J. Thiersch.* (Stud. u. Krit. 1842. P. 2.) *Iren.* fragmm. anecdota ed. *C. M. Pfaff*, Hag. Com. 1715. (Synt. dss. Stuttg. 1720.) Comp. *Euseb.* H. ecc. V. 4s. 20. 26.—*H. Dodwell*, Dss. in Ir. Ox. 1689. *Massuet*, Dss. praeviae in Ir. libros. *A. Stieren*, de Ir. adv. haereses operis fontibus, indole, doctr. et dignitate. Gott. 1836. 4. *Idem*, Iren. in Ersch. u. Gruber's Encycl. p. II. vol. XXIII. *J. M. Prat*, Hist. de S. Irenée. Lyon et Par. 1843.

c) Apologet. c. 17. De poenitent. c. 1. De virgg. vel. c. 1. De resurr. c. 8. C. Marc. I, 10s.—De carne Ch. c. 5. De praescript. c. 7. Adv. Hermog. c. 8.

d) Opp. ed. *Rigaltius.* Par. (1635. 1641.) 1664. f. *Semler* et *Schütz.* Hal. 1770ss. 6 Th. *Leopold.* Lps. 1839ss. 4 P.—*A. Neander*, Antignosticus, Geist. des Tert. u. Einl. in dess. Schrr. Berl. 1825. (Hall. L. Z. 1825. N. 271ss.) [Antignosticus, &c. transl. by *J. E. Ryland.* Lond. 1851. vol. II, 8.]

e) *Tertul.* adv. Praxean. c. 1. De virgg. vel. c. 1s. De pudic. c. 1. Comp. *Hieron.* catal. c. 53.—*J. G. Hoffmann*, Tertul. omnia in montanismo scripta videri. Vit. 1738. 4. *J. A. Nösselt*, de vera aetate scriptor. Tert. Hal. (1757.) 1768. (Opp. Fasc. III. Hal. 1817.)

f) *Valesius*, Acta SS. Perpetuae et Felicit. Par. 1664.

nues remained in his possession to enable him to perform splendid acts of beneficence in the accomplishment of his plans. He enjoyed the instructions, but his heart never became imbued with the profound sentiments of Tertullian, and his zeal was wholly expended in the administration of the affairs of the Church. All his writings were drawn forth by passing events, and by their simple and ardent eloquence they exerted a considerable influence on those events. The leading thought in all his writings is, that the Church, being one in Christ, should be governed as a single kingdom by the bishops appointed by Christ. He refused the bishopric of Carthage to which he had been elected, until, in spite of an opposing party of presbyters, he recognized in the tumultuous expressions of the popular will the mandate of God (248). His plans for the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline were suddenly interrupted by the persecution under Decius. He fled (250), but from his place of refuge he continued arbitrarily to govern his church by means of rescripts and vicars, and apologized for the little attention he paid to the counsel of his co-presbyters and the will of the people, by referring to the necessities of the times. A great multitude of those who had fallen in time of persecution afterwards begged that they might be readmitted to the Church. Cyprian at first refused to do this with extreme Montanistic severity. But the power of pardon in such cases was generally conceded to the confessors, who in the present instance exercised it without regard to his views. A power thus abused he refused to acknowledge. The hostile presbyters, led on by *Felicissimus*, whom they had ordained a deacon, now stirred up the offended confessors and those who had formerly relapsed, until an insurrection against his authority was effected. They represented that it ill became one who had himself fled like a hireling, to exalt himself above those who, in times of persecution, had exhibited some signs of human infirmity, and least of all those who had then heroically maintained their constancy. They deposed Cyprian, and chose Fortunatus, one of their own number, in his place. Cyprian apologized for his flight, by pleading that he was led to it by a divine revelation, and declared that every one who resisted his authority was a rebel against Christ. After Easter, in the year 251, he returned to his charge, and at a synod of the African bishops represented his own cause as the common cause of the episcopacy. With this view, the synod put down the opposition of the presbyters. With respect to those who had relapsed, he obtained a moderate decision, which enjoined that they should not be given over to despair, nor admitted to pardon, except in immediate danger of death, or after a long and thorough repentance. Accordingly, when a pestilence was prevalent, and during the incursions of the barbarians, he freely administered to them consolation and assistance. The intimate connection which he had ordinarily maintained with the Roman Church, and which had been strengthened by a common interest in opposition to the Novatians, was interrupted (after 253) by the controversy respecting the baptism of heretics. In opposition to the Roman bishop, Cyprian contended, that truth was to be ascertained, not by an appeal to usage, but to reason; that each bishop was equal in authority to every other; that the laws of no province were a uniform model for those of another, and that a diversity of

usages was not inconsistent with the general unity of the Church. *Stephen* refused to receive the African messengers whom he sent to Rome. Cyprian appealed to the Asiatic bishops, in whose name *Firmilian*, bishop of Caesarea, wrote an epistle full of bitter derision of the arrogant pretensions of the Roman bishop. In a synod convened at Carthage, the African bishops unanimously protested against Rome (§ 71). While these things were transpiring, Valerian published his edict against the Christians. Cyprian had now become too conspicuous to find safety in another flight. Having acknowledged himself a Christian and a bishop, he was banished by the proconsul to Curbi, but he was afterwards permitted to return to his garden at Carthage. After a year's respite, sentence of death was pronounced against him as an enemy to the Roman gods, and the chief of a criminal association. He was accordingly beheaded on the fourteenth of Sept. 258. No obstruction, however, was offered to his admiring friends, as they performed the last offices of affection to him in his death, and as they did honor to his lifeless remains.

§ 85. I. *The School of Alexandria.*

H. E. F. Guerike, de schola quae Alexandriae floruit, catechetica. Hal. 1824s. 2 P. *C. F. G. Hasselbach*, de schola, quae Alex. floruit, cat. Stettin. 1826. P. I. comp. *Matter*, de l'école d'Alexandrie. Par. (1820.) 1840. 2 Th. *Ritter*, Gesch. de christl. Phil. vol. I. p. 421ss. [Epitome of the Hist. of Phil. transl. from the French by *C. S. Henry*. vol. I. pp. 207–220. *Neander*, Hist. of the Chr. Rel. transl. by *J. Torrey*. vol. I. pp. 526–557.]

About the middle of the second century arose in Alexandria an ecclesiastical school, under the superintendence of the bishop, after the model of the schools of philosophy. Sooner or later, it was unavoidable that the science and literature of Greece should become enlisted in the service of the cause of Christ. (*a*) This had already been unintentionally commenced by the Apologists, but it was now consummated from a direct purpose and preference in the Alexandrian school. Among those who presided over this school, was *Pantaenus* (about 180), previously a Stoic, and since immortalized by his pupils. (*b*) Titus Flavius *Clemens*, probably from Athens, did not embrace Christianity until mature years, and after exhausting all the advantages of Greek and Christian culture, he professed to have found in Pantaenus a correct interpreter of the Scriptures. He first became the assistant and then the successor of his chosen teacher in the management of the school (about 191–202), until just before the persecution under Severus, when he betook himself to the house of one of his pupils. The last trace we have of him was at Jerusalem, in the year 211. In a work which he divided into three parts, according to the successive steps of Conversion, Discipline, and Free Insight, he has collected in a motley form, principally from the treasures of Grecian wisdom, whatever is favorable to Christianity, contended against every thing hostile to the gospel in Gnosticism, determined with

a) (*Souverain*) Le Platonisme dévoilé. Cölog. (Amsterd.) 1700. *Moshem.* de turbata per rec. Platon. Ecc. Helmst. 1725. On the other hand: *Baltus*, défense des S. Pères, accusés de Platonisme. Par. 1711. 4. *Keil* de doctoribus vet. Ecc. culpa corruptae per Plat. sententias Theologiae liberandis. Lps. 1793ss. 22 Cmmt. 4. (Opp. ed. *Goldhorn*. Lps. 1821. Th. II.)

b) *Euseb.* II. ecc. V, 10.

much liberality and moderation many controversial questions in ecclesiastical ethics, and in an animated and suggestive form has ventured only to hint at his peculiar views. (*c*) *Origen*, born at Alexandria (185), was the son of Leonides, whose martyrdom (202) he was prevented from sharing by the gentle violence of his mother, who controlled his passions, and educated him with pious care. With a soaring spirit, a firm character, and an iron diligence (Ἀδαμάντιος, Χαλκέντερος), he soon made himself master of the Alexandrian learning, and a scribe well instructed unto the kingdom of heaven. The youth of eighteen years was raised to the dignity of President of the School, and continued to live in poverty, refusing all compensation from his pupils, and practising the utmost abstemiousness. Before he renounced his early views of the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, in a moment of bold enthusiasm, he yielded a literal obedience to one of their supposed requirements. (*d*) His superior development appears to have received as much assistance from the lectures of Ammonius Saccas (*e*) as from the writings of Clement. The instruction of the children of his school he committed to an assistant, while he conducted the more advanced pupils through the whole range of Grecian studies, to the intellectual comprehension of the Scriptures, and to the philosophy of Christianity. His irregular ordination as a presbyter at Caesarea (228), afforded a pretext for the manifestation of the aversion which his bishop, *Demetrius*, entertained toward him, and he was accordingly thrust out of the Church (231). This episcopal violence, however, was respected only by those who took no interest in scientific investigations. Origen continued to live sometimes in learned leisure at Caesarea, and sometimes in foreign countries on business connected with the Church. He died at Tyre (254), having previously confessed his faith with unshaken constancy during the Decian persecution. By his employment of the Alexandrian Philology in the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, he became the acknowledged master of a scientific method of scriptural investigation, by the grammatical as well as the allegorical style of explanation. His work on the Principles, is the first attempt to comprise the principles of Christianity in a single scientific work. Only a part of his writings have

c) Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας, Παιδαγωγός, Στρωματεῖς. Homily: Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος; ed. *C. Segaar*, Traj. 1816. More candid and bolder are the Glosses upon the Scriptures, ὑποτυπώσεις, which are lost with the exception of a crippled explanation of the Cath. Epistles, under the title of Adumbrations. Perhaps, also, the ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν ἐκλογαί belonged to this work. Hymnus in C. Salvatorem, ed. *F. Piper*, Gott. 1835. Opp. ed. *Sylburg*, Heidelb. 1592. f. and often. *Potter*, Ox. 1715. f. Ven. 1757. 2 Th. f. Pocket edition in the 3d part of the Bibl. sacra, ed. *R. Klotz*, Lps. 1831–34. 4 Th.—*Hofstede de Groot*, de Clem. s. de vi, quam Phil. gr. inpr. platonica habuit ad Clem. informandum. Gron. 1826. *Cölln*, Clem. in Ersch. u. Gruber's Encycl. vol. XVIII. p. 4ss. *Daehne*, de γνώσει, Clem. et de vestigiis neoplatonicae phil. in ea obviis. Lps. 1831. *F. R. Eylert*, Clem. als. Phil. u. Dichter. Lps. 1832. *Baur*, Chr. Gnosis. p. 502ss. *Kling*, Bedeutung des Clem. f. d. Entst. d. chr. Theol. (Stud. u. Krit. 1841. P. 4.) [Art. Clem. in W. Smith's Dict. of Biog. and Mythol. New York. 1852. 2 vols.]

d) *Matt.* 19, 12. comp. 5, 29s. *Euseb.* II. ecc. VI, 3. comp. 23. *Orig.* in Matth. tom. 15. (Th. III. p. 651ss.) comp. *Schnitzer*, Orig. ü. d. Grundlehren d. Glaubenswiss. Stuttg. 1835. p. XXXIIIss. On the other hand: *Engelhardt*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1838. P. 1. p. 157ss.

e) *H. A. Heigl*, der Bericht d. Porphyr. ü. Orig. Regensb. 1835. *Redepenning*, App. 2. to vol. I. *L. Krüger*, ü. das Verh. d. Orig. zu Amm. Sacc. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1843. P. 1.)

come down to modern times, some of them in a Latin translation by *Rufinus*, and others in extracts by the orthodox writers of his age. (*f*) Clement reached Christianity through philosophy, Origen reached philosophy through Christianity. The former proceeded in the style of an eclectic philosopher, in whose conception of a complete gnostic the Stoical ideal predominated, with its calm tranquillity derived not from the human but from the divine spirit; the latter showed a more decided predilection for Plato. Both grasped after a knowledge which should comprehend the universe, but their efforts were characterized more by a literary fondness for philosophy, than by philosophical depth, as they developed the religious ideas involved in the facts of Christianity, smoothed away the difficulties which must attend a one-sided and purely historical conception of it, and elevated it above the extremes of Judaism and of Gnosticism, even though its truths were received in a limited form. Taken together, their doctrines constituted one comprehensive whole, whose form was a philosophy of Christianity, whose substance was the freedom of the mind in its everlasting activity, and whose source was the Deity himself.

§ 86. II. *Characteristics of the Alexandrian Theology.*

1. Philosophy was to the Greek what the law was to the Jew, an instructor showing the need of Christ, and proposing a proper pattern of righteousness. God has revealed his true nature in appropriate methods, through the Logos to all nations. (*a*) The highest revelation he has ever made of himself is in Christianity, by means of which many a retired village has become an Athens. The position of the faith of the common people is that in which a merely historical Christianity is received on the authority of others (πίστις), but the higher position of the perfect Christian is that in which truth is contemplated with a free insight, and a full consent of the mind (γνῶσις). The doctrines of the Gnosis were described as those secret traditions which originally proceeded from Christ, but they were in fact the free scientific speculations respecting well established ecclesiastical traditions. (*b*) The Scriptures were looked upon as the result of divine inspiration, though in different degrees, and it was thought that every part of them should receive a signification worthy of God. Where such a meaning was not supplied by the mere words, the hidden sense was developed from the

f) 1) For the restoration of the Septuagint Revision of the text of the O. T. and its translations: τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ. Hexaplor. quae supersunt ed. *B. de Montfaucon*. Par. 1713. 3 Th. f. *C. F. Bahrdt*, Lps. 1769ss. 2 Th. 2) Scholiae σημειώσεις, commentaries τόμοι, and practical expositions, ὁμιλίαι on most of the sacred books, only a few less important parts of which are preserved in Rufinus and Jerome. 3) Περὶ ἀρχῶν, l. IV. Half of the 3d, and the greater part of the 4th vol. are extant in the Greek, the remainder is in Rufin's Lat. version. ed. *E. R. Redepenning*. Lps. 1836. 4) Κατὰ Κέλσου.—Opp. ed. *C.* et *C. V. Delarue*. Par. 1733ss. 4 Th. f. *Lommatzsch*, Ber. 1831–44. 17 Th.—*Huetius*, Origeniana, prefixed to his edit. of the Commentaries, (Par. 1679.) and in the 4th vol. of the edit. of *Delarue*. *G. Thomasius*, Orig. Nurnb. 1837. *E. R. Redepenning*, Orig. Leben u. Lehre. Bonn. 1841–6. 2 pts. [Article from the British Quart. Rev. in Eclectic Mag. of January, 1846. pp. 81–101.]

a) *Clem.* Strom. I. p. 231. VI. p. 761. On the other side: V. p. 620. VI. p. 757.

b) *Neander*, de fidei gnoseosque idea sec. Clem. Heidlb. 1811.

letter by means of allegorical interpretations. (*c*) 2. God is limited only by his own will, and is inscrutable to his creatures, yet he has revealed himself not only by means of the Logos, which he voluntarily and from all eternity sent forth, and which is at the same time God and the all pervading reason, but also by means of the Holy Spirit, the personal source of all sanctification. Both of these are developments of the divine essence, and although essentially subordinate to the absolute Deity, they constitute a unity with him. By the agency of the Logos, who must therefore have existed before it, God created the world of spirits, all of whom were originally equal in dignity and power, but as God is eternally active, the series of worlds by which he is developed can have neither beginning nor end. 3. The spirit alone is worthy of confidence, matter is the form in which evil is manifested, and yet it is the vessel in which the spirit must be purified. Each world-sphere is adapted to that peculiar state of the spirits inhabiting it, which has been produced by the exercise of their moral freedom. Even the present condition of man must have been produced by something voluntarily done, involving him in guilt. The Fall of man spoken of by Moses, is an allegorical representation of a fall anterior to man's present earthly existence, in which he is doing penance for what he then did, and passing through a process of purification. Moral freedom continues an inalienable attribute of fallen man, unimpaired even in death. 4. The Logos, that he might fully reveal himself in Christ assumed an ethereal body, by means of a human soul (ψυχή). The plan of Christianity being the same with that of the moral universe in general, of course embraces all intellectual beings in all worlds. To those who are in an inferior stage of moral improvement, Christianity is a redemption, but to those who are perfect it is a free fellowship. (*d*) 5. There is to be no resurrection of the flesh, but a development of higher organs, (*e*) not an earthly but a celestial kingdom of Christ, not an everlasting punishment in hell, but on the other hand every thing which has fallen from God shall at some period be restored to its original source (ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων).

§ 87. III. *Influence of Origen.*

The doctrines of the Church were defended by Origen in a variety of ways. It was through his influence that the expectation which then prevailed with respect to a near approach of Christ's second advent, and a millennial kingdom, began to be regarded as heretical, or at least fanatical. For centuries his influence upon the whole Church was powerful, by means of his writings and a circle of followers which gathered around him, and formed a seminary of eminent teachers and bishops for the Church. He was himself, however, well aware that his doctrines were not suitable for the common mind, and his views of Christian science allowed him intentionally so to write that his language was unintelligible, and even conveyed error, to all but the

c) *J. A. Ernesti*, de Orig. interpretationis gramm. auctore. (Opp. crit. Lugd. 1764. p. 288ss.) *C. R. Hagenbach*, Obss. circa Orig. methodum interpret. S. Sc. Bas. 1823. Comp. (*Hirzel*) in Winers krit. Journ. 1825. vol. III. part 4.

d) *Orig.* in Jo. tom. I. (Th. IV. p. 22.) *e*) *Orig.* Opp. Th. I. p 35s.

initiated. (*a*) His ideal tendency to go beyond historical traditions and those peculiarities which so strongly contrasted with what was common in the Church, were sure, sooner or later, to call forth opposition. The first objections urged against him were of the vaguest character, and generally of a personal nature, or founded on gross exaggerations. *Methodius*, Bishop of Tyre (d. 311), finally attacked his doctrines respecting the development of worlds, the resurrection and the freedom of the will. (*b*) His disciples made every effort to vindicate the honor and orthodoxy of their illustrious master. The orthodoxy of some of his views was shown by comparing them with the indefinite creeds of that day, and others were excused on the ground that they were advanced only as hypotheses. Even when in prison the learned *Pamphilus* of Caesarea wrote an apology, which was afterwards sealed, as it were, with his own blood (309), and was completed by *Eusebius*. (*c*) Among his immediate pupils, *Dionysius*, his successor in the office of instructor after 233, and Bishop of Alexandria after 248, has represented especially the department of ecclesiastical learning, with great zeal for the Church, but with much liberality with respect to genuine science, (*d*) and *Gregorius*, after 244, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, and surnamed *Thaumaturgus* by the orthodox of subsequent times, represented Origen's practical ascetic tendency. (*e*)

§ 88. *Appendix to the Literary History.*

A pious veneration for Christian antiquity has usually preserved with much care the names of some writers who are not fairly entitled to a place in history by their character or influence. *Athenagoras*, according to some uncertain accounts, the predecessor of Pantaenus in Alexandria, wrote with considerable philosophical talent a defence of the doctrine of the resurrection (about 180). (*a*) *Julius Africanus*, a presbyter at Nicopolis (Emmaus) and a friend of Origen, though more advanced in age (d. about 232), was a learned annalist, and by some extant letters appears to have been a judicious critic of the Scriptures. (*b*) *Hippolytus*, a bishop, and a contemporary of Origen, was said by Eusebius and Jerome to have left valuable writings in explanation of the Scriptures, and in refutation of heretics. (*c*) The titles and fragments of

a) *Orig.* c. Cels. III, 79. Stromm. VI. in *Hieron.* Apol. I. adv. Ruf. c. 18.

b) Περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τῶν γενητῶν, περὶ αὐτεξουσίου. Fragm. in *Epiph.* haer. 64. *Phot.* cod. 234, 236. comp. *Socrat.* H. ecc. VI, 13.

c) Apologiae pro Orig. lib. VI. Greek Frag. in *Phot.* cod. 118. The first book is in Rufin's translation.

d) Fragments: Rom. 1797. f. *Galland.* Bibl. PP. Th. III. p. 481ss.

e) Εἰς Ὠριγένην πρυσφωνητικὸς καὶ πανηγυρικὸς λόγος. Ἐπιστολὴ κακοητική. His life by Gregorius Nyss. from narratives supplied by his grandmother. Opp. c. vita ed. *G. Vossius*, Mog. 1604. 4. Fragments of his writings in *Ang. Maii* N. Coll. Th. VII. P. I. p. 170ss. Comp. Euseb. H. ecc. VI, 30. VII, 14.

a) Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν, ed. *Rechenberg*, Lps. 1685.

b) Χρονογραφῶν πέντε σπουδάσματα. Ἐπιστ. περὶ τῆς κατὰ Σουσάνναν ἱστορίας written to Origen, with the reply of the latter,—Ἐπιστ. πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, a harmony of the genealogies of Jesus. *Routh*, Reliq. sacr. vol. II.

c) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 20, 22, 46. *Hieron.* catal. c. 61. *Phot.* cod. 121. *Ebedjesu* in *Assemani* Bibl. or. vol. III. P. I.

his works are thought by many to indicate an oriental character, and a degree of education somewhere between that of Origen and that of Irenaeus. (*d*) But his statue, found in the *Ager Veranus*, near Rome (1551), with the Easter cycle engraved upon his cathedra and a catalogue of his writings, imply that he must have resided in the vicinity of Rome, and that the Portus Romanus mentioned as his bishopric, must have been the port near Ostia. (*e*) Yet, as Prudentius had sung the martyrdom of a highly esteemed Novatian presbyter, who, in view of death, returned to the Catholic Church, and after his execution near the mouths of the Tiber, had been conveyed to the Roman catacombs, (*f*) and in the time of that poet had been honored with a magnificent martyrium, and a great annual festival at Rome, the discoverers of this statue came to the conclusion that the martyr was the same person as the ecclesiastical writer. (*g*) Later martyrologies, however, indicate that the martyr came to Rome from Antioch, where a lively interest existed in favor of Novatianism. (*h*) *Lactantius* Firmianus, an Italian preceptor to the prince Crispus, in whose misfortunes he was probably involved (d. about 330), commenced, during his residence as a rhetorician at Nicomedia, in the midst of the last persecution, his treatise on the nature and achievements of Christianity, in contrast with those of Heathenism. In this work he has shed all the rhetorical splendor of his age upon the gospel, and has acquired the appellation of a Christian Cicero. His belief in a principle of evil appointed by God, and of equal rank with Christ, and in a millennial kingdom, may be regarded as a lingering shadow of the preceding century. (*i*)

§ 89. *Apocryphal Literature.*

Among the Jews, the heathen, and the Christians of this period, it was thought that the truth might, without impropriety, be defended by means of what was untrue. The lives of their heroes and saints especially might be embellished as much as they pleased, and the credit of such compositions might be aided by attaching to them some celebrated name. In this way was produced, within the Church as well as beyond its pale an apocryphal literature, composed partially of harmless fictions and popular legends, and partially

d) *Hippol.* Opp. ed. Fabricius. Hamb. 1716ss. 2 vols. f.

e) *E. J. Kimmel*, de Hip. vita et scriptis. P. I. Jen. 1839. *L. F. W. Seinecke*, Leben u. Schrr. d. Hipp. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1842. P. 3.) On the other side: *C. G. Huenell*, de Hipp. Gott. 1838. 4. as Bishop of Bostra.

f) Peristeph. hym. 11.

g) According to *Winkelmann*, Werke, ed. by Meyer & Schulze, vol. XVII. p. 334. the statue belonged to the time of Alex. Severus—certainly too early—according to *Platner*, in d. Bescreib. d. Stadt Rom. by Platner, Bunsen, & oth. vol. 2. p. 329. the latest period was that of the 6th cent. [See *Bunsen's* Hipp. & his Age. Lond. 1853. *C. Wordsworth*, II. & the Church of Rome, 4. Lond. 1853. and articles in the Jan'y Nos. of the Edinb. & English Reviews for 1853.]

h) The combined evidence thus obtained may be seen in *Gieseler*, [Eccles. Hist. transl. by *Davidson*, Edinb. vol. I. p. 249. note 9.]

i) Institutionum div. l. VII. De mortibus persecutorum. De ira Dei. De opificio Dei, vel de formatione hominis. Opp. ed. *Bünemann*. Lps. 1739. *Lebrun et Lenglet Dufresnoy*, Par. 1748. 2 Th. 4. *O. F. Fritzsche*, Lps. 1842.—4. 2 P.—*F. G. Ph. Ammon*, Lact. opiniones de rel. in systema redactae, dss. II. Erl. 1820. *H. J. Spyker*, de pretio Institutionibus Lact. tribuendo. Lugd. 1826. *L. Hausknecht*, Études sur Lact. Strassb. 1837.

of intentional forgeries. (*a*) Writings of the former kind have been so thoroughly revised by the Gnostics and Manichaeans, that their origin and primary design can no longer be determined with any certainty, and even their dogmatic character is for the most part indeterminate and contradictory. In this respect they are a fair exemplification of the age which gave them birth. Even in those rare instances in which the deception was discovered and censured by the Church, as in the case of the Acts of Paul and Theckla, written under the impulse of a warm affection for Paul, and an almost poetical sentiment in behalf of the duty of self-sacrifice, the work remained for a long time in circulation among the Churches. (*b*) 1) Among those called *Acts of the Apostles* may be noticed a cycle of histories pretending to give an account of the miracles wrought by the apostles, collected and revised so as to favor the interests of Manichaeism, by some one under the name of *Leucius Charinus*. (*c*) 2) Jewish imitations of earlier prophetic visions were sometimes used by Christians with their own interpretation, and sometimes counterfeited by Jewish Christians, to show the completion of the Messianic prophecies by facts taken from the life of Jesus. (*d*) 3) Some lost prophecies, ascribed to *Hystaspes*, an ancient Persian seer, gave to the Asiatic Christians a prophet of the Messiah, from their own native region. (*e*) 4) The *Sybilline Oracles* were written by many different authors in the course of several centuries. (*f*) The oldest of them were composed by heathen and Jewish writers to subserve their own peculiar views, and in many instances probably as a poetical amusement. But the principal part of them consisting of reproaches against heathenism, and predictions of its approaching overthrow, were written by Christians, probably not so much to oppose and alarm their enemies, as to encourage their friends. By those apologists, however, who were conversant with pagan literature, they were made use of as divinely inspired writings.

a) *Iren.* I, 26.—*Mosheim*, de causis suppositt. libror. inter Christ. (Dss. ad H. ecc. pert. Th. I. p. 217ss.)

b) *Tertul.* de bapt. c. 17. Acta S. Pauli et Thecklae, ed. *Grabe*, Spicileg. Th. I. p. 81ss. [Apocr. New Test. Lond. 1821.]

c) Τῶν Ἀποστόλων περιόδοι. Phot. cod. 114. Acta S. Thomae, ed. *J. C. Thilo*, Lps. 1823. Apokr. Evv. s. Leben Jesu. p. 13s.

d) *Fabricius*, Codex pseudepigr. V. T. ed. 2. Hamb. 1713s. 2 Th.—The book of Enoch the Prophet, trans. from an Ethiopic MS. by *R. Laurence*, Oxf. (1821.) 1833. *A. G. Hoffman*, das Buch Henoch in Uebers. mit Commentar. Jena. 1833-8. 2 Abth. [Lond. Christ. Observer, (in Littell's Rel. Mag. 1829.) Book of Enoch. *M. Stuart*, in Bibl. Repos. for Jan. 1840. pp. 86-136.]—Ezrae l. IV. (Fabric. Th. I. 173ss.) Versio Aethiopica, lat. angliceque reddita a *R. Laurence*, Oxf. 1820.—Αἱ διαθῆκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριαρχῶν, ed. *Grabe*, Spicil. Th. I. p. 145ss. Comp. *C. I. Nitzsch*, de testam. XII. Patr. Vit. 1810. 4.—Ascensio (ἀναβατικόν) Isaiae vatis, opusc. apud. Aethiopas compertum, c. vers. lat. anglicanaque ed. *R. Laurence*, Oxon. 1819. *Gieseler*, vetus translatio lat. visionis Jesaiae ed. praef. et notis ill. Gott. 1832. 4. comp. *Nitzsch* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1830. P. 2. *Lücke*, Einl. z. Apok. p. 125ss. *Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. Urchr. vol. I. 1. p. 65ss.

e) *Fr. Wilch*, de Hystaspe. (Comm. Soc. Reg. Gott. Th. I. p. 3ss.)

f) Sibyllinorum Oraculorum l. VIII. ed. *Servatius Gallaeus*, Amst. 1689. 4. On this, see also l. XI.-XIV. in *Angeli Maji* Scriptorum vett. nova collectio. Rom. 1828. 4. Th. III. p. 3.—*Bleek*, ü. Entst. u. Zusammens. d. Sib. Orak. (Theol. Zeitschr. Brl. 1819. P. 1. 2.) [*David Blondell*, Treatise of the Sibylls. Lond. 1661. f.]

§ 90. *Subordinationists and Monarchians.*

I. All accounts of the Monarchians are derived from the party hostile to and finally victorious over them, as *e. g. Tertullian*, who hated them as opponents of Montanism; *Epiphanius* and *Theodoret*, who regarded them with the prejudices of the Athanasian party; and *Eusebius*, the most impartial, but not unaffected by the spirit and views of the age.

II. *Martini*, Pragm. Gesch. d. dogma v. d. Gotth. Ch. in d. ersten 4 Jahrh. Rost. 1800. vol. I. *Schleiermacher*, ü. d. Gegens. zw. d. Sabell. u. Athan. Vorst. v. d. Trinität. (Theol. Zeitschr. Brl. 1822. P. 3. p. 295ss.) *Heinichen*, de Alogis, Theodotianis, Artemonitis. Lps. 1829. *L. Lange*, Gesch. u. Lehrbegr. d. Unitarier vor d. Nic. Synode. (Beitr. z. KGesch. vol. II.) Lpz. 1831. *Idem*, Abh. in Illgen's Zeitschr. 1832. vol. II. Pt. 2. p. 17ss.) 1833. vol. III. Pt. 1. p. 65ss. Pt. 2. p. 178ss. Comp. *Gieseler* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 4. p. 1215s. *Baur*, d. chr. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit u. Menschwerd. in gesch. Entw. Tub. 1841. Th. I. p. 132ss. *G. A. Meier*, d. Lehre v. d. Trin. in hist. Entw. Hamb. u. G. 1844. vol. 1. p. 74ss.

The whole effort made by the Church of this period to rise above the religion of mere feeling to the possession of clear ideas, was now concentrated in the inquiry, Who was Christ? The answer of the Jews, declaring that he was the Son of God, reminded the Greeks of the sons of deities in their mythology. (*a*) As, however, the doctrine of the divine unity was considered indispensable, and as Christians could not feel that the essential glory of Christ was adequately expressed, when it was said in Jewish phrase, that he was anointed and filled with the Holy Ghost, the attention of all was turned to the philosophic theory of the *Logos*, regarded as that by which God contemplated his own nature, and revealed himself in the universe as far as it is an image of the divine life. Two parties sprung up after the middle of the second century, neither of which hesitated to call Christ, in a Hellenistic sense, not only a Son of God, but God himself. *One* of these believed that the Logos had an existence before our world, and was an exact image of the Deity, but a subordinate person. The popular expression with respect to the generation of this Logos, must have been understood as implying either with the Gnostics, that it was an emanation from the divine essence, or with the Alexandrians, that it was an eternal procession from it by an exercise of the divine will. According to this view, the Holy Spirit was regarded as an actual person, but one so subordinate and so little regarded, that many who looked upon the Son as a person, held that the Spirit was merely a power of God, or a mode of his operation. This relation of the divine economy has been denominated, since the time of Tertullian, the *Trinity*. The *other* party, either from its regard to the doctrine of the divine unity (μοναρχία), held that Christ was a mere man, but born of the virgin by the power of the divine Spirit, and exalted to be the Lord of the whole Church, or from a regard to Christ's dignity, believed that he was a revelation and manifestation of God on earth. (*b*) Those who held to this last view, were, by their opponents, called *Patripassiani*. Justin informs us, that even in his day it was not regarded as inconsistent with Christianity to hold that Christ was a mere man, and Tertullian reluctantly testifies, that in his vicinity this was the common sentiment. (*c*) The first kind of Monarch-

a) *Justin.* Apol. I. c. 21. C. Tryph. c. 69. Comp. *Plinii* Ep. X, 96.

b) *Athenag.* Legat. c. 10. In *Justin.* c. Tryph. c. 128. The distinction between the two kinds of Monarchianism: *Orig.* in Jo. tom. 2, 2.

c) *Justin.* c. Tryph. c. 48. *Tertul.* adv. Prax. c. 3.

ianism has always, since that time, been rejected as often as it has made its appearance, inasmuch as no one would then presume to think of Christ in less exalted terms than those in which the Gnostic heretics represented him. But even where no such a rejection took place, it naturally followed that no one had any great timidity in denying a mere man. On the other hand, the Monarchians of the second class were regarded in many parts of the Church as orthodox, and were not generally very seriously opposed, until an assault was made upon them by persons at a distance, which was repelled by an appeal to apostolical traditions, and to the Holy Scriptures. But the Subordinationists, whose views were more conformable to those of the common people, gradually gained upon public sentiment, and by various means at the command of the hierarchy, utterly destroyed even the second kind of Monarchianism, which had been rendered suspicious by the ease with which it was confounded with the first. By ingenious references to reason and revelation, the views of the triumphant party respecting the Logos were made to correspond with the philosophy of that period.

1) Epiphanius speaks of a party in Asia Minor (about 170) whom he wittily calls *Alogi*, because they rejected the doctrine of the Logos and the gospel by John, together with the doctrine of the Millennium and the book of Revelations. They were probably the same persons as those mentioned by Irenaeus as having rejected the gospel by John, and the idea of the prophetic gifts of the Spirit. It is evident that they were opposed to the Montanists, but we are left in doubt whether they took offence at the word Logos merely as a learned expression, or whether they were really Monarchians, as they were regarded by Epiphanius. (*d*) 2) *Praxeas*, distinguished as a confessor in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and sent from Asia Minor to Rome to induce the churches in the latter city to refuse all fellowship with the Montanists, taught without molestation the second kind of Monarchianism, respecting the incarnation of one divine Spirit in Christ. In Carthage, however, he was accused of heresy by Tertullian. (*e*) But *Theodotus*, the Tanner, who came about the same time from Byzantium to Rome, and began to propagate the first kind of Monarchianism, was driven from the Church by *Victor*, Bishop of Rome. His party was distinguished for secular learning, made use of the Scriptures as of a merely human production, and was at one time powerful enough to elevate one of their own number to the See of Rome itself. It was not long, however, before their bishop was attacked by persons sent by God, or by episcopal influence, and compelled to abdicate. From this party proceeded another Theodotus, a money-broker, who became the head of the *Melchizedecians*, who are said to have honored Melchizedek as a heavenly Redeemer, superior to the earthly. *Artemon* was also excluded from the Church of Rome, for maintaining that the established doctrine of the Church had always been, that the Redeemer was no more than a man, and that this had never been perverted or changed until

d) *Epiph.* haer. 51. 54. 3. *Iren.* III, 11. comp. *Euseb.* II. ecc. VII, 25.—*M. Merkel*, hist. krit. Aufklär. d. Streitigk. d. Aloger. ü. d. Apok. Frkf. u. Lps. 1782.

e) *Tertul* adv. Praxean.

the time of Zephyrinus, who then occupied the episcopal chair (201–218). (*f*) 3) *Noetus*, of Smyrna, and probably a presbyter in Ephesus, was excluded (about 230) from his church as a Patripassian. That he should have repelled this accusation in such decided terms, is only to be explained on the ground that he held to the second kind of Monarchianism. (*g*) To this also, *Beryllus*, of Bostra, professed adherence. He denied that our Saviour had any personal existence prior to the incarnation, or that there was in Christ a divine nature distinct from that of the Father. He, however, conceded that the Godhead of the Father dwelt in the person of Jesus. Under the instruction of Origen, he finally renounced these views, and embraced another system of faith. (*h*) *Sabellius*, a presbyter of Ptolemais (250–260), expressed the same doctrine in terms still nearer those commonly used in the Church. According to him, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, were only the different forms in which the supreme Unity, which unfolds itself in human affairs as a Triad, reveals himself to men. In the Pentapolis, his doctrine was regarded as orthodox, until *Dionysius*, of Alexandria, brought against him the prelatical authority, and the stores of learning. But when the latter, in the course of the controversy, carried the doctrine of Origen so far as to assert that the Logos was created by the Father, was unequal to him in nature, and began to exist in time, *Dionysius*, Bishop of Rome, maintained against him a doctrine which the Alexandrian bishop would not have denied, that the Son had an eternal existence in the Father. (*i*) 4) *Paul* of Samosata, after 260 Bishop of Antioch, appears to have effected a union of the two kinds of Monarchianism, although the first was decidedly predominant in his system. He maintained that Jesus, as a man, was begotten by the Holy Ghost, and that the divine Logos which then began personally to exist, had a peculiar connection with him. The Syrian bishops were violently opposed to their Metropolitan, conspired against him at three different Synods, and at Antioch, in the year 269, proclaimed his deposition. Their enmity seems to have been much excited by his political position and worldly honors, (*k*) and it was not until the year 272, when the imperial power co-operated with them, that their act of deposition was carried into effect. The fall of this powerful bishop decided the fate of the Monarchians, who are henceforth mentioned only as isolated individuals, and as heretics already condemned (Sabelliani, Samosateniani.) In the public acts of this Synod, the Sabellian form of expression, according to which the Son is of a nature similar to that of the Father (ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί), was also condemned. (*l*)

f) *Tertul.* de praescr. append. c. 53. *Euseb.* H. ecc. V, 28. *Epiph.* haer. 54. 55. *Theodoret.* Haeret. fabb. II, 4ss.

g) *Hippolyt.* εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν Νοήτου τινος. (Ed. Fabric. Th. II. p. 5ss.) *Epiph.* haer. 57. *Theodoret.* III, 3.

h) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VI, 33. comp. 20. *Hieron.* catal. c. 60. comp. *Orig.* Opp. Th. IV. p. 695.— *Ullmann*, de Beryllo Bostreno. Hamb. 1835. 4. comp. Stud. u. Krit. 1836. P. 4. p. 1073ss.

i) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VII, 6. *Athanas.* Ep. de sententia Dionysii. (Th. I. p. 548ss.) *Gallandii* Bib. PP. Th. III. p. 495. vol. XIV. App. p. 118. *Basil.* Ep. 210. *Epiph.* haer. 62. *Theodoret.* II, 9. [*Schleiermacher*, transl. by *M. Stuart*, in Bibl. Repos. vol. V. p. 265–353. VI. p. 1–80.]

k) *Euseb.* H. ecc. VII, 27–30. *Epiph.* haer. 65. *A. Maji* N. Coll. Th. VII. P. 1. p. 68. 299ss.— *Ehrlich*, de erroribus Pauli Sam. Lps. 1745. 4. *J. B. Schwab*, de P. Sam. vita atque doctr. Herbip. 1839.

l) *Athanas.* de synod. Arim. et Seleuc. c. 43. (Th. I. p. 917.) *Hilar.* de synod. c. 86.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO CHARLES THE GREAT.

§ 91. *General View.*

Heathenism was now destroyed and Christianity became the religion of the State. The effort to attain a more perfect intellectual apprehension of the doctrines of the Christian system, produced a great agitation both of the Church and of the empire. The Church and the State exerted a reciprocal and mutually pervading influence upon each other, and by blending together the political and dogmatic interest, an unfavorable result was produced in both. The rights of the congregations were still enforced in almost all instances by popular insurrections and intrigues at court. The unity of the Church was carried out by sacrificing the independence of its several parts, and the whole became subject to the two great bishops residing at old and new Rome. The power of the monks nearly equalled that of the clergy. Grecian and Christian usages and morals were blended together, and mutually corrupted one another. From the midst of these doctrinal conflicts, and from the fanaticism of the Desert, a class of characters was produced, in which the Holy Ghost allowed the spirit of the times to attain, on a grand scale, the end for which it indefinitely longed. At the close of this struggle, the State was distracted by another relating to images. Christianity gave a final glory, an internal life and a consolation in misfortune to the Roman empire, but could not prevent its overthrow. A new and simple faith obtained a victory over Christianity by means of the sword, and closed against it its own native East. Greece alone continued Roman, and gradually sunk with its Church into a long apparent death. The German nations broke into the Western Empire, but soon bowed themselves before the cross, and gave to the Church a new life. The period naturally falls into two divisions of nearly equal length: the Church of the Roman empire, to which the adjacent oriental countries belong, and the Church among the Germanic nations, to which the Roman bishopric, from the time of Stephen II., was transferred.

DIVISION I.—THE IMPERIAL CHURCH.

§ 92. *Original Authorities.*

1) *Euseb.* (§ 14.) Εἰς τὸν βίον Κωνσταντίνου. l. IV. Vita Constant. et Panegyricus, ed. *Heinichen.* Lps. 1830. Historiae ecc. Eusebii. l. IX Rufino interprete ac II. ipsius *Rufini*, ed. *Cacciari.* Rom. 1741s. 2 Th. 4. Historia ecc. Scriptores graeci, c. notis *Valesii* ed. *G. Reading*, Cantabr. 1720. 3 Th. f. *Nicephorus Callistius*, ἐκκλησ. ἱστορία, ed. *Fronton le Duc*, Par. 1630. 2 Th. f.

2) *Sulpicii Severi*, Hist. sacra, ed. *Hofmeister*, Tig. 1708. (Opp. ed. *Hieron. a Prato*, Veron. 1741s. 2 Th. f. Πασχάλιον s. Chronicon paschale, ed. *Car. du Fresne Dom. du Cange*. Par. 1688. f. *Lud. Dindorf*. Bonn. 1832. 2 Th. *Theophanes Confessor*, Χρονογραφία, c. notis *Goari* et *Combefisii*. Par. 1655. Ven. 1729. f. 3) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Rerum gest. l. XXXI. ed. *Ernesti*. Lps. 1773. 1835. *Zosimus*, ἱστορία νέα, ed. *Reitemeier*. Lps. 1784. *Im. Bekker*, Bonn. 1837. [The Greek Eccles. Histories by Euseb. Theod. Socrat. Sozom. and Evagrius, have been newly translated and published, with lives of the authors, in 6 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1842–6.]

Most of the public original documents are contained in the acts of councils and the imperial codes. *Eusebius* was influenced in the history of his own times at least by gratitude. (*a*) His Ecclesiastical History was freely translated, and continued to the time of the translator by *Rufinus* (395). (*b*) Among the Greeks it was continued by the advocate, *Socrates Scholasticus* (306–439), and *Hermias Sozomenus* (323–423). The former was a candid and plain writer; the latter was full of monastic notions, and wrote in a florid style. Both were completed by *Theodoretus*, bishop of Cyrus, with a great abundance of theological learning (325–427). (*c*) All of these were composed in the spirit of the ascendant party in the Church. The Ecclesiastical History of *Philostorgius* (300–425), is a panegyric upon the vanquished party, and is preserved only in the extracts made by Photius. *Evagrius*, a distinguished advocate of Antioch, continued the history of the Catholic Church (431–594) with special attention to political circumstances, and an extreme passion for orthodoxy. Extracts from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, are preserved in a manuscript work of *Theodorus Lector*, and fragments of his continuation of Socrates (until 518) have been preserved by Nicephorus. The history of *Nicephorus Callistius* (which at first consisted of twenty-three books, and reached to the year 911, but now consists of only eighteen books, extending to the year 610), was compiled in the fourteenth century from older historical writings and original documents in the church of St. Sophia. It was written in an elegant style, and its sentiments are honestly expressed, but it is characterized by servility and superstition. *Sulpicius Severus*, at first a lawyer, and afterwards a presbyter in Gaul, wrote a concise summary of universal history (until 400) with a strong ecclesiastical spirit, but it is important only for what relates to his own times, and to events occurring in his own vicinity. The *Easter-Chronicle* (written until 354, under Constantius, but with later additions until 628, under Heraclius) is principally a calculation of the passovers from the beginning of the world, but it is enlivened by a chronicle in which many singular documents and accounts are communicated in a simple style, and in an ecclesiastical spirit. *Theophanes Confessor* wrote a continuation of an older chronicle down to his own time (285–813), and with much learning made use of original documents which would otherwise have been lost. His work is pervaded by the spirit of a monk and of a martyr to his zeal for image worship. Among the last of the heathen historians, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in those portions of his history of the empire which are extant (libb. 14–31. 353–378), has recorded the ecclesiastical events of that period with the impartiality and sound common sense of a sol-

a) *Socrat.* H. ecc. I, 1.
b) *E. J. Kimmel*, de Ruf., Eus. interprete I. II. Ger. 1838.
c) *F. A. Holzhausen*, de fontibus, quibus Socr. Soz. et Theod. usi sunt. Goett. 1825. 4.

dier, and *Zosimus*, a court officer under Theodosius II., has described (in detail 284–410) with minute art the dark shades in the character of the Christian emperors.

CHAP. I.—VICTORY AND DEFEAT OF CHRISTIANITY.

J. G. Hoffmann, ruina superstitionis paganae. Vit. 1738. 4. *S. T. Rüdiger*, de statu paganorum sub. Imp. christ. post. Const. Vrat. 1825. *Beugnot.* (before § 46.)

§ 93. *Constantine and his Sons.*

I. Whatever relates to them in *Euseb.* and *Zosimus.*—II. *Martini*, d. Einführ. d. chr. Rel. als Staatsrel. durch Constant. München. 1813. 4. *Manso*, Leben Const. Bresl. 1817. *Kist*, de commutatione, quam Const. auctore societas chr. subiit. Traj. ad Rh. 1818. 4. (*Hug*) Denkschr. s. Ehrenrett. Const. (Zeitschr. f. d. Geistlichk. d. Erzb. Freyburg. 1829. P. 3.) *Arendt*, ü. Const. u. s. Verh. z. Christenth. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1834. P. 3.) [*Euseb. Pamphilus*, Life of Const. in 4 books. New transl. Lond. 1845. 8.]

As fast as he could wisely do so, and by all the means which an absolute monarch can bring to bear upon his favorite plans, Constantine gradually bestowed upon the Church security, wealth, privileges, and every thing which could make it attractive. By the arts of state policy, the contest between the rulers of the Eastern and Western division of the empire had been identified with that between the ancient gods and the crucified Redeemer. No sooner had this been decided by the complete destruction of *Licinius* (323), than *Constantine* openly expressed a desire to see the whole Roman world once more united in one common religion. He, however, freely acknowledged the right of all those who desired, to persevere in their adherence to the obsolete superstition. Only a few temples in the East were despoiled, that their ornaments might be used to adorn the new Christian Rome; some others were destroyed on account of the immoralities practised in them, (*a*) and a law against sacrifices (*b*) was probably directed merely against such immoralities, or was never executed. The emperor still remained *Pontifex Maximus*, and some of his enactments indicate that he honored, or at least feared the magical arts of the old paganism. (*c*) Political interests seemed imperatively to require that Christianity should be established as the religion of the State, that those religious questions which were then producing innumerable divisions might be decided. That Constantine, however, acted in these measures from a sincere attachment to Christianity, is evident from what he did before the chivalrous emperor had degenerated into the tyrant, and from his interest in those ecclesiastical matters with which the mere policy of the ruler could have had no connection. The same sign which had originally given him the victory (Labarum, 312), (*d*) had also conducted him to universal dominion, and he therefore regarded himself as the favorite of Heaven, called to secure an equal dominion for the

a) *Euseb.* Vita Const. II, 55–60.

b) According to a reference which Constans made to it (e) and *Euseb.* Vita Const. II, 45.

c) Constit. de haruspicinae usu. a. 321. L. 1. *Cod. Theod.* de pagan. (XVI, 10.) *Zosim.* II, 29.

d) *Euseb.* Vita Const. I, 27–31. *Lactant.* de mortib. c. 44. *Sozom.* I, 3. *Rufin.* I, 9. Comp. *Nazarii*, Panegyr. Const. c. 14.—*Heinichen*, Excurs. I. ad Vitam Const.

cross of Christ. And yet he was not restrained from desecrating that very cross by hands deeply imbrued in blood, in the blood of his own son (326). That he remained among the catechumens, and never received baptism until the year in which he died (337), is accounted for by a reference to a superstitious opinion then prevalent among many Christians. Not only has the Church from gratitude conferred upon him the title of the Great, but even heathenism has given him a place among its divinities. While acquiring and maintaining his authority, he won many battles, formed a system of government which acted with all the regularity of an artificial machine, built a metropolis for the world in a position the most admirable of any on earth, and lived to experience and to deserve many misfortunes. In one respect he was certainly great or fortunate, for when seated in the highest position then attainable, he seems to have understood what the necessities of his age required. His sons followed out and even extended the political system and favorite plans he had bequeathed to them. The temples were closed, and those who should venture to sacrifice were threatened with death. (*e*) In Rome alone an asylum for the ancestral gods was allowed to remain, as a special favor solemnly conceded to the majesty of the Roman people. (*f*)

§ 94. *Julianus Apostata.*

I. *Juliani* Opp. (Misopogon, Caesares, Orationes, Epp.) et *Cyrilli Alex.* c. Julian. l. X. ed. *Spanhem.* Lps. 1696. 2 Th. f. *Jul.* Epp. Accedunt fragm. breviora, ed. *Heyler*, Mog. 1828. The series of Christian lampoons begins with *Gregorii Naz.* in Julian. apost. invectivae duae. The pagan panegyrics with *Libanius*, especially with his Oratio parentalis. A true and fair account in *Ammian. Marc.* XXI.–XXV, 8.

II. *H. P. C. Henke*, de Theol. Jul. Helmst. 1777. 4. (Opp. 1802. p. 353ss.) *A. Neander*, Jul. u. s. Zeitalter. Lps. 1812. (*Schlosser's* Rec. in d. Jen. L. Z. Jan. 1813. p. 121ss.) *Idem.* [H. of the Chr. Rel. and Church. vol. II. pp. 36–67.] *C. H. van Herwerden*, de Jul. rel. chr. hoste eodemque vindice. Lugd. 1827. *G. F. Wiggers*, Jul. d. Abtr. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1837. vol. VII. p. 1.) *H. Schulze*, de phil. et morib. Jul. Strals 1839. 4. *V. S. Teuffel*, de Jul. Imp. christianismi contemtore et osore. Tub. 1844. [A short account of the Life of Jul. the Ap. Lond. 1682. 12. Life of Jul. Lond. 1682. 8. Two Orations of J. transl. Lond. 1793. 8.]

Julian had been educated for the Christian priesthood, but he had learned to regard Christianity as a tissue of subtle formulas, and as a religion of slavery. The victory it had acquired over the religion of his ancestors he ascribed to the violent measures of him who had been the murderer of his father's family. By an acquaintance with the poets of antiquity and the philosophers of heathenism, which he had acquired in secret, he found what seemed to him a higher life. Having attained the throne by a bold use of favorable circumstances (361), he looked upon himself as destined by the gods to bring back the delightful times of antiquity. His religious views were of the New-Platonic school, and in his restoration of paganism, he intended to ingraft upon it all the excellencies of Christianity. Christians were removed from civil offices, condemned to rebuild the temples which had been destroyed, and excluded from all professorships in which the national

e) Constantis Lex adv. sacrif. a. 341. L. 2. *Cod. Theod.* de pagan. (XVI, 10.) *Constantii* Rescr. ad Taurum. a. 353. ibid. L. 4.

f) L. 3. *Cod. Theod.* de pagan. (XVI, 10.)

literature was taught. (*a*) Even the claims of justice were conceded in such a way as to favor his hostile design; all sects were tolerated, all banished bishops were recalled, and the Jews were invited to rebuild their sanctuary. Those who had remained heathen now began to lift up their heads, and the ever venal multitude returned to their deserted temples. These very efforts, however, merely showed how well Constantine had understood the age in which he lived. The ridicule and hatred of the Christians Julian met with the weapons of a philosopher rather than with those of a universal ruler. In his controversies with the Galileans, he endeavored especially to show that they were condemned by their own sacred books when they deified a deceased Jew, complied with the new custom of honoring other deceased persons, and renounced Judaism. (*b*) The virtues he exhibited in his official duties procured peace and esteem even from those who personally disliked him, and those differences which existed between him and his people did not make him a tyrant. The more beautiful traits of the Greek national spirit could not be developed in him, but he was nevertheless a hero and a philosopher on the throne, and a pious and virtuous man in private life. Even his declamatory vanity was connected with his high regard for the free judgment of his people. After a busy reign of twenty months as sole emperor, and after a restless but fruitless life, he fell while yet a youth in a battle with the Persians (363). Though he passed away like a flying cloud, he was, with the exception of Athanasius, the greatest man of his century.

§ 95. *Fall of Paganism.*

After Julian, the empire was governed by Christian emperors, but heathenism continued undisturbed in its civil relations until the reign of Theodosius I. This monarch having conquered the Goths and suppressed the heretics, felt bound also to persecute the pagans (381). It was at this time also that Gratianus had the altar of Victory removed from the hall of the Roman senate. It was in vain that Symmachus, in the name of the senators, implored that an altar with which the early and happy recollections of so many venerable fathers were connected, and already so dear even to the tenderest youth, might be spared. In vain did he plead in the name of the eternal city itself, that in the present uncertain condition of things, the usages of their ancestors might be respected, and a religion under which they had conquered the world might not be exterminated. (*a*) In the exercise of his power as sole ruler (392), Theodosius proclaimed every form of idolatry a crime, and every attempt to learn the secrets of the future by animal sacrifices, high treason. (*b*) Those enthusiastic teachers who relied wholly upon the spiritual power of the gospel to overcome all its opponents, were outnumbered by the zealots who urged the emperor, as a matter of conscience,

a) *Jul.* Ep. 42. *Ammian. Marc.* XXII, 10. *Orosii*, Hist. VII, 30. The misunderstanding in *Sozom.* V, 18. *Socrat.* III, 12. *Theodoret.* Hist. ecc. III, 8.

b) Marquis *d'Argens*, Défense du paganisme par l'Emp. Julien. Ber. 1764. ed. 3. 1769.

a) *Symmachi* l. X. Ep. 61. (Ed. *Pareus*, Neost. Nem. 1628.)

b) L. 12. *Cod. Theod.* de pagan. (XVI, 10.)—*Stuffken*, de Theodosii M. in rem chr. meritis. Lugd. 1828.

to destroy paganism by fire and sword. The populace were excited by violent monks to rise against the temples. It was to no purpose that *Libanius* eloquently interceded for those edifices which he had just assisted Julian to embellish. (*c*) A few of the more beautiful ancient temples were saved, to be converted into churches. When the mysterious Serapion at Alexandria was destroyed, and the statue of the god was broken to pieces, the Egyptians expected, according to an ancient prophecy, that the world would sink back into its original chaos. (*d*) Philosophy sought consolation in magical arts, and hopes were entertained that the power of Christianity was destined to extinction during the year 399. (*e*) The heathen oracles withheld their responses, and the Sibylline books were consumed in the flames. Before the middle of the fifth century, idolatry was completely exterminated in every part of the Eastern empire. In the West, where the continual incursions of the barbarians rendered the emperor's authority less effective, it was found impossible wholly to put down the worship of the gods, to whose vengeance the devastation of the empire was ascribed. Hence, after Rome had been plundered by the barbarians, *Augustine* (426) and *Orosius* (417) found it necessary, by labored apologies, to prove that Christianity was not responsible for the calamities of the times, the former taking the ground that the whole history of the world was only a development of the kingdom of Christ, conditioned by the opposition of men. (*f*) The great multitude indeed followed where fortune and power led the way, but Augustine found by experience, as Libanius had intimated, that it was easier to exclude the gods from the temples, than from the hearts of the people, and that Jesus was not often sought for from disinterested motives. (*g*) Heathenism maintained its ground only here and there in some remote districts (paganismus, 368), where it was protected by the rustic simplicity and honesty of its votaries, in particular individuals or families of an exalted character, and in the schools of philosophy. A few philosophers fell a sacrifice to the frantic zeal of the Christian populace. The learned and amiable *Hypatia*, who presided over the New-Platonic school of Alexandria, was horribly murdered in a church, not without guilt on the part of Cyril the bishop. (*h*) Heathenism, however, from its very nature, could never attain ascendency by its martyrdoms. *Justinian I.* destroyed its last intellectual hold, by abolishing the schools of philosophy, and he annihilated even those secret vestiges of it in Rome which had become concealed under an indifference to all external forms of worship. (*i*) Photius alone preferred a voluntary baptism of blood in defence

c) Orat. ad Theodos. *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν.* Opp. ed. *Reiske.* Th. II. More complete: Novus S. Patrum Graec. Sacc. IV. delectus, rec. *L. de Sinner.* Par. 1842.

d) *Rufini*, H. ecc. II, 22–30. *Socrat.* V, 16.

e) *Sozom.* VI, 35. *Augustin.* de Civ. Dei. XVIII, 53.

f) *August.* de Civitate Dei. l. XXII. c. comment. *Jo. L. Vivis* et *Coquaei*, Hamb. 1662. 2 Th. *J. van Goens*, de Aug. Apologeta sec. II. de Civ. Dei. Amst. 1838. *Pauli Orosii* adv. Paganos historiar. L. VII. (Hormesda mundi, Moestitia) rec. *Sig. Haverkamp*, Lugd. 1738. 4. *Th. de Moerner*, de Oros. vita ejusque Hist. libris. Ber. 1844.

g) *Liban.* Opp. vol. II. p. 177. *Aug.* Serm. 62. in Ev. Jo. tr. 25, 10. *h*) *Socrat.* VII, 15.—*Wernsdorf*, de Hyp. philosopha Dss. IV. Vit. 1748. 4. *Münch*, Hypatia. (Verm. Schriften. Ludwigsb. 1828. vol. I.)

i) *Procopii*, Hist. arcana c. 11. *Theophan.* Chronogr. ad ann. 522. Comp. *Agathiae* Hist. II, 30.

of freedom, to a constrained baptism in behalf of Christianity; and the *Mainottes*, in their mountain homes, defended at the same time their own liberties and the ancient gods of Sparta. So many religious phrases and festivals connected with idolatry were preserved at Rome, that it may more properly be said to have been incorporated into the life of the Church than abolished. The last adherents of the ancient faith were found in the seventh century, inhabiting some remote valleys of the Italian islands.

§ 96. *Massalians and Hypsistarians.*

I. *Epiph.* haer. 80. *Cyrill. Alex.* de adoratione in spiritu et verit. l. III. (Par. Th. I. p. 92.) *Gregor. Naz.* Orat. XVIII. § 5. (Opp. p. 333.) *Gregor. Nyss.* adv. Eunom. l. II. (Th. II. p. 440.)

II. *Ullmann*, de Hypsistariis. Heidelb. 1823. 4. On the other side: *Boehmer*, de Hyps. Praefatus est Neander. Berol. 1824. together with various replies.

Many persons had no confidence in the ancient gods, who nevertheless had no faith in Christ. These were indifferent about what might be the result of the great struggle for religion, or without professing adherence to any particular Deity, they contented themselves with the most general forms of piety. The more sincere portion of this class longed for some religious fellowship, and therefore associated themselves together. Accordingly, the *Massalians* of Syria and Palestine (Euchites, Euphemites, Ζεοσεβεῖς, and in Africa Coelicolae), conceded, indeed, that there might be many gods, but actually worshipped, in their splendidly illuminated oratories, at morning and evening twilight, only One universal Ruler. The *Hypsistarians* (ὑψίστῳ Ζεῷ προσκυνοῦντες) of Cappadocia can be reckoned in the same class with them, only on the ground that both were worshippers of but one God, for their peculiar sentiments respecting the eating of meats and the Sabbath indicate that they must have been a kind of proselytes of the gate. That they ever had any connection with Parsism, is very doubtful. The indifference of the former class and these latter sects of the fourth century must have disappeared, after a few generations, before the internal and external power of Christianity.

§ 97. *Christianity under the Persians.*

Christianity made no very great progress in Persia, on account of the newly awakened national spirit, the volatile character of the people, and the superficial knowledge then possessed by Christians of the Persian system of religion. In the fourth century, however, Christian congregations existed in every part of that country under the Metropolitan of Seleucia. But in consequence of the hatred felt against them by the priestly caste, who were bound together by the closest bonds, and some suspicions of a political nature awakened against them, they became victims of a persecution, after 343, which raged almost without interruption for a whole century, and nearly annihilated the Church. (*a*) No parties bearing the name of Christian could find an asylum there, except those which had been expelled from the Roman empire. *Chosroes II.* conquered Jerusalem (614) and put to death all Christians whom he found in Palestine. *Heraclius* restored the holy city to free-

a) *Euseb.* Vita Const. IV, 9–13. *Sozom.* II, 9–14. *Socr.* VII, 18–21. *Theodoret.* V, 38. Acta Martyr. Orient. et Occid. ed *S. E. Assemanus.* Rom. 1748. f. P. I.

dom, and triumphantly reinstated the cross in its former glory (621–628). *Armenia* fell at last beneath the power of the Persians (429), but its Christianity was more heroically defended than its freedom. (*b*)

§ 98. *Abyssinia and the Diaspora.*

The preservation of two young men belonging to the murdered crew of a Grecian vessel, was the occasion of the conversion of the Abyssinians. One of these, named *Frumentius*, obtained influence at court, received episcopal ordination from the hands of Athanasius (327), and lived to see the whole nation professing the Christian faith. (*a*) Cosmas, the Indian traveller, found (before 535) Christian congregations at three different points along the coast of the *East Indies*. Thomas was honored by them as their apostle, but they must have been originally composed of mercantile colonies from Persia. (*b*) The existence of a church at Chumdan, in *China* (after 636), with all that is related of it, is proved only by a record discovered by the Jesuits. (*c*) Arabia was furnished with an apostle with many rich gifts by the Emperor Constantius. But wherever Christianity became prevalent in that country, it was violently assailed by the Jews. Whole nomadic tribes received baptism at once from the hermits of the desert, but probably without much inquiry into the nature of Christianity, or further practice of its precepts.

§ 99. *Mohammed.*

I. The Koran: arab. et lat. ed. *Maraccius.* Patav. 1698. f. Petersb. 1787. 4. *Flügel*, Lps. (1834.) 1841. 4. *Abulfeda*, (14th cent.) Hist. anteislamica, arab. et lat. ed. *Fleischer*, Lps. 1831. De vita Muhamedis, arab. et lat. ed. *Gagnier*, Oxon. 1723. f. (The 1st Part of Abulfeda's Ann. Moslemici, arab. et lat. ed. *Reiske*, Havn. 1789ss. 5 Th. 4.) Comp. J. v. Hammer in the Wiener Jahrb. 1835. vol. 69. January, &c. [The Koran; transl. from the Arab. into Engl. by *G. Sale.* Lond. 1829. 1844. 2 vols. 8. Selections from the K. with an interwoven comm. transl. from the Arab. with notes, etc. by *E. W. Lane.* Lond. 1844. 8.]

II. *J. Gagnier*, la vie de Mah. Amst. 1732. 2 Th. *G. Bush*, Life of Moh. New York. 1832. 12. [*W. Irving*, Moh. and his Successors. New York. 1852. 2 vols. 8. *S. Ockley*, Hist. of the Saracens, comprising the lives of M. and his successors. &c. 4 ed. Lond. 1847. 8. *A. Sprenger*, Life of Moh. Allahabad. 12.]—*Garcin de Tossy*, Doctrine et devoirs de la rel. musulmane. Par. 1826. *Ch. Forster*, Mahometanisme unveiled. Lond. 1829. 2 vols. 8. *Dettinger*, z. Theol. des Korans. (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1831. P. 2.) *J. v. Hammer-Purgstall*, Moh. d. Prophet. Lps. 1837. Comp. *Umbreit*, in d. Stüd. u. Krit. 1841. P. 1. *G. Weil*, Moh. de Proph. Stuttg. 1843. [*W. H. Neale*, The Moham. System of Theology. Lond. 1828. 8.]—*Tychsen*, quatenus M. aliarum rell. sectatores toleraverit? (Cmmtt. Soc. Goett. Class. Hist. Th. XV. p. 152ss.) *Möhler*, Verh. in welchem nach d. Koran J. C. zu M. steht. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1830. P. 1.) *A. Geiger*, was hat M. aus dem Judenth. aufgenommen? Bonn. 1833. *C. F. Gerock*, Christologie d. Koran. Hamb. 1839. [*H. Prideaux*, Nature of Imposture in the Life of M. Lond. 8vo. *H. Martyn*, Controv. Tracts on Chr. and Mahommedanism. ed. *S. Lee.* Lond. 1824. 8. *J. B. White*, Comparison of Moham. and Chr. Bampton Lectt. Lond. 8. *W. T. Thompson*, Pract. Phil. of the Mohammedans. transl. from the Per. of *Jany Muh. Asäad.* Lond. 1839. 8. Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. I.]

The Arabians were a free, warlike, and imaginative people, subsisting

b) *Elisaeus*, History of Vartan, transl. by *Neumann.* Lond. 1830. 4. p. 12ss. *Saint Martin*, (§ 63. note d.) Th. I. p. 306ss. Th. II. p. 472ss.

a) *Rufin.* I, 9.—*Jobi Ludolfi* Hist. Aethiopica. Frcf. 1681. f. III, 2. and Cmtr. ad H. Aeth. ib. 1691. f. p. 583ss.

b) *Cosmas*, Τοπογραφία χριστιανική. (*Montfaucon*, Collectio nova PP. graec. Par. 1706. f. Th. II.) L. III. p. 178. l. XI. p. 336. comp. *Philostorg.* III, 14.

c) *Kircheri* China illustrata. Rom. 1667. f. p. 43ss.

upon their flocks, and with only a few commercial towns. With no literary cultivation, they took great delight in a poetic language. From the most ancient times, the Caaba at Mecca, originally consecrated to the worship of the one God, had been the national sanctuary, but more recently each tribe had possessed a deity for itself. Judaism, Christianity, and Parsism, had severally found entrance into Arabia, and it was not uncommon for them to be combined or exchanged the one for the other. *Mohammed* (b. 571) belonged to the race of Ishmael, the tribe of the Koreish, and the family of Hashem, whose business it was by inheritance to take charge of the Caaba. He was originally a merchant and a herdsman, of a quiet temperament, with very little indication of his future character, though frequently lost in religious reveries. All at once he began (611) to proclaim: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." On this fundamental principle was constructed a system of faith and morals, which combined together the four forms of religion prevalent among his people. Mohammed was acquainted with these only as he had found them in his intercourse with men—Judaism in its Talmudic, and the life of Jesus in its apocryphal form. His professed object was to re-establish the religion of Abraham, the great ancestor of his nation; and as he regarded Judaism and Christianity as divine revelations, he in the Koran honored their founders with legends of their miracles. His opinion respecting what he called the later corruptions of these systems, became gradually more intolerant, and was aggravated with respect to the Jews by motives of personal hatred. It became still more developed, as he advanced beyond the idea of a national toward that of a universal religion—an *Islam*, without which there was no salvation. His system of religious ethics demanded stated seasons and forms of prayer, fastings and ablutions, almsgiving, a pilgrimage to Mecca, an earnest contention for the faith, and a willingness to die in its behalf. A confidence in the doctrine of an absolute predestination, raised the courage of a brave people by inducing them joyfully to surrender themselves to the will of the Almighty. He prohibited his followers the use of wine, but indemnified them by an unrestrained allowance of sexual pleasures. The prospect of sensual enjoyments in another world gave the finishing stroke to this system, and adapted it solely to man's sensuous and intellectual nature. He then presented it to his fellowmen with all the peremptoriness of a direct revelation from heaven, and in all the fanciful richness of the popular poetry. Few in his native city were disposed to put confidence in his messages, and he was even obliged to escape the swords of his fellow-citizens by flying (July 15th, 622, Hedschra) to Medina. By bold predatory expeditions from this place, he conquered a part of Arabia, and the remaining portion was convinced by his success that he was indeed an apostle of God. His personal appearance was remarkably prepossessing; he was eloquent, enthusiastic in piety, as well as artful in policy, so bold in his measures that he even resorted to assassination to effect them, yet ordinarily just and magnanimous enough to be esteemed by an adoring people as a messenger from God. In his private life he was faithful, sincere, and temperate, though addicted to women. When first called of God to his work, he could neither read nor write; his travels could have given no great

information, and most of what he knew he had acquired at Mecca, to which pilgrims resorted from the whole oriental world. He professed to receive his revelations, as occasion called for them, from the lips of the angel Gabriel, in inspired language, though in the day of his prosperity they were not without a remarkable adaptation to his desires. They were preserved sometimes in popular tradition, and sometimes in detached manuscript fragments, until two years after his death, when they were collected as holy scriptures (Alkoran) by *Abubekr*. This prophet, poet, priest and king of Arabia, died (632) in the midst of his plans of conquest, from the effects of a slow poison given him to test his prophetic powers.

§ 100. *Victories of Islam.*

Oelsner, des effets de la rel. de Moh. pendant les trois prem. siècles. Par. 1810. Mit Zus. des Verf. v. E. D. M. Frkf. 1810. *J. J. Döllinger*, Muh. Rel. nach ihrer Entwickl. u. ihrem Einflusse. Münch. 1838.

To his successors the *Caliphs*, Mohammed left the assurance that God had given them the world to be conquered for Islam. This system had even then, in its various sects, been developed in some splendid forms of life. The Roman empire had become debased by effeminacy, and the oriental Church was split up into factions. But a religious enthusiasm which has seized the sword, cannot be overcome, at least by ordinary armies, and Christianity had hitherto been far from cultivating the military virtues. The Arabians successively conquered Egypt and Syria before 640, Persia before 651, and the African provinces before 707. With extreme difficulty Constantinople withstood the storm. The conditions on which the patriarch Sophronius had surrendered Jerusalem (637), were generally complied with by the Saracens, so far as they referred to the Christian population. Christians were tolerated in the exercise of their religion on the payment of a poll-tax, but many of them renounced their faith, and followed the fortune of their conquerors. Mohammed defended Jesus from the attempts of Christians to deify him, and, according to a prevalent tradition, Christ is at his second advent to become the last Caliph. The efforts of the Christian apologists were confined principally to a defence of the divinity of Christ, and of the doctrine that God could not be the author of evil. The only reply of the Mussulmen was with their swords.

CHAP. II.—THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE.

§ 101. *Conflicts and Sources of Ecclesiastical Life.*

As the various parties became developed within the Church, the latter was necessarily urged to a more precise determination of the essential articles of its faith. The unity of the Church, which had been externally established, operated unfavorably to an unrestrained diversity of opinions. No sooner had the common external enemies of the Church been overcome, than its consciousness of essential unity became so obscured by the rancor of individual parties, that not only elements foreign to Christianity, but some of

the mere modes in which real Christianity was received, were rejected by the Church. Indeed it was for a long time uncertain which of the parties in this contest would prove to be the Catholic Church. The passions of the people and of the government were enlisted in the conflict. The natural development of the ecclesiastical spirit was determined by mechanical majorities and imperial decisions. The Oriental Church endeavored to fathom the mystery of the divine, while the Western attempted rather to explore the abyss of the human nature. The whole literature of the Church was involved in these theological disputes, which became, especially in the East, central objects in the history not merely of the Church, but of the empire. Tradition and the Scriptures were as usual regarded as the standard of authority, but while individuals sought salvation only in the word of God, the living voice and opinion of the Church became in practice more and more influential. *Vincentius* of *Lirinum* (d. about 450) proposed that the tradition which could plead in its behalf the established usage of the primitive Church and universal consent as the conditions of its proper organic progress, in opposition to all heretical innovations and ecclesiastical rigidity, should be regarded as the warrant and the standard of the true faith. (*a*) Those portions of the sacred writings which had been subjects of suspicion at an early period, were still opposed by many in the time of Eusebius. (*b*) But the unity of the Church rendered it indispensable that all portions should be agreed respecting its sacred writings, and accordingly near the close of the fourth century the disputed books were almost universally received. We have, however, no well authenticated law on the subject of the canon, with the exception of a decree passed by an African synod, which seems to have been adopted in other countries as a part of the common law of the Church. Various translations were in use among the Latin portions of the Church; one of these, the *Itala*, used at Rome, was, at the request of the Bishop Damasus, amended by *Jerome*, and in connection with a version of the received text of the Old Testament, maintained its position and found acceptance in spite of much opposition.

I. The Arian Controversy.

I. 1) Respecting some fragments of the writings of *Arius: Fabricii* Bibl. gr. Th. VIII. p. 309ss. esp. Ep. ad Euseb. Nicom. (in *Epiph.* haer. 69, 6. *Theodoret*, H. ecc. I, 5.) Ep. ad Alexandr. & fragm. from the Θάλεια (in *Athan.* d. Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. Opp. Th. I. p. 885s.) *Philostorgius* (§ 92.) Fragmenta Arianor. about 388. (*Ang. Maji* N. Coll. Rom. 1828. Th. III.) 2) Partaking the least of a partisan character: *Athanasius*, *Eusebius*, and *Socrates*. A partisan treatise: *Epiph.* haer. 69. 73. 75s.

II. *Walch*, Hist. d. Ketzereien. vol. II. III. *Travasa*, Storia critica della vita di Ario. Ven. 1746. (*Stark*) Vers. e. Gesch. d. Arianism. Brl. 1783. *Möhler*, Athan. d. Grosse u. d. Kirche seiner Zeit. Mainz. 1827. 2 vols. *L. Lange*, in Illgens Zeitschr. 1834s. vol. IV. pt. 2. vol. V. pt. 1.—*Wetzer*, Restitutio veræ chronolog. rerum ex controv. Arianis inde ab a. 325 usque ad a. 350 exortarum. Frcf. 1827. —*F. G. Baur*, d. chr. L. v. d. Dreieinigk. u. Menschw. Gottes. Tüb. 1841. Th. I. p. 306ss. *G. A. Meier*, L. v. d. Trin. vol. I. p. 134ss. *J. A. Dorner*, Entwicklungsgesch. d. L. v. d. Person Chr. in d.

a) Commonitorium pro cath. fidei antiquitate et universitate adv. profanas omnium haer. novitates. Denuo ed. *Herzog*. Vrat. 1839.

b) II. ecc. III, 3. VI, 25: ὁμολογούμενα, ἀντιλεγόμενα, νόθα.

ersten 4 Jahrh. 1845. Part. II. [*J. H. Newman*, The Arians of the 4th cent. Lond. 1833. 8. *J. Whitaker*, Hist. of Arianism disclosed. Lond. 1791. 8. *W. Berrimann*, An hist. Account of controversies on the Trinity, in 8 sermons. Lond. 1725.]

§ 102. *The Synod of Nicaea.* 325. *Cont. from* § 90.

I. *Euseb.* Vita Const. III, 6ss. The Creed: *Theodoret.* I. 12. *Socrat.* I, 8. Respecting its composition: *Euseb. Caesar.* Ep. ad Caesarienses. *Athanas.* Ep. de decretis syn. Nic. & Ep. ad Afros. *Gelasii Cyziceni* (about 476) Σύνταγμα τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίαν σύνοδον πραχθέντων. (*Mansi* Th. II. p. 759ss.) [*Landon*, Manual of councils. Nicaea. pp. 430–38.]

II. *F. G. Hassencamp*, Hist. Arianae controv. ab initio usque ad syn. Nicaenam. Marb. 1845.—*Ittig.* Hist. Conc. Nic. Lps. 1712. 4.—*Münscher.* ü. d. Sinn d. nic. Glaubensformel. (Henkes N. Mag. vol. VI. p. 334ss.) *Eisenschmidt*, d. Unfehlbark. d. Conc. zu Nicäa. Neust. 1830. [*J. Kaye*, Athanasius & the Council of Nice. Lond. 1853. 8. *W. A. Hammond*, Definitions of faith & canons of Disc. of the 6 oecumenical councils, & code of the univer. Church, and apost. canons. Lond. 1843. New York. 1844. 12.]

The contradiction involved in the idea of a God existing at the same time with another, or of a God subordinate to another, was yet to be declared and overcome. *Arius*, a presbyter of Alexandria, maintained that the Son was at some period created out of nothing by the divine will, that he was the first of all creatures, and the Creator of the world, that he was endowed with the highest natural gifts in the highest state of development, and that he was not truly God, though he might be so called. Arius had been educated at Antioch, was eloquent in prose and verse, a skilful logician, though not biased by any predominant intellectual tendency, and a rigid ascetic in his habits of life. Proceeding from the ground of the ordinary doctrine of the Church, he attempted to find some clear idea which should at once be consistent with Monotheism, and opposed to Sabellianism. His Bishop *Alexander*, produced in opposition to his views (after 318) the other side of Origen's doctrine, according to which the Logos was from eternity begotten from the essence of the Father, and was consequently equal to the Father. At a synod held at Alexandria (321), Arius was deposed and excommunicated. But the people and many of the oriental bishops attached themselves to his party; many perhaps, like Eusebius of Nicomedia, not so much because they shared in his sentiments, as because they looked upon them as harmless, and others, like Eusebius of Caesarea, because they regarded such subjects as lying beyond the bounds of human knowledge or of divine revelation. The emperor *Constantine*, having made many fruitless efforts to induce the parties to give up what then seemed to him a useless controversy, summoned a general assembly of bishops at Nicaea, principally for the settlement of this question. More than 250 bishops, almost exclusively from the East, came together. Both Arius and Alexander were in a minority, since most of the bishops dreaded in the former an exaggerated system of subordination, and in the latter a covert Sabellianism, or an open Tritheism. But Alexander's friends, through the influence of the court bishop, *Hosius* of *Cordova*, induced the emperor to embrace their cause, and dictated the decision on matters of faith. The only embarrassment which they experienced arose from the readiness with which the Arians subscribed all their articles, until the expression asserting that the Son was of the same essence with the Father (τῷ πατρὶ ὁμοούσιος) was proposed and rejected, and became henceforth the watchword of the

new orthodoxy. Most of the opposing bishops, out of reverence for the imperial authority, or for the sake of peace, on finding that it could be interpreted so as to harmonize with their views, gave in their subscription to this creed. Arius was banished to Illyria, and was accompanied by only two Egyptian bishops. Three months afterwards, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, who had promptly subscribed not only the creed but the condemnation of Arius, was compelled to share his fate. The Emperor commanded that all the writings of Arius should be burned; all who would not surrender his works were threatened with death, and his followers were to be regarded as the enemies of Christianity. It was for this reason that the latter were sometimes called *Porphyrians*.

§ 103. *Athanasius and Arius.*

A controversy thus decided by the mere authority of an incompetent and unstable sovereign was sure speedily to be renewed. *Athanasius* five months afterwards was made Metropolitan of Alexandria, and became the leader of the Nicaean party, which even when a deacon he had completely governed at Nicaea. By his enemies he has been described as a tyrant; by the emperors he was sometimes persecuted, sometimes honored, and always feared; and by the Egyptians he was beloved as a friend of the people, and venerated as a saint. During twenty of the forty-six years which he spent in the episcopal office he was a fugitive for his life, or in banishment. His life was often preserved through the fidelity of his friends, who were ready to die for him. The great object of his life was to contend for the divine dignity of Christ, and in this for all that was essential to Christianity, in opposition to a new heathenism. (*a*) The Arians regarded themselves as the special advocates of the divine unity, and an intelligible form of thought. *Constantine* finally recurred to his earlier view of the uselessness of this controversy, and was satisfied with a creed drawn up by Arius in the most general terms (328). At a synod convened at Tyre (335) Athanasius was deposed and banished to Gaul. *Arius* died on the very day in which he went in solemn procession from the imperial palace to the church of the apostles (336), according to his enemies the victim of a divine judgment, but according to his friends poisoned by magical arts. (*b*) *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, after 338 Bishop of Constantinople, again became the leader of the party which had been the true majority at Nicaea, and taught that the Logos was from eternity begotten of the substance of the Father, and was similar in nature (ὁμοιούσιος) but subordinate to the Father. This party, then called the *Eusebian*, and at a later period the *Semiarian*, embraced those who had been known as Arians, and had the complete ascendency in the East, (*c*) but the West had been gained over by the personal energy and presence of Athanasius. An attempt was made to reconcile both portions of the imperial Church at a synod convened at Sardica (347), but so

a) Collections for a biography of Athanasius may be found in the edit. of his works by *Montfaucon*, and in *Tillemont*, Th. VIII. *Möhler* (bef. § 102.)

b) *Socrat.* I, 38. *Sozom.* I, 29s. Honorable & true; *Athanas.* Ep. ad Serap. (Opp. Th. I. p. 670ss.) Ad Episcc. Aeg. et Lib. § 19.

c) Esp. at the Synods of Antioch, 341, and Ancyra, 358. *Athan.* de synodis § 22ss. *Socrat.* II, 10ss. *Epiph.* haer. 73.

unsuccessful was it that the two parties came to a complete rupture with each other, and the oriental held distinct sessions in the neighboring city of *Philippopolis*. *Constantius* was compelled to restore Athanasius to the see of Alexandria by a threat of war from his brother, but as soon as he became the sole ruler of the empire (353) he had the cathedral of Alexandria taken by storm, and endeavored also to eradicate the Nicaean faith from the Western portions of the Church. The occidental churches were compelled to condemn Athanasius and accept of a Semiarian creed at synods held at *Arelate* (353), at *Mediolanum* (355), and at *Ariminum* (359). After these triumphs a schism in the dominant party became developed subsequently to the second synod of *Sirmium* (357), in the contentions between the Eusebians and the decided Arians. Among the leaders whose names they bore, *Acacius*, Bishop of Caesarea endeavored at first to conceal this schism, by refusing to acknowledge any of the controverted articles, on the ground that they were unscriptural, (*d*) but *Aetius* and *Eunomius*, in accordance with the assertion that the divine nature could be as easily understood as the human, carried out the views of Arius with greater acuteness and logical consistency, and denied that Christ possessed any divine nature (ἀνόμοιος, Ἀνόμοιοι). (*e*) After the death of Constantius (361) the Athanasian party attained once more its natural strength in the West. In the East *Valens* (364–78) was so furious against it that he spared not even the Semiarians. The result was that the latter adopted views much nearer those of the Athanasian party (after 366.) The struggles of these various parties were maintained quite as much by the weapons of court intrigue and insurrection as by proofs derived from the Scriptures, from tradition, and from logic. Synods were arrayed against synods, and force was opposed to force. Athanasius, whose last years had been spent in peace among his own people, died about 373, while the conflict was yet unabated.

§ 104. *Minor Controversies.*

1. *Marcellus*, Bishop of Ancyra, and a leader of the Nicaean party, represented the Logos as the eternal wisdom of God, which became the only begotten Son of God first at the Incarnation, and after the day of judgment will once more become one with the Deity. *Photinus*, Bishop of Sirmium, regarded the man Jesus as the Son of God, only as far as he was ordained to bring the divine kingdom to its complete realization, and as he was filled by the Spirit and was a power of God. The deposition of Marcellus (336) was regarded in the West as a martyrdom for the Athanasian cause. The doctrine of Photinus was condemned by the Eusebians at *Antioch* (after 345), and he was himself deposed at *Sirmium* (about 351), but even the Athanasian party hastened to relieve themselves of the reproach of his opinions by a rejection of them at the Synod of *Mediolanum* (347). (*a*)

d) *Philostorg.* IV, 12. *Socrat.* II, 40. *Sozom.* IV, 22.

e) *Philostorg.* III, 15-17. *Epiph.* haer. 76.—*Philostorg.* VI, 1-4. *Valesius* ad *Socrat.* V, 10. *Fabricii* Bibl. gr. Th. VIII. p. 262ss.—*C. R. W. Klose*, Gesch. u. Lehre des Eunom. Kiel. 1833.

a) Fragments, esp. περὶ ὑποταγῆς. Marcelliana ed. *H. G. Rettberg*, Goett. 1794. Against him: *Euseb. Caes.* κατὰ Μαρκέλλου and περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θεολ. (both after *Euseb.* De-

2. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit from its very nature necessarily participated in the fortune of that of the Logos, but as no ecclesiastical party was formed with the special object of developing it, it remained in an indefinite state. When the Eusebians changed their ground, but retained the Semiarian doctrine respecting the Spirit, *Athanasius* perceived the necessity of maintaining his equality with the Son, and gave to those who opposed his views the appellation of (after 362) fighters against the Holy Ghost (πνευματόμαχοι); but when *Macedonius* of Constantinople became a leader of the Semiarians, they were called *Macedonians*. The views of the Church however still remained unsettled, and many learned men looked upon the Spirit as an operation of God, others as a creature, others as God, while others still from deference for the Scriptures, formed no conclusion on the subject. (*b*)

3. The more distinctly the divine nature of Christ was recognized, the less were men willing to regard the humanity in connection with it as properly represented by a sensuous nature. When therefore *Apollinaris*, Bishop of Laodicea, a philosopher who had been classically educated, and was then a friend of Athanasius, distinctly proposed (after 362) the opinion which had extensively prevailed in the primitive Church, but which was then principally favored by the Arians, that the Logos connected himself only with a human body and an animal soul, with which he sustained the same relation as was ordinarily borne by the human spirit (νοῦς), he met with opposition in many ways. (*c*)

§ 105. *The Synod of Constantinople and the Holy Trinity.*

The Emperor *Theodosius I.*, who had been educated in the Nicaean creed, during his protracted and powerful reign triumphantly accomplished what had long been the consistent effort of the Church. He first proclaimed that none but those who received the Nicaean creed should bear the name of Catholic Christians, and denounced their opponents as deluded and base heretics, who must ultimately endure the divine as they would speedily the imperial indignation. (*a*) But when he entered Constantinople (380) he found *Gregory* of *Nazianzen*, the bishop of the Nicaean party, preaching in a conventicle belonging to the suburbs of the city. This bishop he brought at the head of his legions into the Church of the Apostles, and drove the Arians out of all the churches of the East. To legalize these violent proceedings a council was called together at *Constantinople* (381.) (*b*) This second general synod

monst. ev. Par. 1628. f.) *Cyrilli Hieros.* Cat. XV, 27–33. For him: *Athan.* Apol. c. Arian, § 21–35. About him: *Epiph.* haer. 72—*Athan.* de synodis, § 26s. *Socrat.* II, 19. *Hieron.* catal c. 107.—*Klose*, Gesch. u. Lehre d. Marc. u. Phot. Hamb. 1837.

b) *Basil*, Ep. 113. *Athan.*: ad Pallad. (Th. I. p. 952.) ad Serapion. (Th. I. p. 166ss.) *Epiph.* haer. 74. *Gregor. Naz.* (380) Orat. 37. Comp. *Ullmann*, Greg. p. 378ss.

c) Fragments of Apollinaris in: *Gregor. Nyss.*; *Theodoret.* haer. fabb. IV, 8. & *Leontius Byzant.* adv. fraudes Apollonaristarum l. II. (Gallandii Bibl. Th. XII, p. 706ss.) Principal work in opposition: *Gregor. Nyss.* λόγος ἀντιῤῥητικὸς πρὸς τὰ Ἀπολλιναρίου. (*Gallandii* Bibl. Th. VI. p. 517ss.)

a) L. 2. *Cod. Theod.* de fide cath. (XVI, 1.)

b) *Mansi* Th. III. p. 521ss. *Rufin.* II, 20. *Socrat.* V, 6ss. *Theodoret.* V, 7ss.—*Ullmann*, Gregor. v. Naz. p. 154ss. *Stuffken*, Theod. p. 142ss.

having been diminished by the withdrawal of the Macedonians, consisted of 150 bishops chosen under the arbitrary dictation of the emperor. The Nicaean creed was revised and clothed in such terms as had become established during the more recent controversies, and in this new form was confirmed by them. The Eunomians, Macedonians and Apollinarians were condemned as heretics. (*c*) The Arians were tolerated in the West under Valentinian II., until Theodosius obtained their suppression as the price of his assistance against the usurper Maximus (388). With the fifth century they completely disappeared in all parts of the Roman empire. The synodal edicts of the victorious party declared that the Son and Spirit were co-equal with the Father in the divine Unity. In the theological discussions held from the time of Athanasius to that of Augustine, the views of all parties were gradually so accommodated and carried out, that the contents of the apostolic creed were exalted to the speculative idea of the Trinity consisting of three divine persons in the unity of the divine nature. In this form the doctrine was proclaimed as a theological mystery. The article which declared that the Spirit proceeded also from the Son (filioque), was generally adopted in the Western Church, and at a synod of Toledo (589) it was incorporated in the confession of faith. It was not very different from what had been vaguely taught by the Greek ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century, but it did not awaken attention and opposition among the Greek churches as an interpolation in the Nicaean creed, until some time in the eighth century. (*d*) In the creed bearing the name of Athanasius, which has generally been received in the West since the seventh century, and has evident marks of the character of the Latin Church of the fifth century, the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly set forth, and its reception is made a condition of salvation. (*e*)

§ 106. *Ecclesiastical Literature.*

With the exception of the cloister and the desert the most celebrated school for the education of the teachers of the Church was at Athens. (*a*) A few of these might have taken a high rank among sophists and rhetoricians, but in consequence of the serious character of Christianity they became ecclesiastical fathers. They regarded their classical attainments generally with mingled sentiments. The twilight of ancient poesy even then cast a lingering radiance over the Church. When Julian excluded all Christians from the schools of ancient literature, the two *Apollinarii* hastened to resolve the contents of the Scriptures into a series of epics, tragedies, and Platonic dialogues. (*b*) *Prudentius* (d. about 405) in the evening of his political life, that he might do something for eternity, wrote some songs adapted to his times and to the conflicts and triumphs of the Church, but exhibiting less

c) *Suiceri* Symb. Nicaeno-Const. expositum. Traj. ad Rh. 1718. 4.

d) *Augustin.* de Trin. IV, 20. *Conc. Tolet.* symb. & can. 2. (*Mansi* Th. IX. p. 981.) *Euseb.* de ecc. Theol. III, 4. *Epiph.* Ancor. § 9. (Th. II. p. 14.)—*J. G. Walch*, Hist. controv. de processu Sp. S. Jen. 1751. *Ziegler*, Geschichtsentw. v. dogma v. H. G. (Theol. Abh. Gött. 1791. vol. I. p. 204ss.)

e) *Waterland*, Crit. Hist. of the Athan. creed. Camb. (1724.) 1728.

a) Archiv. f. Gesch. by *Schlosser & Bercht*, 1838. vol. I. p. 217ss.

b) *Socrat.* III, 16. *Sozom.* V, 18. probably thence Χριστὸς πάσχων.

poetical than rhetorical character. (*c*) Two schools, situated the one at Alexandria and the other at Antioch, were especially remarkable for the different manner in which they treated the Scriptures. In the former prevailed an allegorical system of interpretation and a bold spirit of speculation, both of which had been exemplified in Origen, though his peculiarities were in some instances exchanged for what was common in the Church, and in others were abandoned. In the latter, the simple signification of the words was more particularly investigated, the circumstances of the original writers and speakers were better appreciated, the divine was more carefully distinguished from the human, and a merely formal use was made of philosophy, and this more after the method of Aristotle. (*d*) I. From the Alexandrian school proceeded those who represented the theology of their century: *Athanasius*, a didactic rather than an exegetical writer, who ingeniously and enthusiastically reduced all Christianity to the simple doctrine of the divinity of Christ; (*e*) and the three Cappadocians, *Gregory* of *Nyssa* (d. about 394), who, next to Origen, was most distinguished for his scientific profundity and originality, (*f*) his brother, *Basil the Great*, Metropolitan of Caesarea (d. 379), equally zealous for science and monasticism, but more remarkable for his talents in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, (*g*) and the abused friend of his youth, *Gregory* of *Nazianzen* (ὁ Θεόλογος, d. 390), by inclination and fortune so tossed between the tranquillity of a contemplative life and the storms of ecclesiastical government, that he had no satisfaction in either, neither a profound thinker nor a poet, but according to the aspirations of his youth an orator, frequently pompous and dry, but laboring as powerfully for the triumph of orthodoxy as for genuine practical Christianity. (*h*) Next to these were *Eusebius* of *Caesarea* (d. 340), whose simple but not artless style was like that of one whose knowledge was abundant, who was fond of peace, and disin-

c) Opp. ed. *Heinsius*. Amstel. 1667. 12. *Cellarius*, Hal. 1703.—*Middeldorpf*, de Prud. et Theologia Prud. 1823ss. 2 P. (Illgens Zeitschr. 1832. vol. II. part 2. Abh. 5.) For other references see *Hase's* Leben Jesu. p. 38.

d) *Münter*, d. Antioch. Schule. (Stäudlins u. Tzschirners Arch. vol. I. P. 1.)

e) His writings were occasioned by his circumstances. They were partly controversial in behalf of Christianity, the Nicene faith and himself personally, and partly devotional for the promotion of monasticism. Opp. ed. *B. de Montfaucon*, Par. 1698s. 3 Th. f. *Giustiniani*, Patav. et Lps. 1777. 4 Th. f. [His select treatises against the Arians in two vols. and his Historical Tracts in one vol. have been publ. in the "Lib. of the Fathers anterior to the division of the East & West." transl. by members of the Engl. Church. Oxon. 1830.—His orations were transl. by Parker. Lond. 1718. 8.]

f) Λόγος κατηχητικὸς ὁ μέγας. Polemical writings against Eunomius & Apollinaris, Homilies & Ascetic tracts. Opp. ed. *Morellius*, Par. 1615. 2 Th. Append. add. *Gretser*, Par. 1618. Benedictine ed. (Par. 1780. Th. I.) interrupted by the Revolution. Lately found and relating to the Arians & Maced. in *A. Maji* Scrr. vett. Coll. Rom. 1834. Th. VIII.—*S. P. Heyns*, de Gr. Nyss. Lugd. B. 1835. 4. *J. Rupp*. Greg. v. N. Leben u. Meinungen. Lps. 1834.

g) Against Eunomius, on the Holy Spirit, Homilies & Letters. Opp. ed. *Fronto Ducaeus*, Par. 1618. 2 Th. f. *Garnier*, Par. 1721ss. rep. *L. de Sinner*, Par. 1839s. 3 Th.—*J. E. Feisser*, de vita Bas. Groning. 1828. *Klose*, Bas. d. G. Strals. 1835. *A. Jahnius*, Bas. M plotinizans. Bern. 1838. 4. Animadvv. in Bas. opp. Bern. 1842. Fasc. I. [On Solitude, transl. by *Barksdale*. Lond. 1675. 8. & Sel. Passages from Basil. Lond. 1810. 8.]

h) Apologies for his official errors, Eccles. discourses of all kinds, Epistles, Poems. Opp. ed. *Morellius*, Par. 1630. 2 Th. f. *Clemencet*, Par. 1778. Th. I. *Caillau*, Par. 1840. 2 Th. f. [His Panegyric on Maccabees is transl. by *Collier*. Lond. 1716. 8.]—*Ullmann*, Greg. v. Naz. Darmst. 1825. [Transl. into Engl. by *G. V. Cox*, Lond. 1851.]

clined to the new formulae of orthodoxy, (*i*) and the blind *Didymus* (d. 395), in spirit and in fact the last faithful follower of Origen. (*k*) In the Latin Church were: *Hilarius*, Bishop of Poictiers (Pictavium, d. 368), in his actions, sufferings and writings, the Athanasius of the West; (*l*) *Ambrosius*, Archbishop of Milan (374–97), a zealous praefect even in the Church, for whose freedom and orthodoxy he contended, fearing the Lord of all more than the sovereign of this world, and more influential by his simplifying imitations of Greek models than by any thing original in his works. (*m*) II. *Lucianus*, a presbyter of Antioch, whose Scriptural learning acquired additional honor by his death (311), is generally regarded as the founder of the Antiochian school. *Eusebius*, Bishop of Emisa (d. 360), whose classical attainments and eloquence were acknowledged even by his opponents, was a Semiarian only so far as he defended the indefinite terms of the primitive creed as more scriptural in doctrine than the later speculations. (*n*) *Cyrillus*, with various changes of fortune (350–86), was Bishop of Jerusalem and a Eusebian, but he obtained the honor of canonization in consequence of his acknowledgment of the Nicaean creed, though he never used it in his popular instructions. (*o*) *Ephrem* (d. at Edessa about 378) became the principal instructor of the Syrian Church (propheta Syrorum), by transplanting into it the Greek learning. (*p*) *Diodorus*, Bishop of Tarsus (378—about 94), and *Theodorus*, Bishop of Mopsuestia (393–428), both of whom had been at an earlier period presbyters at Antioch, developed the peculiarities of their school in the most de-

i) Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία, Chronicon ed. *Morus*. Amst. 1658. f. completed from the Armenian; ed. by *Ancher*, Ven. 1818. 2 Th. 4. in Greek & Lat. ed. *A. Majus*. (Scrr. veterum. Col. Th. VIII.) Προπαρασκευὴ εὐαγγελική, l. XV, ed. *Vigerus*, Par. 1628. f. *Heinichen*, Lps. 1842s. 2 Th. *Gaisford*, Oxon. 1843. 4 vols. Ἀπόδειξις εὐαγγ. l. XX. (I.–X.) c. n. *Montacutii*, Par. 1628. f. (The parts defective in the 1st & 10th B. are completed in *Fabricii* Delectus arg. et syllabus scriptt.) Comment. on the Psalms & Isaiah. Comp. *Fabricii* Bibl. Gr. Th. VII. p. 355ss. *J. Ritter*, Eus. de divinitate C. placita. Bon. 1823.

k) L. de Spiritu S. in the transl. of Jerome. (Opp. Th. IV. P. I.) L. adv. Manichaeos. (*Combefisii* Auctuar. gr. PP. Th. II.) L. III. de Trinitate. (ed. *Mingarelli*, Bonon. 1769. f.) Expositio VII. canonicarum Epp.; the transl. of which was procured by *Cassiodorus* through *Epiphanius Scholast.* and the orig. text of which Lücke has partially restored by means of Matthaei's Scholiae: Quaestiones ac vindiciae Didymianae. Gött. 1829–32. 4 P. comp. Com. ü. Br. d. Job. p. 299ss. *D. v. Cölln*, Did. in Ersch. u. Grub. Enc. vol. XXIV.

l) De Trinitate l. XII. L. ad Constantinam. De synodis adv. Arianos. De synodis Ariminensi et Seleucensi. Comment. on Psalms & Matth. Opp. ed. Benedictt. (Constant.) Par. 1693. *Maffei*, Veron. 1730. 2 Th. f. *Oberthür*, Wirc. 1785ss. 4 Th. *A. Maji* Scrr. veterum Col. Th. VI.

m) Hexaëmeron. De officiis l. III. De fide l. V. De S. Spiritu l. III, 92. Epistles. Opp. ed. Benedictt. Par. 1686–90. 2 Th. f. *Gilbert*, Lps. 1839s. 2 P.—*F. Bohringer*, die K. u. ihre Zeugen o. KGesch. in Biographien. Zür. 1845. vol I. pt. 3. [Ambrose's Christian Offices have been transl. by Humphreys, Lond. 1637. 4.]

n) *Hieron.* catal. c. 91. comp. 119. *Socrat.* II, 9. *Sozom.* III, 6.—*Euseb.* Opuscc. (3 Discourses & exeget. & dogm. fragments) ed. *Augusti*, Elberf. 1829. Evidence that the Discourses belong to a certain Euseb. of Alex. of the 4th or 6th cent. & information respecting the genuine writings: *Thilo.* ü. d. Schrr. d. Eus. v. Alex. u. des Eus. v. Em. Hal. 1832.

o) Catecheses (about 347.) Opp. rec. *Touttée*, Par. 1720. Ven. 1763s.—*Cölln*, Cyr. in Ersch. u. Grubers Encykl. vol. XXII. p. 148ss. *J. J. van Vollenhoven*, de Cyr. Hier. catechesib. Amst. 1837. [*St. Cyril's* Lectures, 3 ed. in Lib. of the Fathers. See note *e*.]

p) Comment. on the O. T., Devotional treatises, Homilies, Hymns. Opp. ed. *J. S. Asseman.* Rom. 1732ss. 6 Th. f. Auserw. Schrr. uebers. v. *P. Zingerle*, Insbr. 1830ss. 5 vols.—*C. a Lengerke:* de Ephraemo Sc. S. interprete. Hal. 1828. 4. De Ephr. arte hermeneutica. Regiom. 1831. [*J. Ausleben*, Lib. d. Eph. Syr. Lps. 1853. 8.]

cided form. The first was destitute of classical education, and the last interpreted the Old Testament without an acquaintance with the Hebrew; but by his bold separation of the human element in the writings of inspired men, in opposition to the common views of the Church, he incurred the suspicion and finally the condemnation of the Greek Church, though in the more remote East he has always been honored as *the Interpreter*. (*q*) Arius was a pupil of Lucianus, and indeed most of the Eusebians were educated in the Antiochian school. But as even this school could not have sprung up without the influence of Origen, to whom the Arians no less than the Athanasians appealed, the opposition of the two schools was principally of a scientific character, and produced no suspicion in the Church until the close of the fourth century. It was a conflict between the allegorical and the historical method of interpretation, between ecclesiastical philosophy and ecclesiastical biblical theology.

II. The Origenistic Controversy.

§ 107. *Synesius, Epiphanius and Hieronymus.*

Those doctrines which had been left undetermined by the Apostles' Creed and the various ecclesiastical controversies, were freely agitated in many ways as late as the close of the fourth century. (*a*) *Synesius*, a faithful disciple of Hypatia, was made Bishop of Ptolemais (410–31), notwithstanding the reluctance with which he resigned the leisure of a private life, and his open avowal that his philosophical opinions were inconsistent with the popular faith. (*b*) In consequence, however, of the exclusive respect then paid to ecclesiastical orthodoxy and an ascetic life, a strong party was gradually formed in opposition to Origen, or rather to the free theological investigation occasioned by the cultivation of Grecian learning. At the head of this party stood *Epiphanius* of Palestine, the perfect model of a monkish saint. In the year 367 he was made Bishop of Constantia in the island of Cyprus, where he died in 403. (*c*) In a not altogether pure narrative of events which he professes to have taken place in his day, and in his work against the heretics, he has brought a confused mass of historical knowledge into the service of a passionate but pious zeal. (*d*) Having in these works placed Origen in the list of heretics, (*e*) he demanded of the leaders of the Alexandrian school in Palestine, John,

q) *Hieron.* catal. c. 119. Socrat. VI, 3. A catalogue of the writings of Diodorus (principally lost as yet): *Assemani* Bibl. orient. Th. III. P. I. p. 28.—*A. Majo:* N. Coll. Rom. 1832. vol. VI. p. 1ss. Spicil. Roman. Rom. 1840. Th. IV. p. 499ss. Theodori quae supersunt omnia ed. *A. F. a Wegnern*, Th. I. Commtr. in prophetas VII. Ber. 1834.—*F. L. Sieffert*, Theod. Mops. Veteris T. sobrie interpretandi vindex. Regiom. 1827. *O. Fridol. Fritzsche*, de Th. M. vita et scriptis. Hal. 1836.

a) Comp. *Hieron.* prooem, in l. XVIII. in Esaiam

b) Opp. ed. *Petavius*, Par. (1612) 1640. f. *C. Thilo*, Commtr. in Syn. hymnum II. v. 1 24. Hal. 1842. 4. [Select Poems of Syn. transl. by *H. S. Boyd.* Lond. 1814. 8.]—*Aem. Th. Clausen*, de Syn. Philosopho. Libyae pentap. Metropolita. Havn. 1831.

c) *Epiph.* haer. 51, 30.

d) Πανάριον, adv. haereses, prefixed to the Ἀγκυρωτός, de fide sermo. Opp. ed. Petavius. Par. 1622. 2 Th. f. Comp. *Hieron.* catal. c. 114. *Socrat.* VI, 10. 12. *Sozom.* VI, 32. VII, 27. VIII, 14s.

e) Haer. 44. Of a similar character: *C. H. E. Lommatzsch*, de origine et progressu haeresis Origenianae. Lps. 1846. P. I. 4.

Bishop of Jerusalem, Hieronymus, and Rufinus, that they should sustain his opinion (394). *Hieronymus* (Jerome) of Stridon (about 331–420), after many conflicts in the world and in the desert, presided over a company of hermits and pious Roman ladies at Bethlehem. In a dream he was once permitted to choose whether he would become a Ciceronian or a Christian. He then abjured all worldly literature, though he never seems to have taken the vow in a very rigid sense. His spirit was active, his knowledge extensive, his policy worldly, and his enthusiasm intense for all that was then esteemed for sanctity. Though destitute of profound thought or feeling, he was the means of introducing Greek-ecclesiastical and Hebrew learning into the Western portion of the Church. In his exposition of the Scriptures, the Alexandrian tendency was predominant, but the Antiochian interpreters were consulted, and all kinds of sentiments are rapidly and cautiously, learnedly and conveniently thrown together. (*f*) At one time Origen was extolled above all human authors, and the suspicions which many entertained respecting him were imputed to a malignant jealousy of his reputation, (*g*) but it was characteristic of a nature like that of Hieronymus, afterwards to abandon him. This produced a rupture between Hieronymus and Rufinus, in consequence of which their characters are utterly blackened in each other's writings. (*h*) *Rufinus* withdrew to Aquileia (d. 410), where he endeavored to spread the fame of Origen in the West by translations from his works, and to save these from imputations of heresy by alterations of them. (*i*)

§ 108. *Chrysostom.*

I. Opp. ed. *B. de Montfaucon;* Par. 1718–38. 13 Th. f. rep. Par. 1834–39. 13 Th. 4. Comp. *Fabricii* Bibl. Th. VIII. p. 454ss. [Most of the Homilies on the N. T. are transl. & publ. in the Lib. of the Fathers, see § 106, note *e*. His treatise on Compunction is transl. & publ. by *Veneer*. Lond. 1728. 8. and that on the Priesthood, by *Bunce*, Lond. 1759. 8.]—*Palladii* Episc. Helenopolit. Dial. de vita Jo. Chrys. ed. *Bigot*, Par. 1680. 4. and in *Montfaucon*, Th. XIII. *Socrat.* VI, 3–18. *Sozom.* VIII, 7–20. Writings of Hieron. & Theophil. in Hier. Opp. *Vallarsi*, Th. I. Ep. 86ss.

II. *Stilting*, de S. Chrys. (Acta Sanct. Sept. Th. IV. p. 401ss.) *A. Neander*, d. h. Joh. Chrys. u. d. Kirche bes. des Orientes in dessen Zeita. Brl. (1821s.) 1832ss. 2 vols. [Joh. Chrys. & the Oriental Church in his times, from the Germ. of Neander, by *Stapleton*, Lond. 1838. 8.] *Bohringer*, d. K. u. ihre Zeugen. vol. I. Abth. 3. [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. I.]

Most of the Egyptian monks in their controversies with the followers of Origen residing among them, described God as a pure spirit, and could form no conception of Him who made man after his own image except in a hu-

f) Commentaries, Literary history, Chronology, Histories of saints, Satires, Epistles, &c. Opp. ed. *Erasmus*, Bas. 1516ss. 9 Th. f. & oft. *Martianay*, Par. 1693ss. 5 Th. f. *Vallarsi*, Ver. 1734ss. 11 Th. 4. Ven. 1766ss. 11 Th. 4. [Sel. Epp. of Jerome, transl. into Engl. Lond. 1630. 4. Epistle to Nepotian transl. Lond. 1715. 8.]—For him. *Martianay*, la vie de S. Jérome. Par. 1706. 4. *Stilting*, de S. Hier. (Acta Sanct. Sept. Th. VIII. p. 418ss.) Against him: *Clericus*, Quaestt. Hieronymianae. Amst. 1700. Of him: *Engelstoft*, Hieron. Havn. 1797. *D. v. Cölln*, Hier. in Ersch. u. Grub. Encykl. Sect. II. vol. VIII.

g) *Hieron.* Opp. vol. IV. Th. II. p. 68. 480.—Ep. 57. ad Theoph.

h) *Hieron.* Epp. 38–41. *Rufin.* Praef. ad Orig. de princ. & Apol. S. Invectivarum in Hier. l. II. *Hieron.* Apol. adv. Ruf. l. II. & (a rejoinder to Rufin's lost answer) Responsio s. Apol. l. III.

i) *Tyrannii Rufini* Opp. ed. *Vallarsi*, Ver. 1745. f. Th. I.—*Mar. de Rubeis*, Monumenta Ecc. Aquilejensis. Argent. 1740. f. p. 80ss. & de *Rufino*. Ven. 1754. 4. *J. H. Marzuttini*, de Turannii Ruf. fide et rel. Patr. 1835. *Cacciari & Kimmel.* (§ 92. note b.)

man form (anthropomorphites). *Theophilus*, the crafty and violent Bishop of Alexandria (385–412), who had been an admirer of Origen, suddenly became convinced that he was a heretic in consequence of some offences received from the followers of that teacher, and some threats from the Anthropomorphites, whose fanaticism he wished to render subservient to his purposes. He passed sentence of condemnation upon the memory of Origen (399), and was sustained in his decision by the Roman Church. (*a*) Those of the monks who favored Origen were much abused by him, but found a protector in John, Bishop of Constantinople, called in subsequent ages *Chrysostom*. Contrary to the wishes of Theophilus, as well as his own, he was taken from Antioch, and (after 398) presided over the church at Constantinople. Theophilus was summoned by the Emperor to the capital, where, after becoming thoroughly acquainted with the state of affairs, he contrived to obtain the position of judge instead of defendant. *Chrysostom*, with sincere Christian earnestness, had carried out the intelligent method of Scriptural interpretation pursued in the school of Antioch, and the rhetorical principles of Libanius, and had exemplified in his own life, as far as was possible for any man, the ideal of the priesthood, which in his youthful fervor he had described. (*b*) His habits were strictly monastic, he was poor with respect to himself, but rich in his benefactions to the poor, and mild in disposition, but terribly eloquent in opposition to all courtly extravagances. By the Empress Eudoxia and her dependants such a man was soon doomed to destruction. At the synod of *The Oak* (403), after many confused and absurd accusations, Theophilus pronounced against him a sentence of deposition and banishment. The lamentations and threats of the people were powerful enough to effect his speedy recall, but the Empress, like a modern Herodias, finally succeeded in having him banished to Pontus. (404) Innocent I. pleaded his innocence in vain. (*c*) Praising God for all that had taken place, he died in extreme distress (Sept. 14, 407). The body of the saint was brought back to Constantinople (438) in a triumphal procession. (*d*) The goodness of Chrysostom was highly honored by an age which forgot and misunderstood the splendid talents of Origen.

III. The Pelagian Controversy.

I. 1) The polemical writings of *Augustine:* Opp. Th. X. edd. Benedictt. *Hieron.* Epp. 43. ad Ctesiphontem. Diall. adv. Pelagianos l. III. (Th. IV. P. II.) *Orosii* Apologeticus contra. Pel. Account of the controversy in Palestine. 415. (Opp. ed. Haverkamp, Lugd. 1738. 4.) *Marius Mercator*, Commonitoria. 429. 431. (Opp. ed. *Baluz.* Par. 1684.) 2) Fragments of *Pelagius* & *Coelestius* may be found in these polemical writings, and some treatises of Pelagius have been preserved because they were mistaken for works of Hieronymus. Before the controversy: Exposltt. in Epp. Paulinas (Hier. Opp. Th. V. p. 925ss.) In the time of the controversy: Ep. ad Demetriadem (ed. Semler, Hal. 1775.) & Libell. fidei ad Innoc. I. (Hier. Opp. Th. V. p. 122ss.) Fragments of the polem. treatises of *Julianus* of *Eclanum* in Augustine & Mercator. 3) Original documents in *August.* Opp. Th. X. *Mansi* Th. IV.

II. *G. J. Vossii* H. de controversiis, quas Pel. ejusque reliquiae moverunt. Lugd. 1618. 4. auct. ed.

a) *Mansi* Th. III. p. 979ss.

b) Περὶ ἱερωσύνης l. VI. ed. *J. A. Bengel*, Stuttg. 1725. *Leo*, Leips. 1834. [transl. into Engl. by *Bunce*, Lond. 1759. 8.] Uebers. v. Hasselbach, Strals. 1820. v. Ritter. Brl. 1821.

c) *Mansi* Th. III. p. 1095ss. *d*) *Socrat.* VII, 44. *Niceph.* XIV, 43.

G. Voss. Amst. 1655. 4. *Norisii* H. Pelagiana. Pat. 1673. f. (Opp. Veron. 1729. Th. I.) *Garnerii* Dss. VII. quibus integra continetur Pelagianor. Hist. (In his edit. of Mercator. Par. 1673. Th. I.) *G. F. Wiggers*, pragm. Darstell. des Augustinismus u. Pelagianism. Brl. 1821. vol. I. Hamb. 1833. vol. II. [An Hist. Presentation of Augustinism & Pel. from the Germ. of G. F. Wiggers by *G. B. Emerson*. Andover. 1840. 8. Art. in Christ. Spect. on Early H. of Theol. vol. IV. p. 291ss. for the year 1832. Princeton Theol. Essays. vol. I. p. 80ss. An able Hist. of Augustinism has been written in French in Paris. by *M. Poujalot*.] *J. G. Voigt*, de theoria Augustiniana, Semipel. et Synergist. Goett. 1829. *Lentzen*, de Pelagianor. doctr. principiis. Colon. 1833. *J. L. Jacobi*, d. Lehre d. Pelagius. Lpz. 1843.

§ 109. *Pelagianism and Augustinism.*

The freedom of man is identical with his dependence upon God, but when we reflect upon the subject both these relations appear very different. In their controversies with the Montanists and Manichaeans the Greek fathers gave special prominence to the doctrine of human freedom. The Latin Church, which had been much affected by Tertullian's Montanistic spirit, gave greater prominence to the doctrine of man's dependence, and its writers, without denying the innocence of children or the freedom of adults, demonstrated the necessity of divine grace in opposition to human freedom, by proving that ever since Adam's fall the nature of man has been continually depraved. *Pelagius* and *Coelestius*, pious monks, driven by the incursions of the barbarians from Britain (Bretagne?), their native country, first to Rome (409), and afterwards to Africa (411), that they might promote the interests of morality, were especially zealous for the freedom of the will. In opposition to the views then prevalent in Africa, they maintained that man's nature was not corrupted by the fall of Adam, and that even where Christianity was not known men might render themselves by the power of their own wills proper subjects of divine grace. They acknowledged, however, that men received much assistance from the Church, where it could be obtained, and that those who were subjects of the kingdom of Christ participated in more exalted blessings. *Augustine* perceived that if this doctrine were consistently carried out, men's confidence in redemption and in the Church, as indispensable to salvation, would be seriously endangered. In behalf of these, therefore, he maintained his theories of *Original Sin* and *Predestination*, alleging that, "in consequence of Adam's fall man's nature has been burdened with an infinite guilt, and is incapable of good by its own power. By divine grace, therefore, without man's co-operation, and through the instrumentality of the Church, a new life is imparted to some, while others are abandoned by divine justice to their own corruption, and from all eternity were ordained to condemnation."

§ 110. *Augustinus.*

I. Opp. edd. *Benedictini*, Par. 1679-1700. 11 Th. f. (recus. c. app. *Clericus.*) Antu. 1700ss. 12 Th. f. (Ven. 1729ss. 12 Th. f. 1756ss. 18 Th. 4.) Par. 1835-9. 11 Th. 4.—*Possidius*, vita Aug. & Indiculus Operum (about 432) in the editt. of his works. The life of Aug. by an anon. writer (ed. *Cramer*, Kil. 1832.) was compiled from the Confessions & Possidius. *Gennadius*, de viris illustr. c. 38.

II. *C. Bindemann*, d. h. Aug. Brl. 1844. vol. I. *Böhringer*, d. K. u. ihre Zeugen. vol. I. Abth. 3. *K. Branne*, Monnika u. Augustin. Gremma. 1846. [Augustine's City of God, transl. Lond. 1620. f. Meditations by *Stanhope*. Lond. 1745. & Confessions by *Watts*, Lond. 1631. 12. His Confessions, 3 ed. revised by *Pusey* (& republished in Boston, 1842. 12.), in vol. I. Sermons in vols. 16 & 20, & Comment. on Psalms in vols. 24 & 25, and on John in vol. 26 of the Lib. of the Fathers. See § 106, note *e. P. Schaff*, Life & Labors of St. Aug. from the Germ. by T. C. Porter. New York. 1854. 12.]

Aurelius *Augustinus* was born at Tagaste in Numidia, Nov. 13, 354. His

mind had been deeply imbued during childhood with the principles of Christianity, through the instructions of his mother *Monica*. But when only a youth of seventeen years he studied the Roman classics, and gave himself up to worldly pleasures. Cicero's eloquent pleadings for the value of Philosophy re-awakened his desire for something more certain and eternal. The Scriptures were too simple for his glowing fancy. Seduced by the promise of the Manichaeans that complete truth would be revealed to all whose reason independently investigated its own depths, he continued for nine years under their instruction, when he became satisfied that he had been deceived, and doubted whether any truth could be known. But on his acquaintance with New-Platonism another life seemed open to his pursuit. As an instructor in eloquence he visited Rome in 383 and Milan in 385, still devoting himself to the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. Prompted by some recollections of early childhood he was induced to listen to Ambrose simply as an orator, that he might compare the Platonic wisdom with the gospel. Then commenced in his heart, principally through the influence of the writings of Paul, a severe struggle between the temporal and the eternal, the progress of which was much assisted by the prayers and tears of his mother. In a sudden transport of his feelings he became satisfied of his own miraculous conversion, and on Easter-night, 387, he, with his natural son, was baptized by Ambrose. He immediately resigned his professorship of rhetoric and repaired to his native city, where, with a company of devout associates, he lived in retirement from the world until he was ordained in *Hippo Regius* (Bona), first a presbyter (391), afterwards an assistant bishop (395). Then commenced his ecclesiastical life, and the African churches were subsequently governed by his intellectual energies. His influence became predominant in every part of the West, and his fame had extended through the whole Church, when he was for three months besieged in his own city by the Vandals, and died August 28, 430, singing the Penitential Psalms.—His earlier writings treat of Rhetoric and Philosophy, and are for the most part lost. His theological writings, consisting of devotional, doctrinal, and especially controversial treatises, are diffuse, full of repetitions, artificial, and often insipid by mere plays upon words. His interpretations of Scripture exhibit no extensive knowledge of languages, or historical accuracy. (*a*) And yet all his works are characterized by an exuberance of intellectual life, a profound knowledge of the human heart, and an all-controlling love to God breaking forth in the most impassioned forms of speech. He never shrunk from a thought, however startling, and in his writings he has freely expressed the most liberal, as well as the most tremendous conceptions which ever rose in an inquiring spirit, according to the exigencies of his train of reasoning. In his *Confessions* (about 400), with the proud self-abasement of a saint, as it were in a confessional before God, he has freely described himself in his intellectual nakedness. (*b*) His *Retractations* (about 429) contain indeed a severe criti-

a) *H. N. Clausen*, Augustinus S. Scr. interpres. Hafn. 1828.

b) Confessionum l. XIII. praef. *Neander*, Ber. 1823. ed. *Bruder*, Lps. 1837. Transl. as an excellent work of devotion into the various languages of Europe. [Revised from a former Engl. transl. by

cism on his writings by his own hand; but it is evident, also, that they were intended to recall or mitigate whatever in his earlier works was favorable to the Pelagians. In his writings against the Manichaeans he had given prominence to some sentiments favorable to the freedom and goodness of the human will. In his controversy with the Donatists the idea every where prevailing is, that of a Church which is the only source of truth and certainty. In his own life there had been the most direct contrast between the operations of sin and of grace, and his exalted piety took pleasure in unconditionally rejecting himself that he might live wholly upon God's grace in Christ.

§ 111. *Victory of Augustinism.*

The controversy commenced with personal reproaches against *Coelestius*. At a synod held at *Carthage* (412) he was expelled from the Church, when he betook himself to Ephesus, and was there ordained a presbyter. *Pelagius* had previously gone to Palestine, where he was opposed by *Hieronymus* on the ground of his being a follower of Origen. Augustine, at first, in a very respectful manner, by writing, and through *Orosius*, his messenger, opened a controversy with him. At a synod convened at *Diospolis* in Palestine (415), he was accused of maintaining that men could live without sin, but his condemnation was prevented by *John*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*. The African Church, however, convinced by Augustine of the danger which threatened the cause of truth through him, condemned him at the Synods of *Mileve* and *Carthage* (416), and was sustained in its decision by the concurrence of *Innocent I.* *Zosimus*, the successor of Innocent, entirely mistaking the importance of this controversy, at first gave protection to the Pelagians (417), but afterwards, when the African Church and the imperial court demanded their condemnation, with a similar ignorance he denounced them in his Epistola tractatoria (418). *Julianus* of *Eclanum* and eighteen other bishops were deposed and driven from Italy as Pelagians. These generally took refuge at Constantinople, where *Nestorius*, in accordance with the general spirit of the Oriental Church, received them. This gave occasion for a connection of their cause with that of the heresy of Nestorius, in consequence of which the Pelagians were condemned with the Nestorians at the general Synod of Ephesus (431).

§ 112. *Semipelagianism.*

Jo. Geffcken, Hist. Semipelagianismi antiquissima (till 434) Goett. 1826. 4. *Wiggers*, Augustinismus u. Pelagianismus, vol. II. (till 529.) [See bef. § 109. Also an Essay of Prof. *Wiggers* in Niedner's Zeitschr. for Jan. 1854.]

The Greek Church had never taken any real interest in this controversy, and even at a later period it simply taught that human nature had been rendered infirm in consequence of Adam's fall. But even in the Western churches the whole system of Augustinism had never been sincerely and openly accepted by the public mind. Augustine himself received information that an intermediate opinion had been propagated among the monks of

E. B. Pusey, & publ. in the Lib. of the Fathers (see § 106, note *e.*) vol. I. Oxf. 1840. & republ. Boston. 1842.]

Massilia, principally through the influence of *John Cassianus* (*a*), a disciple of the Desert and of Chrysostom. According to this view (afterwards called *Semipelagianism*), the moral power of man has indeed been enfeebled, but not destroyed, in consequence of Adams' fall, and hence divine grace and human freedom conspired together, and acted in concert with each other in the work of man's salvation. This doctrine, which conceded as much to the Church as to the free moral nature of man, and without which there seemed to be no special advantage in a monastic life, obtained great favor. The Church, however, had too decidedly committed itself on the side of Augustine, the authority of this father was then too great, and the reasoning by which his doctrines were sustained was too irresistible, to permit a general and open departure from his principles. In the West, therefore, there was always an obscurity and instability of sentiment on this subject. In Gaul Semipelagianism was decidedly in the ascendant. Acting under the direction of the Synod of *Arelate* (472), *Faustus*, Bishop of Rhegium, but previously Abbot of Levius, drew up a Semipelagian confession, which was subscribed by all the bishops at the Synod of *Lyons* (475). (*b*) From policy and a pious regard for Augustine, the sacred name of that father was not mentioned, but this was only to assail with greater recklessness the character of his followers. A sect of *Predestinarians*, distinctively so called, never existed except in the imaginations of their opponents, and an extreme defence of predestination professing to have been put forth at that time, is, if not a Jesuitical, at least a Pelagian work. (*c*) In Africa and Rome a tendency to Augustinism prevailed, and through Romish influence at the Synods of *Arausio* (Orange) and *Valentia* (529) a decision was obtained in favor of the exclusive operation of divine grace, (*d*) although predestination, which must necessarily be inferred from this, was evidently evaded. As both parties therefore shrunk from extreme views the controversy never produced an actual schism in the Church, although sometimes a monk or a presbyter was oppressed by his bishop, now in the name of Augustine, and again in defence of human freedom. But just as Augustine has been regarded as a saint by the whole Church, Cassian and Faustus have always been honored as saints in their own country.

a) De institutis coenobiorum l. XII. Collationes Patrum XXIV. De incarn. Christi adv. Nestor. l. VII. Opp. ed. *Alardus Gazaeus*, Duaci. 1616. 3 Th. auct. Atrebati. 1628. f.— *Wiggers*, de Jo. Cass. Massiliense cmm. III. Rost. 1824s. 4.

b) De gratia Dei et humanae mentis libero arbitrio. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. VIII.) *Mansi* Th. VII. p. 1007ss.

c) In the 2d vol. of the Predestinatus. Ed. *Sirmond*, Par. 1643. & *Gallandii* Th. X. p. 357ss.— *Wiggers*, vol. II. p. 329ss. [*Neander*, Hist. vol. II. p. 341ss.]

d) *Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 711ss. [*Laudon's* Man. of Councils. p. 447.]

IV. Controversies respecting the Two Natures of Christ.

I. *Liberati* (Archidiac. Carth. about 553) Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychian. Ed. *Garnerius*. Par. 1675. and in *Mansi* Th. IX. p. 659ss. (*Gelasius I.?*) Breviculus Hist. Eutychianistarum s. gesta de nomine Acacii. (*Mansi*, Th. VII. p. 1067ss.) *Leontius Byzantinus:* de sectis actio 5-10. Contra Eutychianos et Nestorian. (*Gallandii* Th. XII. p. 621ss. 658ss.)—II. *Walch*, Ketzerhist. Th. V.–VIII. *Baur*, L. v. d. Dreieinigk. vol. I. p. 693ss. vol. II. *Dorner*, Entwicklungsgesch. d. L. v. d. Person Chr. Stuttg. 1839. p. 50ss. [*R. J. Wilberforce*, On the Incarnation of J. C. 2 ed. Lond. 1849. Philad. 1849. p. 151ss.]

§ 113. *The Nestorian Controversy.*

I. Orig. Documents in *Mansi* Th. IV. p. 567ss. Th. V. VII. p. 241ss. *Marius Mercator*, de haeresi Nest. (Opp. vol. II.) *Socrat.* VII, 29ss. *Evagr.* I, 7ss.

II. *Jablonski*, De Nestorianismo. Ber. 1724. 4. *Gengler*, ü. d. Verdammung d. Nest. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1835. P. 2.)—*Salig*, de Eutychianismo ante Eutychen. Wolfenb. 1723. 4.

The doctrine of a divine nature in Christ had now forced its way to a general acceptance, and that of his human nature had always been taken for granted; but when men reflected upon the relation which these sustained toward each other, they were in danger of either asserting their unity so strictly that the human nature was wholly lost in the Deity, or, to secure the existence of the human nature, of maintaining its separation so rigidly that the unity of Christ's person would be destroyed. The natural tendency of each school induced the Alexandrian to adopt the former, and the Antiochian the latter extreme. Accordingly, when *Nestorius*, originally a presbyter at Antioch, but after 428 the Metropolitan of Constantinople, full of zeal for orthodoxy, and according to the customary language of his school, carefully distinguished in opposition to Apollinaris between the two natures of Christ (Mary being called χριστοτόκος, not θεοτόκος, and the relation of the natures, συνάφεια and ἐνοίκησις), so that the qualities (ἰδιώματα) co-operated in the accomplishment of man's redemption, *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (412–444), the nephew, and in every respect the successor of Theophilus, advocated a union of natures (φυσικὴ ἕνωσις) so complete, that the peculiarities of each were predicable of the other. These opposite views, sustained respectively by the two great eastern bishoprics, and by the schools of Alexandria and Antioch, from their peculiar nature, afforded ample occasion for misunderstandings and unhappy inferences. Both parties were charged with having destroyed all faith in man's redemption; Nestorius by his assertion of the doctrine of two independent natures, and Cyril by his denial of the human nature of Christ. Cyril succeeded in arraying the Roman Church against Nestorius, by connecting the controversy with the Pelagian. Nestorius was condemned at the Synods of *Alexandria* and *Rome* (430), and Cyril published his doctrines in twelve Anathemas, to which Nestorius opposed twelve others. (*a*) A general assembly of the Church was convened by *Theodosius II.* at *Ephesus* (431), in which Cyril and his bishops pronounced condemnation upon Nestorius before the Syrian and Greek bishops had arrived. On the arrival of these bishops they chose *John* of *Antioch* for their president, and deposed Cyril. The latter, however, well knew how to gain the favor

a) *Mansi*, Th. IV. p. 1067ss. p. 1099ss. *Muenscher*, *Cölln*, DGesch. vol. I. p. 290ss.

of the emperor, and to produce dissension among the bishops of the opposite party. He even became reconciled to John of Antioch, having finally consented to subscribe (433) the articles of faith which that prelate had induced his party to adopt at Ephesus, (*b*) in which the two natures of Christ were especially distinguished. In such a strife of mere intrigues, Nestorius, with his monastic learning and want of practical tact, was no match for his opponents. He was soon deserted by all parties, and died in wretchedness (about 440), with his character misunderstood and his doctrine misrepresented. The only advocate of his opinions by which the conflict was continued, was the theological school of *Edessa*, a branch of the Antiochian, and this gradually withdrew to Persia. Under its influence, the Persian churches persevered in their opposition to the Synod of Ephesus, and under the name of *Chaldean Christians*, or *Christians of St. Thomas*, as they were called in India, or *Nestorians*, as they were called by their opponents, they became numerous, and carried far into Asia the principles of Christian beneficence and Grecian refinement. But even in the imperial Church, a disposition friendly to Nestorianism was continued, especially under the influence of *Ibas*, Bishop of Edessa (436–457), and the learned *Theodoret*. (*c*)

§ 114. *The Eutychian Controversy.*

Acts in *Mansi* Th. VI. VII. *Evagr.* I, 9ss. II, 2.

The controversy which had been thus violently and deceptively settled burned faintly still, with *Alexandria* and *Palestine* on the one side, and *Constantinople* and *Asia* on the other. When, therefore, *Eutyches*, an archimandrite of Constantinople, obstinate in his disposition, but well versed in the Scriptures, taught, in direct opposition to Nestorianism, that every thing human in the nature of Christ was absorbed by his divinity, and became one nature with it, *Flavianus*, Bishop of Constantinople, had him condemned at a synod of his diocese (448). (*a*) *Leo the Great* approved of this decision in an epistle in which, though he maintained that the two natures of Christ acted in perfect harmony, he clearly distinguished between what was divine and what was human in the life of Jesus. (*b*) *Dioscurus* of *Alexandria* (444–51), who, in defending Eutyches, felt that he was equally defending his predecessor Cyril, succeeded at the general synod of *Ephesus* (449), through the influence of an excited populace, in justifying Eutyches and deposing Flavian. We are assured by the emperor Theodosius II., that the decision was obtained in a perfectly legal manner, on the basis of the prior decrees of Ephesus and Nicaea. But on the sudden death of the emperor (450), the general feeling of displeasure at the violent proceedings of Dioscurus found a public expression. The empress *Pulcheria* and her husband *Marcianus* convoked a General Council at Chalcedon (451), whose decision was secured by the mode

b) *Mansi* Th. IV. p. 87S. comp. 781s. 303ss.

c) *Assemani* De Syris Nestorianis. (Bibl. Orient. Rom. 172S. f. Th. III. P. II.) *Ebedjesu* L. margaritae de verit. fidei. (*A. Maji* N. Coll. Th. X. P. II.) [*A. Grant*, Hist. of the Nestorians. New York. 12mo.]

a) The Acts in the Actio I. of Chalcedon. *Mansi* Th. VI. p. 649ss. [*Landon*, p. 167ss.]

b) Ep. ad Flavianum. *Leon.* Opp. edd. *Ballerini.* Ep. 28.

in which it was constituted. Dioscurus was deposed, Eutyches was condemned, not only Ibas and Theodoret, but even Cyril were declared orthodox, and the doctrine of the Church was established on the basis of the Roman epistle: Two natures are without confusion but inseparably united in the one person of Christ. The Synod of Ephesus has ever since been regarded as the Robber-Synod (*σύνοδος ληστρική*). (*c*)

§ 115. *The Monophysites. The Contest respecting Chalcedon.*

Acts in *Mansi* Th. VII. p. 481–IX. p. 700. *Leontius Byz.* de sectis liber, actio 5–10. and Contra Eutychianos et Nestorian. l. III. (*Gallandii*, Bibl. Th. XII.) Writings and Fragments of the Party Leaders in *A. Maji* N. Coll. 1833. Th. VII. P. I. and *Spicil.* Rom. Th. III. X. *Evagr.* II, 5ss.

The Alexandrians, who gave special prominence to the divine nature in Christ, and yet were unwilling to connect themselves with the Eutychian party, felt much aggrieved by the action of the Council of Chalcedon. They were called by their opponents *Monophysites*, and these opponents were called by them Nestorians and Dyophysites. The controversy was at first conducted by insurrections of monks and of people, and in Palestine was attended with bloodshed, but in Alexandria and Antioch each party set up its rival bishops. The emperor *Leo I.* (457–474) sustained the decisions of Chalcedon, though with a judicious moderation. *Peter Fullo* (*γναφεύς*) having assumed the office of Bishop of Antioch, and introduced into the liturgy a Monophysite formula, which asserted that God had been crucified (thence called Theopaschites), was expelled by the emperor. In the revolutions which then took place so frequently in the imperial palace, ecclesiastical controversies were made subservient to political intrigues. When the emperor *Zeno Isauricus* was overthrown by *Basiliscus* (476), the latter strengthened his party by gaining over the Monophysites, and published a circular in which he condemned the Synod of Chalcedon. (*a*) The insurrection in Constantinople by which Zeno was restored to his throne (477), was under the direction of the Catholic patriarch *Acacius*. The Monophysites, however, had exhibited so much power under the usurper, that the emperor, by the advice of the patriarch, endeavored to reconcile them by publishing a creed called the Henoticon (*b*) (482), in which the disputed articles were entirely avoided. *Felix II.*, the Roman bishop, placed himself at the head of those zealots who were opposed to this fellowship with the Monophysites, and excommunicated Acacius (484). But even the more rigid portion of the Monophysites in Egypt withdrew from their own patriarch, who had been so easily pacified (thence called *Ἀκέφαλοι*). Though both parties equally reviled the Henoticon, it was the means of external peace in the Oriental Church, and *Anastasius* (491–518), who attempted to free the state from both parties, was equally hated, threatened and calumniated by both. *Justin I.* (518–527) decided against the Monophysites and expelled their bishops, but in Egypt, where their cause was popular, he was politic enough not to assail them. In Alexandria, however, they fell out among themselves, for

c) *Lewald*, die sogen. Räubersynode. (Illgen's Zeitschr. vol. VIII. P. 1.) [*Landon*, p. 286. 113.]
a) *Evagr.* III, 4. *b*) *Ibid.* III, 14. *Berger*, Henotica Orient. Vit. 1723. 4.

the *Severians*, so called from Severus their leader, the expelled Patriarch of Antioch, who was rather inclined to confound the divine with the human nature, and acknowledged that the principal attribute of the latter was the corruptibility of the body of Christ (therefore reproached as Φθαρτολάτραι), were opposed to the *Julianists* (Ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται), the followers of *Julian* of *Halicarnassus*, who taught that there was such an absorption of the human nature into the divinity that nothing mortal remained. (*c*)

§ 116. *Justinian.*

Procopius (d. about 552), especially his military history, and his hist. of the court: Ἀνέκδοτα, Hist. arcana, ed. *Orelli*. Lps. 1827. Contin. of the Imp. Hist. 552–559, by *Agathias*, ed. *Niebuhr*. Bon. 1828. (Corpus Scrr. Byzant. P. III. 1829–44.

Justinian I., in the course of his long and frequently brilliant reign (527–565), by the successful weapons of his generals restored the Roman dominion in Africa and Italy to its former splendor. Dutiful toward the Church, temperate even to monastic strictness, covetous and yet prodigal, active in many departments of business, and untiring in his diligence, though moderate in natural talents, he was eager to acquire the reputation of a master in every kind of human knowledge. Even while burdened with the cares of his despotic reign, he digested from the treasures of Roman jurisprudence a code of civil law which has been ever since the source of legal science for all civilized nations. He then attempted in like manner, as a theologian, to annihilate all heresies, reconcile all parties, and establish a true system of orthodoxy for all future time. But while he loaded the Church with gifts, he increased the distractions of both Church and State by his creeds, and efforts to establish uniformity. In all these he doubtless believed that he was guided by his own sagacity, while he was really the mere tool of court divines and eunuchs. He was disposed to favor the Council of Chalcedon, but *Theodora* well knew how to direct his edicts so that they generally were favorable to the Monophysites. This woman, having shamelessly spent her youthful beauty amid all the dissipations of Constantinople, was exalted, by the favor of the emperor, to be the sharer of his power over the empire, and the sole mistress of himself. On the throne she was tyrannical, but her disposition was lofty and her morals were irreproachable. 1. On finding that the discussions which he had ordered between the Catholics and the Monophysites were of no avail, (*a*) the emperor hoped to win the latter by allowing them to use their formula asserting simply that one of the sacred Trinity was crucified (533). But while this only embittered the feelings of the Catholics, it was not enough for the Monophysites. *Anthimus* (535), the Monophysitic patriarch, who had been appointed through Theodora's influence, was removed the next year by the Catholic party, and *Vigilius*, who had been assisted in his attainment of the Roman see (538) with the secret understanding that he would favor the Monophysites, found

c) *Gieseler*. Monophysitarum vett. variae de Chr. persona opiniones inpr. ex ipsorum effatis recens editis illustr. Gott. 1835. 38. 2 P.

a) Collatio Catholicor. c. Severianis a. 531. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 817ss.)

no difficulty in absolving himself from his oath. (*b*) 2. The name of *Origen* was dear to a monastic party in the East, not so much for his scientific character as for the relation of his system to the Monophysites. This party gained great influence at court by means of *Theodorus Ascidas*, Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia. The Catholic party, however, found means through *Mennas*, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to procure from the emperor a condemnation of Origen. 3. Theodorus soon revenged himself by convincing the emperor that the Monophysites would be reconciled to the Church by a sentence of condemnation upon *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*, the instructor of Nestorius, *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* and *Ibas* of *Edessa*, the principals of the Antiochian school. The errors of these teachers having been collected (about 544) into three chapters (tria capitula), were accordingly condemned by Justinian. (*c*) Though the Monophysites were much delighted with this act, they were on that account no more partial to the Council of Chalcedon. The Catholics, on the other hand, looked upon it as a direct assault upon that council. To quell these discussions, Justinian convoked the fifth Œcumenical Council at *Constantinople* (553), which, in compliance with the imperial theology, condemned the three Antiochian teachers. (*d*) *Vigilius*, who at first led the West in its opposition to this proceeding, lost the glory of his martyrdom by frequent vacillations and concessions. *Pelagius* became his successor in consequence of his acknowledgment of the imperial synod (555). A large portion of the Western bishops now broke off connection with Rome as well as Constantinople, and the liberty of the Church found some bold champions not only against the despotism of the emperor, but the pliant disposition of the Roman bishop. (*e*) 4. The last attempt of Justinian to draw over the Monophysites, was made when he had (564) the doctrine of the *Incorruptibility* of Christ's body adopted as an article of the authorized creed. He had just commenced the work of expelling those Catholic bishops who resisted him, when the Church was delivered from the confusion produced by his zeal for the faith by his death. (*f*)

§ 117. *The Edict of Peace and the Monophysite Church.*

No sooner had Justin II. reach the throne, than he issued an edict (565), (*a*) in which he admonished all Christians to unite with him to promote the glory of the Redeemer, and to contend no more about words and persons. The apostolic Catholic Church, however, was at the same time assured that its present position would be maintained. The arbitrary manner in which the imperial laws for the regulation of faith had for some time been enforced, rendered such a request from an emperor peculiarly grateful to the public mind. The successors of Vigilius were now more zealous in

b) *Liberati* Breviar. c. 22. *Vigilii* Ep. ad Justin. (*Mansi* Th. IX. p. 35.) ad Mennam. (*Ibid.* p. 38.)

c) *Justin.* ad Mennam adv. impium Orig. (*Mansi* Th. IX. p. 487ss. comp. 395ss.)

d) Acts in *Mansi* Th. IX. p. 157ss.

e) Esp. *Facundus Hermianensis* (about 548) pro defensione trium capitt. l. XII. (Opp. ed. *J. Sirmond.* Par. 1629. *Gallandii* Th. XI.)

f) *Evagr.* IV, 38–40. *Walch*, Ketzergesch. vol. X. p. 578ss.

a) *Evagr.* V, 4. *Niceph.* XVII, 35.

enforcing the authority of the fifth œcumenical council in the West, than he had formerly been in opposing it. It was not, however, generally acknowledged until subsequent centuries, when it was not opposed, because the subjects in dispute were nearly forgotten. In the East, each party retained possession of all that it had obtained. In opposition to the Catholic patriarch of Alexandria, who was sustained entirely by the emperor's power, the Monophysites possessed a patriarch of their own (after 536), and constituted the Egyptian national Church of the *Copts*, with which was connected the Ethiopic Church. (*b*) The *Armenians* availed themselves of the occasion when the Henoticon was enacted, to renounce the authority of the Synod of Chalcedon, and thus in the sixth century, when they were subject to the Persian yoke, they entirely renounced all connection with the Church of the empire. (*c*) The apostolic zeal of *Jacob Baradai* (541–578) gave the Monophysites of Syria and Mesopotamia a permanent ecclesiastical constitution, and the name of Jacobites. (*d*) These disruptions from the imperial Catholic Church were gradually confirmed by the peculiar customs of the provinces where they took place, until by the conquests of Islam, to which they contributed, they became irreparable. In the conquered provinces, the Catholics, on account of their connection with the empire (hence called *Melchites* from מֶלֶךְ), were even more oppressed than the Monophysites, and their patriarch generally resided at Constantinople.

§ 118. *The Monothelite Controversy.*

I. Orig. Documents in *Mansi* Th. X. p. 863–1186. Th. XI. p. 190–1023. Anastasii Bibliothecarii (about 870), Collectanea de iis, quæ spectant ad Hist. Monothel. ed. *Sirmond*, Par. 1620. and *Gallandii* Th. XIII. *Nicephori* (Patriarch of Constant. d. 828), Breviarium Hist. (602–769.) ed. *Petavius*, Par. 1616.

II. *F. Combefisii*, Hist. hær. Monothelitarum. In his Auctuar. PP. Par. 1648. II, 3.

While the emperor *Heraclius* (after 622) was re-establishing the power of the empire in Syria and Armenia, he endeavored to reconcile the Monophysites with the imperial Church, by conceding that although there were two natures in Christ, there was but *one* manifestation of will (ἐνέργεια θεανδρική). *Cyrus*, who had been appointed by the emperor patriarch of Alexandria, succeeded by this expedient in gaining over the Severians of his diocese (633). But when *Sophronius*, a monk of Palestine, and after 634 Patriarch of Jerusalem, who happened then to be in Alexandria, excited a violent opposition to it, the emperor published a creed (Ἔκθεσις, 638) (*a*) composed by *Sergius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, and approved by *Honorius*, the Roman bishop, (*b*) which assumed that there was but *one* Christ and *one* will (ἓν θέλημα). In this he had more regard to the final adjustment of the controversy, than to the victory of the imperial party. But in such an age, a dispute thus awakened was not easily set to rest. The Roman bishops after

b) *Taki-eddini Makrizii* (d. 1441), Hist. Coptorum christ. arab. et. lat. ed. *Wetzer*. Solisb. 1828. *Mich. Lequien*, Oriens in IV Patriarchatus digestus. (Par. 1740. 3 Th. f.) Th. II. p. 357ss.

c) *Saint-Martin*, Mém. sur l'Armen. Th. I. p. 329ss. Eccl. Armeniacae canones selecti. (*A. Maji* N. Coll. Th. X. P. II.)

d) *Assemani*, Bibl. orient. Th. II. *Lequien* l. c. Th. II.

a) *Mansi* Th. X. p. 992s.

b) *Honorii* Ep. ad Sergium. (*Mansi* Th. XI. p. 537. comp. 579.)

John IV. (639), with a stricter reference to the true faith or the injury of their rivals than to the orthodoxy of their predecessors, placed themselves at the head of the opposition to the Monothelites, and excluded the patriarch of Constantinople from the communion of the Church. A law (τύπος) (*c*) enacted by *Constans II.* (648) was intended to enforce peace by an arbitrary prohibition of the controversy. But *Martin I.* of Rome, at the first Synod of Lateran (649), condemned the Monothelites and both the imperial laws. He was consequently first imprisoned, then condemned at Constantinople for treason, and finally he died in great distress. (*d*) To allay the strife which now threatened the precarious power of the empire in Italy, the emperor *Constantine Pogonatus* convoked the sixth œcumenical synod at Constantinople (680). This assembly, under the influence of *Agatho*, the Roman bishop, besides condemning Honorius, (*e*) recognized in Christ consistently with the doctrine of two natures, and certain passages of Scripture interpreted so as to conform to it, two wills made one by the moral subordination of the human. The Monothelites, however, obtained one more transient victory in the Greek Church under *Philip Bardanes* (711–713). But after the elevation of *Anastasius II.* to the throne, they were generally rejected, and only a small remnant sustained themselves in the convent of *St. Maro* on Mount Lebanon, under a patriarch of their own. (*f*)

§ 119. *Ecclesiastical Literature.*

Chrysostom and Augustine were still peerless models for the churches in which their languages were respectively spoken. The energies of the Alexandrian and Antiochian schools were exhausted in party strifes. *Cyril* (d. 444), whose natural acuteness was under the guidance of his passions, exceeded the characteristic limits of the Alexandrian spirit, (*a*) and *Theodoret*, Bishop of *Cyrus* (d. 457), the last of the Antiochian school, though a judicious expounder and a devout historian, could not escape the malediction of the Church. (*b*) The qualities of both schools appear to have been once more combined in the collection of the Epistles of *Isidore* of *Pelusium* (d. about 440), who, though a resident in Alexandria, was the friend of Chrysostom, and found among the monastic virtues liberty to be mild in science and fearless in his opposition to the powerful both in the world and in the Church. (*c*) The writings which assumed the name of *Dionysius Areopagita*, indicate that the Athenian New-Platonism had become Christianized near the commencement of the sixth century, and they have ever since been the model of those dispositions which strive to die to themselves, and are wait-

c) *Mansi* Th. X. p. 1029ss. *d*) *Mansi* Th. X. p. 851s.

e) *Mansi* Th. XI. p. 556. 622. 731.

f) *Lequien*, Oriens Chr. Th. III. p. 1ss. *Walch*, vol. IX. p. 474ss.

a) Commentaries, Polem. Treatises, Homilies, and Letters. Opp. ed. *J. Aubert*, Par. 1638. 7 Th. f. On Matth., Hebrews, and 7 dogm. Essays in *A. Maji* Col. Th. VIII.

b) Commentaries, History of the Church, Hist. of Heresies, Lives of Saints, and Polem. Treatises. Opp. edd. *Sirmond* et *Garnier*, Par. 1742–84. 5 Th. f. *Schulze* et *Noesselt*, Hal. 1769–74. 5 Th.—*Richter*, de Theor. Epp. Paulinar. interprete. Lps. 1822.

c) Epp. l. IV. ed. *Ritterhus*, Hdlb. 1605. f. Epp. ineditae, ed. *Schott.* Antu. 1623. f. All together: Par. 1638. Ven. 1745. f.—*H. A. Niemeyer*, de Isid. Pelusiotae vita, scriptis et doctr. Hal. 1825. comp. Arch. f. KGesch. 1825. P. 2. p. 197ss.

ing patiently for a complete union with the Deity. (*d*) The Aristotelian system of logic was used in all theological controversies. *John Philoponus* (middle of the 6th century), the acute expounder of Aristotle, and the independent Christian philosopher, but an adherent of the Monophysites, declared himself in the Greek Church decidedly partial to this tendency, though not unfriendly to many doctrines of Platonism. He was accused of Tritheism, because the ideas entertained by the Church on the subject of the divine nature and personality were not satisfactory to him, and he took offence at the doctrine of the resurrection, which he described as a new creation, since with the form he maintained that the matter of the body was gone. (*e*) The Roman Church became acquainted with Aristotle through the labors of *A. M. T. S. Boethius*. In the writings which bear his name, Aristotelian formulae are used to defend the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity. But in prison his mind had been raised above the fear of death by the consolations of a pious heathen philosophy. He died (524) in defence of the interests of his native land, and the Church has invested him with the glory of martyrdom. By birth, merit, and success he resembled the nobler Romans of the Augustan age, and indeed he may be regarded as the last specimen of the race. (*f*) The sciences which had been created by the peculiar character of the Greeks and the Romans, necessarily shared in the declining fortunes of those nations. The last signs of Hellenic refinement disappeared in the sixth century from every portion of the empire except Rome and Constantinople with the ravages of the Barbarians, of the Pestilence, and of the Church itself. A meagre collection of traditions was all that now remained, because it had been appropriated to her own use by the Church. Even *Cassiodorus* (a consul and a monk, d. about 562) attempted to preserve only those fragments of science which he thought might be serviceable to the Church. (*g*) Scriptural exegesis consisted entirely of such compilations from the treasures of former times as had been commenced in the East by *Procopius Gazaeus* (about 520), and in the West by *Primasius* of *Adrymetum* (about 550). (*h*) A system of doctrines had likewise been formed for the

d) Περὶ τῆς ἱεραρχίας. Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλεσιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας. Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων. Περὶ μυστικῆς θεολογίας. Epp. XII.—Opp. ed. *Corderius*, (Antu. 1634.) Par. 1644. 2 Th. f. *Constantini*, Ven. 1755ss. 2 Th. f. Uebers. m. Abhh. v. *Engelhardt*, Sulzb. 1823.—*J. Dalleus*, de scriptis, quae sub Ign. et Dion. A. nomm. circumfer. Gen. 1666. 4. *Engelhardt:* De Dion. Plotinizante. Erl. 1820. De orig. scriptor. Areop. Erl. 1822. *A. Helfferich*, d. chr. Mystik in ihrer Entwickl. u. ihren Denkmalen. Goth. 1842. 2 vols.—*Baumgarten-Crusius*, de Dion. A. Jen. 1823. Revised in Opp. theol. Jen. 1836. p. 265ss. On the other side: *Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Phil. vol. II. p. 519.

e) Respecting him: *Jo. Damasc.* de haeres. c. 83. Phot. c. 21–23. 55. 75. *Niceph.* XVIII, 45–49. *Leont.-Byz.* de sectis, act. 5.—*Scharfenburg*, de Jo. Phil. Tritheismi defensore. Lps. 1768. (Comm. theol. ed. *Velthusen*, etc. Th. I.) *Trechsel*, Jo. Phil. (Stud. u. Krit. 1835. P. 1.)

f) Commentaries and translations of Aristotle—De duabus nat. et una persona. Quod Trinitas sit unus Deus, etc.—De consolatione philosophiae, ed. *Helfrecht*, Curiae. 1797. and often. Uebers. v. *Freitag*, Riga. 1794.—Opp. ed. *Rota*, Bas. 1570ss.—(Gervaise) Hist. de Boëce. Par. 1715. 2 Th. *Heyne*, Censura Boëthii. (Opusce. Th. VI. p. 143ss.)—*F. Hand*, Boeth. (Ersch. u. Gruber's Encykl. vol. XI. p. 283ss.) *Gust. Baur*, de Boëthio. Darmst. 1841.

g) De artibus ac disciplinis liberalium litt. Institutio ad div. lectiones. Hist. Ecclesiae tripartita. Variae Epp.—Opp. ed. *Garet*. Rothomag. 1679. Ven. 1729. 2 Th. f.—*Stäudlin*, ü. Cassiod. (Archiv. f. KGesch. 1825. p. 259ss. 381ss.)

h) *J. F. S. Augustin*, de catenis PP. graecis in N. T. Hal. 1762. (*Noesselti* Commentt. ad H. ecc. Hal. 1817.

Latin Church (*i*) from sentences taken from the more ancient fathers by *Isidorus*, Bishop of *Hispalis* (d. 636), and another more complete, and on account of its application of Aristotelian formulae more scientific, was compiled for the Greek Church by the monk *John Damascenus* (d. 754). The latter also collected together the various decisions which had been given by the Church in its earlier religious controversies, and thus settled these disputes for his Church for a thousand years after him. (*k*) A Roman catalogue of apocryphal and rejected works, which had been gradually enlarging from the time of Hormisdas (514–523), and had finally become essentially fixed about the middle of the sixth century, exhibits the contracted spirit as well as the state of criticism at that time, for even some of the more ancient fathers are rejected as apocryphal because they were inconsistent with some Roman assertions, or did not correspond with the later orthodoxy. (*l*)

CHAP. III.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

Bibliotheca juris can. veteris, op. *Guil.* et *Henr. Justelli*, Par. 1661. 2. Th. f. *Spittler*, Gesch. d. can. Rechts bis a. d. falsch. Isidor. Hal. 1778. (Works, ed. by *Wächter*, Stuttg. 1827. vol. I.)—*Planck*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verf. vol. I. p. 276ss. *Hase*, de jure ecc. P. I. p. 32ss. P. II. *C Riffel*, Gesch. Darst. d. Verh. zw. K. u. Staat. Mainz. 1836. vol. I. p. 114ss.

§ 120. *Legislation and Books of Law.*

Ecclesiastical laws were enacted sometimes by synods and sometimes by the emperors. The first idea of general laws for the whole Church seems to have been derived from the General Councils, with whose decisions were soon united those of the inferior synods and the canonical institutes of a few fathers, which individual bishops had collected for their private direction, but which passed into general use. Such collections are first noticed in the Synod of Chalcedon, where, however, they possessed no general authority. (*a*) But even then it had become customary, at least in the Greek Church, to regard the canons of certain synods as possessing the authority of general laws. This agreement seems to have become complete in the sixth century, but it was not until the second canon of the Trullan Synod (Quinisexta 692) that the constituent parts of the Greek canon law which had long been in use, were recognized as legally binding. (*b*) The African Church at the Council of Carthage, 419, gave its sanction to a collection of its own domestic canons, (*c*) which was gradually accepted as a part of the general ecclesi-

i) Sententiarum s. de summo bono l. III. comp. § 167. note *a*.

k) Πηγὴ γνώσεως· *α*) τὰ φιλοσοφικά, *β*) περὶ αἱρέσεων, *γ*) ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως. Opp. ed. *Mich. Lequien*, Par. 1712. 2. Th. f.

l) Threefold text in *Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 153ss. Since Hincmar of Rheims it is commonly quoted as Decretum Gelasii (494., thus by Gratian: c. 3. Dist. XV. comp. *Gieseler*, KGesch. vol. I. Abth. II. p. 382s. [*Davidson's* transl. vol. II. p. 110. § 114. note 2.]

a) Respecting collections called apostolic: See § 57. comp. *J. W. Bickell*, Gesch. des Kirchenrechts. Giess. 1843. vol. I.

b) Acts and 102 canons: *Mansi* Th. XI. p. 927–1006.

c) *Justelli* Bibl. Th. I. 303ss. *Mansi* Th. III. p. 698ss.

astical law. Of the Roman Church of the time of the Council of Chalcedon, we only know that in its collection the Nicaean canons were mingled with those of Sardica. The civil laws, so far as they relate to ecclesiastical affairs, may generally be found under their appropriate titles in the two collections of imperial laws called *Codex Theodosianus*, 438, and *Codex Justinianeus*, 534, and the Novels attached to each. The efforts of Justinian to give a scientific form to political and civil law, must have had a considerable influence upon ecclesiastical law. *John Scholasticus*, successively an advocate, a presbyter at Antioch, and the Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 578), arranged the canons which he found in the ordinary collections, together with the second and third epistles of Basil relating to the canons, under fifty titles according to their subjects. (*d*) This digest, on account of its adaptation to general use, as well as the reputation of its author, soon became a standard authority in the Greek Church. A collection of civil laws relating to the Church, prepared by this same John, contains extracts from the ten Novels of Justinian, arranged under eighty-seven chapters. (*e*) Another collection, embracing the whole ecclesiastical legislation of Justinian, sometimes in full and sometimes abridged, together with an appendix containing the four Novels of Heraclius, has been erroneously attributed to Theodore Balsamon, but really belongs to the seventh century. (*f*) The practical wants of the Church called forth a work in which the civil laws relating to the Church (νόμοι) were arranged in harmony with the ecclesiastical laws (κανόνες), and which has since been called the *Nomocanon*. Under the fifty titles of the collection of canons by Scholasticus, the corresponding civil laws were introduced, and even these were principally derived from his book. (*g*) The penitential laws were systematized, and their severity was accommodated to the mildness of his age, and of his own disposition, by *John* the *Faster* (νηστευτής), Patriarch of Constantinople (585–595). (*h*) The old code of the Roman Church, (*i*) called by Dionysius *Translatio prisca*, was gradually increased and strengthened in authority after the Council of Chalcedon, by translations from the Greek books of laws. The incompleteness and want of arrangement which characterized this work, induced Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian and a Roman monk, to revise it, and to form a new code (498–514). (*k*) The first part contains a faithful translation of the principal articles of the Greek synodal laws, the canons of Sardica, and the African collection. The second part contains all the decretals which could then be found at Rome, by eight popes, from Siricius (d. 398) to Anastasius II. (d. 498). This *Codex Dionysii*

d) *Justelli* Bibl. Th. II. p. 499–602.

e) Συναγωγὴ νεαρῶν διατάξεων. Unprinted.

f) Τῶν ἐκκλ. διατάξεων συλλογή. *Justelli* Bibl. Th. II. p. 1217–1478.—*F. R. Biener*, de collectionibus canonum Ecc. graecae. Ber. 1827.

g) *Justelli* Bibl. Th. II. p. 603–672.

h) Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων. The existing Recension formed from later revisions is in *Morini* Comm. hist. de disciplina in administr. sacr. poenitentiae. (Par. 1651. f.) Ven. 1702. f. p. 616ss.

i) In *Leon.* Opp. Th. III. p. 473ss. and *Mansi* Th. VI. p. 1105ss.

k) Ed. *Fr. Pithoeus*, Par. 1687. f. *Justelli* Bibl. Th. I. p. 97ss. comp. *Ballerin.* Ds. in Leon. Opp. Th. III. p. 174ss.

was much favored by the popes, and became a standard legal authority not only in the Roman Church, whose domestic laws were found in it, but in almost all the West. Later decretals were therefore gradually appended to it. The book of laws for the Spanish Church originated in the first half of the sixth century, and was probably revised by *Isidore* of *Hispalis*, whose name it bears, but continual additions have been made to it since his time. (*l*) It contains in the first part not only the greater part of the Greek synodal laws, but the canons of the Spanish and Gallican councils, and in the second part, besides the decretals of the Dionysian code, a few letters from the popes to the Spanish and Gallican bishops. Other systematic compilations made during this period are of less importance. They are the *Breviarium* of *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, a deacon of Carthage (about 547), a work which had no dependence upon the Dionysian code, (*m*) and the *Concordia* of *Cresconius*, an African (about 690), which was an analysis of that code according to its contents. (*n*)

§ 121. *The Roman Empire.*

The cultivation of the fine arts had entirely ceased from the time of Constantine, and no ornaments could be found for his new city and his triumphal arch in the very forum of Rome, but by spoiling the ancient monuments. Nearly the whole intellectual energy of the age was enlisted in the service of the Church, so that the only science which seemed to flourish without ecclesiastical influence was jurisprudence. In consequence of the founding of Constantinople, the whole power of the empire was directed to the East, and after the division made by Theodosius (395) the East and the West remained permanently separated. But so perfectly had the various nations conquered by the Romans been made to feel as one people, that both these divisions regarded themselves as only different parts of the one great empire. While the Germanic nations stormed at the portals of the West, and even when they broke through them in the fifth century, the civil constitution and the habits of the people remained Roman under the long dominion of the Goths in Italy. The East was governed by a lifeless and rigid mechanism, the moving spring of which was at Constantinople. The extinction of the reigning families and the ascendency of the army, rendered abortive the frequent efforts to establish a popular hereditary monarchy, but the want of this was in some degree supplied by the imperial nomination of colleagues and successors. But the majesty of the Roman people and the confidence that they were destined to universal dominion had been transferred to their rulers. In this form it was now consecrated by the Church, and systematically defended by arguments supplied by jurisprudence. Amid all the agitations produced by dynastic changes, this idea of an imperial government appointed by God for supreme dominion on earth became profoundly fixed in the hearts of the people.

l) Collectio canonum Eccl. Hispaniae. Matrit. 1808. f. Epistolae decretales ac reser. Rom. Pontificum. Matr. 1821. f. (ed. *A. Gonzalez.*)

m) *Justelli* Bibl. Th. I. p. 456ss. *n*) *Justelli* Bibl. Th. I. Append. p. 33ss.

§ 122. *Power of the Emperor over the Church.*

The emperors, accustomed to exercise the power, not only of an absolute sovereign but of a supreme pontiff, endeavored to sell their favor to the Church at the price of its ancient liberties. A decisive influence was gained by them in the right of nominating the bishops, especially the metropolitan. The Church on the other hand was anxious to compel all its members to observe the well defined and slow process of a regular advancement from the inferior to the superior stations, and disapproved of all translations of a bishop from one diocese to another, as nothing less than spiritual adultery. The emperor frequently entertained the appeals of those who considered themselves aggrieved by the bishops. A regular system of punishments was then appointed by the Church for all who should thus appeal from its decisions to the emperor. (*a*) The emperors called together the general councils of the Church, presided in them through their envoys, and published their decrees as laws of the empire. (*b*) As none but the Catholic Church was entitled to civil privileges, when different bishops were opposed to each other, the emperor himself was obliged to decide which of them belonged to the orthodox church. Hence many laws, even on matters of doctrine, were enacted by them, and those who obtained their ends by court favor encouraged them in this and commended them for it. The imperial edicts were also published by being read in the churches. (*c*) Many bishops who longed for the imperial favor were pliant tools in the hands of ambitious rulers, and the Italian clergy had some reason to suspect that a Greek bishop, for his own emolument, could be induced to grant, without fear or shame, any request which might be made of him. (*d*) The emperors, however, were frequently the mere tools of an ecclesiastical party, and their laws for the regulation of doctrines, when not confirmed by the authority of the Church, seldom survived their authors. The freedom of the Church never wanted bold and successful advocates, and though it was practically violated in every possible way, its legality was always acknowledged by the emperors themselves. (*e*) The people generally regarded it as the highest principle of law, that God has bestowed all power on earth upon the monarchy and the priesthood, but that he had assigned to each of these certain immovable boundaries which neither could transgress without guilt and peril. (*f*)

§ 123. *Power of the Church over the State.*

The severity of the ancient Roman laws was much mitigated by the influence of Christianity whenever they did not fall in with the prejudices of the Church, and thus a way was prepared for an acknowledgment of the

a) *Conc. Antioch.* can. 12. [*Landon*, p. 83. can. 12.] *Constant.* I. can. 6.

b) *Conc. Constant.* I. Ep. ad Theodos. (*Mansi* Th. III. p. 557.)

c) L. 20. *Cod. Theod.* de rebus eccl. (XVI, 2.) et Gothofredus ad h. l.

d) *Mansi* Th. IX. p. 153.

e) On the other hand Constantine's episcopacy (*Euseb.* vita Const. IV, 24.) was referred to with the same semblance of argument as was used for the sovereignty of the bishops: *Sozom.* I, 17. *Rufin.* I, 2.

f) Gelasius I. ad Anastasium a. 494. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 31.)

general rights of man. (*a*) Some bishops went so far as to oppose even capital punishments, on the ground that their barbarity was inconsistent with reason and humanity. (*b*) The right of asylum which had formerly been conceded to a few of the ancient temples was extended to all Christian churches, and proved a serious detriment to the administration of justice. But *Chrysostom* lived to enjoy the triumph of seeing the very minister whose exorbitant power once threatened to abolish this privilege, clinging to the altar for his own protection. (*c*) Great political power was acquired by the bishops in consequence of their personal influence among the people, and the devotion of the emperors to theological controversies. The law gave them a certain right to superintend the affairs of the congregations both in town and country; they also possessed a certain right, frequently usurped but finally regulated by law, of acting as intercessors for those who were unfortunate or criminal, and a certain kind of patronage was conceded to them for all *personae miserabiles*. (*d*) The Church undertook the censorship of the morals of civil functionaries, and summoned to their bar those who were above human enactments. (*e*) No one dared to meet the fury of a Governor of the Pentapolis but Synesius the bishop. When a whole city had fallen a sacrifice to the wrath of *Theodosius I.*, Ambrose ventured to give utterance to the monarch's conscience, and the royal offender was excluded from the Church. (*f*) When an unlimited power was exercised by the civil rulers, the Church thus became a safe retreat for popular freedom, and saints played the part of tribunes of the people. Sometimes even royal honors were bestowed upon bishops, and what was at first accorded by pious humility, pious arrogance took care to demand and retain. From the truth that heavenly things were superior to earthly, the inference was drawn that the hierarchy should be greater than the monarchy, and should have precedence in earthly dignity. (*g*) In his City of God, the secular power is described by Augustine as an irrational despotism which commenced with a fratricide, and tends to subversion that it may give place to the celestial kingdom.

§ 124. *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.*

Stryck, de orig. et usu jurisdictionis ecc. Hal. 1710. 4. (Opusce. Th. XIV.) *H. M. Hebenstreit* Hist. jurisd. ecc. Dss. III. 1773ss. 4. *Bruno Schilling*, de orig. jurisd. ecc. in causis civil. Lps. 1825. 4. *C. F. A. Jungk*, de Orig. et progressu episcopalis jud. in causis civil. laicorum usque ad Justinian. Ber. 1832.

Although the sentence of the episcopal court, in its capacity of a court of

a) *Euseb.* Vita Const. IV, 26. L. 2. *Cod. Theod.* de poen. (IX. 40.)—*C. G. de Rhoer*, Dissert. de effectu rel. chr. in jurispr. Rom. Gron. 1776. *H. O. de Meysenburg*, de chr. rel. vi et effectu in jus civile (speciatim Institt. l. I.) Gotting. 1828. 4. *Troplong*, de l'influence du Christ. sur le droit civil des Romains. Par. 1843.

b) *Ambros.* Ep. 25. 26. (al. 51. 52.) *Augustin*, Ep. 133. 134. 153.—L. 15 et 16. *Cod. Theod.* de poen. (IX. 40.)

c) *Cod. Theod.* de his, qui ad Ecc. confugiunt. (IX, 45.) *Socrat.* VI, 5. *Sozom.* VIII, 7.

d) *Conc. Sardic.* can. 7. *Ambros.* de Offic. II, 29. *Const.* 22. 24. 27ss. 30ss. C. de Episc. audientia. (I, 4.)

e) *Conc. Arelat.* a. 314. c. 7. Gregor. Naz. Orat. 17. (Th. I. p. 271.)

f) Synesii Ep. 57s. 72. 89.—*Rufin.* XI, 18. *Theodoret.* V, 17. *Sozom.* VII, 24. L. 13. *Cod. Theod.* de poen. (IX, 40.) Comp. *T. L. F. Tafel*, de Thessalonica. Ber. 1839. p. XLVIIss.

g) *Constitt. apost.* II, 34. *Chrysost.* de Sacerd. III, 1.—*Sulp. Severi* Vita Martini. c. 20.

arbitration possessed a certain legal authority, (*a*) its voluntary jurisdiction was not much needed under a Christian government, and after the sixth century it was less resorted to. The claim that all causes relating to marriage and to wills (causae mixtae) should be decided there, was generally resisted by the secular tribunals, but the obstacles to marriage laid down in the Mosaic law were recognized by the civil code, and were sometimes extended even to spiritual relationships. Divorces very rarely, and the marriage of divorced persons still less frequently, were permitted by the episcopal courts. These first became the ordinary tribunals for the clergy in civil causes about the time of Justinian I., (*b*) but the municipal courts continued to exercise jurisdiction as at first in criminal causes until Valentinian III. gave (452) the plaintiff the privilege of choosing before which of these courts his cause should be tried. (*c*) Justinian I. assigned particular parts of every such criminal cause to each of these courts, (*d*) and Heraclius (623) entirely excluded them from the municipal courts. (*e*) According to ecclesiastical usage it was thought unbecoming for a clergyman to appear in his own cause either as plaintiff or defendant before a civil tribunal. (*f*) When cited before the emperor the bishops would indeed make their appearance, but a sentence of condemnation was not readily acknowledged except where a synod concurred in it. In all matters purely ecclesiastical the episcopal courts and synods were regarded as the only competent tribunals. (*g*)

§ 125. *Church Property.*

Jérome a Costa (Richard Simon.) Hist. de l'origine et du progrès des revenus ecc. Fref. 1684. 21. *Thomassin.* (§ 9. note b.)

The clergy were supported, especially under the first Christian emperors, by revenues supplied by the government, by a portion of the property they inherited from the old temples, and by ecclesiastical possessions falling to them from heretics. Though they often preached to the people that they had a divine right to the first-fruits and the tithes, their preaching was not much regarded. (*a*) But when Constantine confirmed (321) to the people a complete right to devise property at pleasure to the Church, such bequests became an inexhaustible source of wealth. (*b*) It was not long before one could scarcely die without being reminded of his duty to the Church, and a law became necessary in which the clergy were forbidden to solicit such bequests (370). (*c*) As this wealth, however, was possessed by the Church in trust for the poor, it was looked upon with much affection. All institutions of benevolence originated in the Church. (*d*) Its wealth contributed to its power and freedom. The management of the funds was generally in the

a) *Sozom.* I, 9. The legal passages in *Hase*, de jure ecc. P. I. p. 53ss.
b) *Nov.* 83. Praef. et § 1. *Nov.* 123. c. 21.
c) L. 47. *Cod. Theod.* de Episc. (XVI, 2.) *Nov.* 1. de Episc. judicio in *Aniani* Collectione.
d) *Nov.* 123. c. 21. § 1. *e*) *Justelli* Bibl. Th. II. p. 1861s.
f) *Conc. Carth.* III. a 397. can. 9. IV. a. 419. can. 19. Chalc. can. 9.
g) L. 1. *Cod. Theod.* de rel. (XVI, 11.) *Justini Nov.* 123. c. 21. § 2.
a) *Bingham*, Origg. eccl. V, 5. *b*) L. 4. *Cod. Theod.* de Episc. (XVI, 2.)
c) L. 20. *Cod. Theod.* de Episc. Comp. *Hieron.* Ep. 34. (al. 2.) ad Nepotian.
d) L. 6. *Cod. Theod.* de Episc. (XVI, 2.) *Gelasii* Ep. IX. § 27.

hands of the bishop, the distribution of them was regulated by certain precise forms, and the alienation of the property was controlled by prescribed conditions. Every church was the legal heir of all the property which its intestate clergyman had accumulated from ecclesiastical revenues. Whatever the Church possessed was secured by an investment in real estate. This was variously taxed according to the disposition and wants of the different governments, but it was usually exempted from extraordinary, personal, and improper burdens. (*e*)

§ 126. *The Congregation and the Clergy.*

As the clergy were generally independent of the favor of the people by their ecclesiastical possessions, the congregations were entirely shut out from all participation in the government of the Church. Sometimes the people still gave effect to their wishes in a tumultuous manner, when a bishop was chosen, and a certain influence was exercised on such occasions by distinguished citizens, and was legalized by Justinian I., but it was disapproved of by the second Synod of Nicaea (787). (*a*) In the West, however, and especially in Rome, the people asserted their right to participate in elections, and the power of the clergy was too dependent upon popular opinion to allow of many important privileges being withheld from the congregations. Even then some voices continued to be raised in favor of a priesthood of all Christians before God. (*b*) The clergy succeeded in throwing off the burdens which the State had imposed upon it, and a series of civil enactments became necessary to prevent the entrance of too many persons into ecclesiastical offices. These required that no person should be ordained except to supply the place of a deceased clergyman, and none who owed any service to a master or to the state without the consent of those to whom it was due. An unsuccessful attempt was made to procure a law by which none but indigent persons on whom the state had no claim should be ordained to the sacred office. On the other hand the spiritual power was frequently strengthened by the ordination of distinguished philosophers, advocates, and high civil officers. In such cases the law required that all landed property burdened with obligations to the state should be surrendered to the municipal authorities. The clergy were principally supported from the funds of the Church, but even as late as the fifth century some ecclesiastical laws recommended that they should sustain themselves by agricultural or other pursuits. (*c*) In the fourth century the ordination of deaconesses was looked upon as a Montanistic custom, and after the fifth their office was in the West entirely abolished. (*d*) The choice of all his clergy came into the hands of the bishop, although the presbyters once more augmented their authority by their attempts in some instances to become independent pastors both in town and country. In this way they

e) L. 1. *Cod. Theod.* de annona. (XL, 1.) L. 15. 18. 21ss. *Cod. Theod.* de extraord. (XI, 16.) L. 6ss. 15ss. *Cod. Theod.* de Episc.

a) *Justin. Nov.* 123. c. 1. *Nov.* 137. c. 2. Conc. Nic. II. can. 3.

b) *August.* de Civ. Dei. XX, 10. *Ambrosiaster* ad Ephes. 4, 11.

c) *Conc. Carth.* a. 419. can. 52. 53.

d) *Ambrosiaster* in I. Tim. 3, 11. *Conc. Epaonense*, can. 21.

hoped to attain the position of the country bishops who had been supplanted ever since the fourth century, and that the episcopal name might become less common and more important. Other presbyters, together with the deacons as the clergy of the bishop's church (cathedralis), constituted the bishop's privy council. One of these was chosen an Archpresbyter, to preside over the public worship, and another was appointed an Archdeacon, to preside over the episcopal court. (*e*)

§ 127. *The Patriarchs.*

D. Blondel, traité hist. de la Primauté en l'égl. Gen. 1641. f. *J. Morini* Exercitt. ecc. et bibl. (Ds. I. de Patriarch. et Primat. origg.) Par. 1669. f. *Janus*, de origg. Patriarch. chr. Dss. II. Vit. 1718. 4. *Thomassini* I, 7–20.

The great dioceses and prerogatives of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* were recognized at Nicaea, on the ground of their being established upon usage. (*a*) At the Synod of Constantinople (381) the Bishop of *New Rome* was associated with these, in rank next to the Roman bishop. (*b*) His diocese was continually increasing, but at Chalcedon (451) it was constituted of Thrace, perhaps already a part of it, (*c*) the more distant part of Pontus, and Asia Minor. To him also was granted the privilege of receiving complaints against the metropolitans of other dioceses, (*d*) since the foreign bishops who were continually going to and from the imperial court formed around him an almost perpetual council. (*e*) As by this arrangement the Metropolitans of Ephesus, Heraclea and New-Caesarea were subjected to his jurisdiction, to save their dignities from detriment, a new ecclesiastical office was introduced, to which the name of archbishop or exarch was applied. In the fifth century, however, the name of *Patriarch* which had before commonly been applied to all bishops was exclusively used to designate them. To the patriarchs belonged the duty of ordaining the metropolitans, convening synods of their whole dioceses, bringing to an issue causes of more than ordinary importance (causae majores), and deciding finally all cases of appeal which might be submitted to them. These four great dioceses which in the East alone corresponded tolerably well with the great provinces of the empire were gradually made to include every part of the Church. Some bishops, however, especially in the West, and in the East all in the island of Cyprus, preserved their independence. The Bishop of *Jerusalem* was reckoned at Nicaea, as a mark of honorable respect, among the great bishops, and after a long struggle he succeeded in throwing off the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Caesarea, and at Chalcedon received Palestine as an independent diocese. (*f*) The exorbitant and much abused power of the Alexandrian bishop was broken at Chalcedon. The two Eastern patriarchates were also stripped of their power in consequence of the Monophysites and

e) *Pertsch*, v. Urspr. d. Archidiac. Hildesh. 1743.

a) *Conc. Nic.* can. 6. *b*) *Conc. Constant.* I. can. 3. *c*) Thus according to *Socrat.* II. ecc. V, 8.

d) *Conc. Chalcedon*, can. 28. et 9.

e) Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα. *Conc. Chalc.* Actio IV. (*Mansi* Th. VII. p. 91ss.)—*J. S. Vater*, v. d. σύνοδ. ἐνδ. (KHist. Archiv. 1823. P. 3.)

f) *Conc. Nic.* can. 7. *Conc. Chalc.* Actio VII. (*Mansi* Th. VII. p. 181ss.)

Arabians. The Bishops of Old and New Rome alone stood as the representatives of the Eastern and Western divisions of the empire, and watched each other with a jealous eye. The Patriarch of Constantinople was generally powerful on account of the favor of the emperor, but he was also the subject of the imperial caprice, while the Roman bishop was much more independent, in consequence of his political position, and hence often became the champion of ecclesiastical freedom and the prevailing orthodoxy. When John the Faster (after 587) assumed the title of an œcumenical bishop, *Gregory* the *Great* pronounced such a name unchristian, and in opposition to it took for himself the more Christian designation of a servant of the servants of God; Gregory's successors, with more sincerity, soon after assumed the name of a Universal Bishop. (*g*) Neither title was at that time entirely unknown. In the edict of the usurper, Phocas, an acknowledgment was made, simply from political and personal considerations, that the Roman Church was entitled to the first rank. (*h*) Both these patriarchs were successful in their own peculiar spheres, but the same political events which reduced the territories of the one proportionally enlarged those of the other.

§ 128. *The Roman Bishopric before Leo.*

Epp. Rom. Pontificum a S. Clemente usque ad Innoc. III. ed. *Constant.* Par. 1721. rep. *Schoenemann*, Gott. 1796. Th. I. (until 432.)—*Cl. Salmasii*, Libror. de Primatu Papae P. I. c. apparatu. L. B. 1645. 4.

The Roman bishop exercised a metropolitan jurisdiction over the ten suburbicarian provinces, which was as far as the political district of Rome extended, (*a*) while the metropolitanates of the diocese of *Italia*, especially Milan, under Ambrosius and his successors, claimed to be fully equal to him within their respective dioceses. But Rome was the only see which could claim to be apostolic, and was almost the only medium of ecclesiastical connection with the East. The high reputation which it possessed with respect to apostolical traditions, was so successfully and dispassionately used in the controversies of the East, that the party which had the favor of Rome might generally be sure of ultimate victory. Hence, her opinion and her decision as a mediator was continually sought for and as readily given. And even when her interference was disregarded, as in the case of Chrysostom, it was always in behalf of humanity and the people. In consequence of its attachment to the Nicaean creed when the whole Eastern Church was Arian, *East Illyria* sought a connection with the Roman Church, and the Bishop of Thessalonica was regarded as a Roman vicar. This same state of affairs made the Roman court at the Council of *Sardica* (347) a Court of Cassation, for the reception of appeals in the case of bishops. (*b*) The Eastern churches, when they were so disposed, and when united among themselves,

g) *Gregor.* l. V. Ep. 18ss. VII, 33ss.—*C. M. Pfaff*, de titulo Patr. oecumenici, pomo eridis, 1735. 4. (*Tempe Helv.* Th. IV. Sect. I. p. 99ss.)

h) *Anastas.* in Vita Bonifacii III. *Paulus Diac.* gesta Longob. IV, 37.

a) *Kortholt*, de Ecc. suburbicariis. Lps. 1730s. 4. Dioecesis Romae: Campania, Thuscia et Umbria, Picenum suburbicarium, Sicilia, Apulia et Calabria, Bruttii et Lucania, Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, Valeria.

b) *Conc. Sard.* can. 3 et 5.

never hesitated to disregard the interference of the Roman bishop, and the Synods of Nicaea and Constantinople were entirely independent of his influence; but when the patriarchs contended with each other, or with the imperial court, his powerful friendship was generally sought by both parties, and was often purchased by concessions. From observing these facts, *Innocent I.* became convinced that even in his day, nothing in the whole Christian world could be brought to a decision without the cognizance of the Roman see, and that, especially in matters of faith, all bishops were under the necessity of consulting St. Peter. (*c*) The position of the Roman bishops in the state, was that of powerful subjects who could be judged only by the emperor himself, (*d*) but who, as in the case of *Liberius* for his defence of the Nicaean creed, might sometimes be abused by him. (*e*) But, although the glory surrounding the apostolic chair had already become so attractive, that those who contended for it sometimes pressed toward it over the bodies of their competitors, it was still the subject of derision and complaint among the heathen. (*f*) The recollection that this worldly glory commenced only in the time of Constantine, gave occasion to the remark, that Sylvester (314–335) lived long enough to do and witness what was suitable for a Roman bishop, according to more modern views.

§ 129. *Leo the Great*, 440–461.

I. *Leonis M.* Opp. ed. *Pasch. Quesnel*, Lugd. 1700. 2 Th. f. *P.* et *H. Ballerini*, Ven. 1753-57. 3 Th. f.

II. *W. A. Arendt*, Leo d. Gr. u. s. Zeit. Mainz. 1835. *G. Perthel*, P. Leo's I. Leben u. Lehren. Jen. 1843.—*Griesbach*, Ds. locos communes theol. collectos ex Leone M. sistens. Hal. 1768. (Opusce. ed. *Gabler*, Th. I. p. 45ss.)

Leo I., justly called the Great, whether reference is had to his character as a prince, or as a teacher of the Church in his day, was the real founder of the subsequent greatness of the Roman see. Hitherto it had owed more to its peculiar circumstances than to the power and sagacity of its bishops. What he now did was from a well-defined aim, and a clear presage of a more glorious future. Regarding the Roman Church as in possession of the true succession from the Apostle Peter, he looked upon it as the rock on which the Catholic Church was built, and upon the Roman bishop as appointed by God to be the head of the whole Church, and to have the care of its interests. Humbly conscious of his personal unworthiness for such an office, he proudly trusted that Peter himself acted through him. He retained a firm hold upon the opposing Illyrian Church, by the protection he gave to its bishops against the archiepiscopal see of Thessalonica, which was reminded that if he had shared with it some of his cares and duties, he had by no means resigned any of his plenary powers. (*a*) The disturbed state of the African Church on account of the Arian Vandals, supplied him with an occasion for drawing Africa within the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch, under the plea of the necessity of the case. Some complaints against the

c) *Constant.* p. 888. 896.

d) Ep. Concilii Rom. ad Gratian. a. 378. (*Constant.* p. 529.) *e*) *Theodoret.* H. ecc. II, 16ss.

f) *Hieron.* Ep. 61. ad Pammach. *Ammian. Marc.* XXVII, 3. 9.

a) *Leo* ad Anastasium Thessalon. (Opp. Th. I. p. 686.)

severity of Hilarius, the Metropolitan of Arelate (Arles), supplied him with a pretext for interfering with the affairs of Gaul. Hilarius, who was really no severer toward others than toward himself, was obliged to atone for the indifference with which he heard of the sensitiveness with which Rome had heard of these complaints, and for his refusal to acknowledge any tribunal for him beyond the Alps. *Valentinian III.* enacted a law which declared the apostolic see the supreme legislative and judicial authority for the whole Church. (*b*) Leo had dictated this law, and had satisfied the emperor that it would be wise to unite the already crumbling provinces with the capital by an ecclesiastical bond. It was originally intended only for the West, but even there it was ineffectual against Hilarius, (*c*) and in consequence of the decay of the empire beyond the Alps, it became an empty legal title, to take effect only in subsequent times. It was even then uncommon for a Roman bishop to preach, but Leo declared that this was to be one of his ordinary duties. As a proof that this was not neglected, he left ninety-six sermons for various festivals, distinguished for their ecclesiastical spirit, their rhythmical harmony, and their grandiloquence, but without very strict logical connection. If the work on the Call of all nations was written by him in his early years, (*d*) he proposed in it an accommodation of the controversial questions then agitated in the West. His epistle to Flavianus presents a decision upon the theological disputes of the East. The tyranny of Dioscurus, and the atrocities of the Robber-Synod, were a scandal to the whole Church. Leo spared neither tears nor bold reproofs to prevent the evil consequences which might follow that synod. The death of Theodosius II. occurred in good time for his wishes, as no authority was superior to his with the imperial pair who then ascended the throne of the East. His legates presided at Chalcedon, and every acquittal or condemnation which took place there was in Leo's name. When Attila had crossed the Alps, and Rome lay helpless before the scourge of God (452), Leo, in his pontifical robes, went to meet him, and the pagan conqueror of the world turned his hosts another way. Attila may have seen good reasons for listening to the prayers and warnings of the priest, but so miraculous seemed this deliverance of Italy, that in the popular account of it, Peter himself stood by the side of his successor with a brandished sword. (*e*)

§ 130. *The Papacy after Leo. Gregory the Great*, 590–604.

Liber diurnus Rom. Pontificum, (Legal Usages of the Rom. See, collected about 715.) ed. *Holsten.* Rom. 1658. *Garner.* Par. 1680. 4. (*Hoffmanni*, nova Scrr. ac Monum. Collectio. Lps. 1733. 4. Th. II.) *Anastasii Bibliothecarii* (about 870), liber pontificalis s. vitae Rom. Pontif. a Petro Ap. usque ad Nicol. I. (with the orig. docc. only from the time of Constantine, 708.) ed. *Blanchini*, Rom. 1718–35. 4 Th. f. (*Muratori*, Rer. Ital. Scrr. Th. III. P. I.)

I. *Greg. M.* Expositio in Jobum s. Moralium l. XXXV. Liber pastoralis curae. (Ingolst. 1825.) Dialogorum de vita et miracc. Patrum Ital. et de aeternit. animar. l. IV. Epp. l. XIV. Opp. ed. *Bene-*

b) *Leon.* Opp. Th. I. p. 642. and *Theodosii* Nov. tit. 24.

c) *Perthel*, Leo's Streit mit d. B. v. Arles. (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1843. P. 2.)

d) De vocatione omnium gentium. Quesnel has, however, merely shown that it was possible for Leo to be the author of this treatise. Comp. *Perthel* (as above), p. 127ss.

e) *Heyne*, de Leone Attilae et Genserico supplice facto. (Opp. acad. Goett. 1788. Th. III. p. 134ss.)

dictt. Par. 1705. 4 Th. f. *Gallicciolli*, Ven. 1768ss. 17 Th. 4. *Paulus Warnefridi* (about 775), de vita S. Gregorii. *Joannis Ecc. Rom. Diaconi* (about 875), de vita S. Greg. l. IV. Both in the 4th vol. of the Benedictine ed.

II. *Maimbourg*, Hist. du Pontificat de S. Grég. Par. 1686. 4. *G. F. Wiggers*, de G. M. ejusq. placitis anthropol. Rost. 1839. P. I. *E. W. Marggraff*, de G. M. vita Ber. 1845.

The Roman bishops, who after the sixth century were called Popes, as the Alexandrian bishops especially had before been designated, acknowledged that they, above all others, were bound to execute the edicts which the Church sent forth from her councils, (*a*) but the historical basis on which their power was claimed was derived from the divine right of St. Peter. Sometimes a vague and inconsiderate reference was made with the same object even to Paul as the supreme head of the Gentile Church. (*b*) As the imperial government was frequently powerless in Rome, the popes, by their patrimonial rights as great proprietors, and by their episcopal courts, were able sometimes to supply its place. More than once they delivered Rome and the surrounding country from the hands of the barbarians. When, therefore, the last shadow of the Western Empire had disappeared (476), and Arian monarchs had set up a German kingdom in Italy, the popes were regarded by the Roman people as their native lords, and with the exception of some instances in which they were abused by their conquerors, they were the actual masters of the country. The Roman clergy of that day were powerful enough to proclaim, that every interference of a layman in the affairs of the Church, was by its own nature invalid, and that the successors of St. Peter could be judged by none but God. (*c*) But when Justinian I. reconquered Italy, they again became dependent upon Constantinople, and even their ancient reputation for orthodoxy was thus endangered. This continued until the time of *Gregory I.*, who saw that the only condition on which ecclesiastical power could be enjoyed, was that they should throw off this political dependence. In the midst of the embarrassments produced by the settlement of the Longobards in Italy (after 568), he contrived so to use that event that it prepared the way for their independence. He was, however, compelled himself to publish a law of the emperor which he regarded as inconsistent with the law of God, (*d*) and to congratulate a regicide on his accession to the throne. (*e*) He was originally of a patrician family, and on the road to the highest civil offices, when he suddenly renounced the world, and turned the palace of his ancestors into a convent. From this he was called to the government of the Church, but in the midst of pontifical splendor his monastic severity became intense. Toward his dependants he was more and more imperious in his demands of duty to the Church, but lavish in his expenditures upon the poor and the idle. By means of his school for music, he effected considerable improvements in psalmody, (*f*) and to the public worship of Rome he imparted that mysterious pomp for which it has

a) *Gelasii* Ep. 13. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 51.) *b*) *Gregor. M.* in I. Reg. 5. (Th. III. P. II. p. 250.)

c) Conc. Rom. III. sub Symmacho a. 502. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 266ss.) *Ennodii*, L. apolog. pro Syn. IV. Rom. s. palmari. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 284ss.)

d) L. III. Ep. 65. ad Mauric. *e*) L. XIII. Ep. 31. ad Phocam.

f) *Gerbert*, de cantu et musica sacra. Bamb. et Frib. 1774. Th. I. p. 247ss. *D. Antony*, archaeol. Lehrb. d. Gregorian KGesangs. Münst. 1829. 4.

since been distinguished. To the sacrament of the Lord's Supper especially, he gave the essential character of a sacrifice of the *Mass*, (*g*) and thoroughly imbued the popular mind with the notion of a *Purgatory*. If he did not authorize the burning of the Palatine library, he certainly had a great contempt for worldly science and literature, and thought it a shame for the word of God to be restrained by the rules of Donatus. (*h*) In his practical works he has done quite as much to promote in the whole Western Church a blind ecclesiastical credulity as an intense zeal in behalf of the Church. He was full of passionate ardor to promote the kingdom of Christ, but that kingdom was identical with that of the Pope. His successors sometimes acknowledged their allegiance to the emperor, but it was only when they were compelled to do so. When contending for the faith, and about images, they never hesitated to exclude even the monarch and the patriarchs of his court from the communion of the Church.

§ 131. *General Councils and the Catholic Church.*

The Synods of the Patriarchal and Metropolitan dioceses continued to be the regular authorities for legislation and superior jurisdiction. The efforts of the Church to attain general unity rendered it indispensable, that as far as political circumstances would allow, deputies of the whole Church should be assembled for deciding theological controversies. These general assemblies of the Church were in fact composed only of bishops residing within the Roman empire, and their organization was much influenced by the caprice of the emperor and the patriarchs; but as the main body of the Catholic Church was found within the empire, and bishops from countries called barbarian were admitted to seats, these assemblies were looked upon as the proper representatives of the Catholic Church. (*a*) Near the close of the fourth century they therefore received the name of Œcumenical Synods, although it was sometimes difficult to distinguish them from other orthodox synods. Seven of these synods, in fact, gradually attained the authority of œcumenical assemblies, and to these in the West was added the Synod of Sardica, and in the Greek Church the Second Trullan Synod. The primary object for which they were assembled was to determine theological questions, but they also formed canons upon various legal subjects, and when occasion called for it, they were the highest judicatories of the Church. Legal questions were decided by a majority of votes, but in matters of faith, unanimity was secured by an exclusion of the dissenting minority. The ultimate decisions were disregarded by those whose consciences were violated by them. No one could pretend that all of them were true, as in the fourth century synods were arrayed against each other. A celebrated bishop entirely despaired of them, (*b*) and even less passionate teachers acknowledged, that when the spirit of the Church should become more perfectly developed, a

g) *Greg.* L. sacramentorum de circulo anni s. Sacramentarium. Ordo et canon missae Gregorianus in the Codex liturg. Ecc. Rom. cur. *H. A. Daniel*, Lps. 1847.—*Lilienthal*, de canone missae Gregoriano Lugd. 1740.

h) Ep. ad. Leandr. prefixed to the Expositio in Jobum.

a) *Euseb.* Vita Const. III, 7. *b*) *Greg. Naz.* Ep. 55. ad. Procop. (Th. I. p. 814.)

better expression of it might be expected from the Synods. (*c*) But even at Chalcedon the decisions of the Nicæan Fathers were looked upon as an immutable law, expressed by the divine Spirit himself. (*d*) Past ages were not supposed to possess any authority greater than the present. Hence, from about the time of the fifth œcumenical council, it was generally supposed that every such œcumenical council, in matters of faith, declared the truth in an infallible form in consequence of the Holy Spirit especially bestowed upon the bishops. In these general assemblies the Catholic Church felt itself to be what it was so anxious to be, viz.: The divine kingdom of Christ on earth, the only source of truth and salvation, pervading, indeed, the whole earth, but constituting a single external community, independent of all civil power, and directed according to ecclesiastical laws by the Holy Ghost through the bishops.

CHAP. IV.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

§ 132. *Religious Spirit of the People and Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

An earnest struggle was for some time kept up between primitive abstemiousness and hostility to the world on the one hand, and the worldly-mindedness which had now entered the Church and those means by which it sought gratification on the other. Plays, dances, oaths, and loans upon usury, were declared to be sinful. But as a complete renunciation of the world was found to be impossible in the new circumstances of the Church, a higher system of morality was devised for those who would be perfect, and were willing to practise unnatural self-denials, and another of a lower nature, in which many indulgences were allowed, was formed for ordinary Christians. The former system ran great risks in consequence of the pride and hypocrisy which were soon found to be incidental to it. From a nobler spirit of dissimulation, some persons of an eccentric character quietly submitted, or sometimes gave occasion to evil reports. (*a*) The practical wisdom tolerated by the lower system was debased by the consciousness of its own imperfection. Even marriage was looked upon as belonging to this lower condition. There was some doubt whether it should be regarded as a necessary evil in general, or as an inviolable sacrament, but second marriages were condemned, and in the West, after the fifth century, the marriage of a divorced person was punished as adultery. (*b*) External forms, such as fasting, almsgiving, and prayers, without reference to the internal spirit which produced them, were regarded as meritorious and expiatory. The object of education was the attainment of the most humble submission to authority, and the ideal of all excellence was the mortifications and conflicts of the saints. The means of grace were often used as mere charms, and heathenish superstitions of every

c) *Athanas.* de synod. Arim. et Seleuc. c. 43. (Th. I. p. 917.) *Augustin*, de bapt. c. Donatist. II, 3. (*Gratian:* c. 8. D. X.) c. Maximin. Arian. II, 14, 3.

d) *Conc. Chalced.* actio 1. (*Mansi* Th. VI. p. 672.) Respecting Nicæa, Constantine in *Socrat.* I. 9. *Isidor. Pelus.* L. IV. Ep. 99.

a) *Evagr.* II. ecc. IV, 33. *b*) *Innocent I.* Ep. 6, c. 6. Comp. *Conc. Milevit.* a. 416. c. 17.

kind remained in full force. We already find traces of the belief that men could form a compact with the devil, from which no penitence could obtain deliverance but through the goodness of the holy Virgin. (*c*) But even in this time of general helplessness the world was full of miracles. Christianity was frequently a mere subject of controversy and of entertainments, and yet people took part in ecclesiastical affairs with an earnestness and activity which amounted to absurdity. (*d*) Brotherly love was no longer the peculiar badge of the Christian community, and an observing pagan remarks, that even wild beasts were not more furious against each other than were the Christians of his day. (*e*) The Church had no remedy for this general corruption of social life, and for the luxury and extreme refinement which were side by side with popular misery and universal servility. Indeed, it was itself rapidly becoming swallowed up in the general abyss of the Roman empire. Many were raised by it above the feeling of this relaxation of all public relations, and made to participate in the liberty of the kingdom of the Spirit. The severity of the ancient discipline was gradually made to yield to new circumstances by numerous dispensations, but a multitude of minor penances were introduced and regulated by a well-arranged penal code. In the East the confession of secret sins was left to the option of each individual, and public opinion became inflexibly opposed to auricular confession, on account of certain flagrant crimes known to have been connected with it. (*f*) In the West, confession was more and more regarded as indispensable to forgiveness, but after Leo's time this might be made in the ear of a priest bound to secresy. (*g*)

§ 133. *Celibacy and Moral Condition of the Clergy.*

Theiner, vol. 1. (§ 9. note *b*.) *Carové*. Betracht. d. Coel. part 1. Samml. d. Coelibatsgesetze. part 2. Frkf. 1832. f. [*J. Taylor*, Ancient Christianity. Philad. 1840. 8.]

A larger number of synodal enactments were published against the marriage of priests after their ordination, but in the East, when even bishops had been married before ordination, they were generally unmolested. When a new law on this subject was proposed at Nicaea, *Paphnutius*, an aged confessor and a rigid ascetic who had never touched a woman, so powerfully defended the chastity and sanctity of the marriage state, that the liberty which had always been customary in this matter was confirmed, (*a*) and the Oriental Church even anathematized those who rejected a married priest. (*b*) The right of a clergyman to live with a wife whom he had married before his ordination, and who had been a free and spotless virgin before her marriage, was also recognized and confirmed by the Trullan Synod, but the bishops were required to separate themselves from their wives. (*c*) In the West,

c) *Aemil. Sommer*, de Theophili cum diab. foedere. Ber. 1844.

d) *Greg. Nyss.* Or. de Deitate Filii. (Th. I. p. 466s.) *e*) *Ammian. Marcell.* XXII, 5.

f) *Socrat.* II. ecc. V, 19.

g) *Leon.* Ep. 168. c. 2. (Opp. p. 1430s.)—*Dallaeus*, de sacramentali s. auriculari Latinor. confessione. Gen. 1661. 4. *Boileau*, Hist. conf. auric. Par. 1684. *Klee*, d. Beichte. Frkf. 1828.

a) *Socrat.* II. ecc. I, 11. *Sozom.* II. ecc. I, 23.

b) *Socrat.* II, 43. *Syn. Gangr.* a. 362–370. c. 4. (*Mansi* Th. II. p. 1096.) comp. *Can. apost.* 5.

c) *Syn. Trull.* can. 3. 6. 13.–12.

after the time of Siricius, Bishop of Rome (385), the provincial synods declared that none but subdeacons should be allowed to have wives, (*d*) and gradually the celibacy of the clergy was universally demanded. Human laws, however, were comparatively ineffectual when opposed to the very nature of man. Although persons of an elevated spirit among the clergy maintained the same contempt of the world which had formerly prevailed, and were rewarded and prompted to do so by the honor of their order, many low-minded men were attracted by the wealth and honors of the Church, and lived in hypocrisy, or in open devotion to worldly pleasure. These looked upon the performance of outward worship as the sole business of the priesthood, and changed their creed according to the imperial mandate. *Salvianus* wrote a satire against the covetousness of such priests, in which he exhorted every one to purchase salvation in this easy way by a proper payment for his sins. (*e*) But dark as was the picture of this corruption, painted by the ecclesiastical teachers themselves, the very indignation which these express against it, the ideal of the true priesthood which they held up, and the acknowledgment which these received among their contemporaries, prove that even exalted virtues were esteemed and found among the clergy. (*f*) When the barbarians overran the country, the priests were not only ready to administer consolation and deliverance to their people in the performance of their official duties, but to surrender their lives for their religion. (*g*)

§ 134. *Monastic Life in the East. Cont. from* § 65.

Palladii (d. about 420), Hist. Lausiaca. *Theodoreti*, φιλόθεος ἱστορία ἢ ἀσκητικὴ πολιτεία. *Socrat.* IV, 23ss. *Sozom.* I, 12–14. III, 14. VI, 28–34. Lives of the monastic saints, and many letters by Hieronymus. *Cassianus.* (§ 12.) [*S. P. Day*, Monastic Institutions, their Origin, Progress, &c. 2 ed. Lond. 1846. 112.]

From the ethical system which required a renunciation of the world, was produced monasticism. The necessity of having some society induced the hermits to assemble in cloisters (κοινόβιον, μάνδρα, claustrum), and the bishops were favorable to an institution by means of which order and supervision became practicable. *Pachomius*, a disciple of Anthony, first established monasteries for each sex on the island of Tabenna in the Nile (about 340), and the same thing was subsequently done by *Amun* in the desert of Nitra, by *Hilarion* in the desert of Gaza, and by *Basil* the *Great* near New Caesarea. Every convent was governed by rules imposed upon it by its founder, but most of these required unconditional submission to the will of the superior (ἡγούμενος, ἀρχιμανδρίτης, ἀββᾶς), a complete surrender of all private will and possessions, a mortification of the sensual nature, and a life entirely devoted to God and to divine things. Their time was wholly taken up with pious exercises and easy manual employments. The tortures which they inflicted on themselves when battling with the temptations of an excited

d) *Siricii*, Ep. ad Himerium c. 7–9. (*Constant.* p. 630ss.)

e) Adv. avaritiam l. IV. (about 450.) Opp. ed. *Baluz.* Ven. 1728.

f) *Gregor. Naz.* εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ ἐπισκόπων. Comp. *Ullmann*, Greg. v. Naz. p. 521ss.

g) *Socrat.* VI, 6. *Sozom.* VIII, 4. *Theodoret.* V, 33. *Victor Vit.* et *Vig. Taps.* Opp. 1664. 4. p. 9. *Niceph.* XIII, 6.

fancy, frequently exceeded the requirements of their rule, and sometimes terminated in suicide or insanity. From the suppression of the natural, proceeded unnatural passions. A return to the world was not impossible, but it was threatened with ecclesiastical penances. After the time of Basil, the opinion generally prevailed, that the marriage of a virgin espoused to God was not only adulterous, but void. Some eminent teachers were opposed to this view, (*a*) and there were even some married monks. (*b*) None but the abbots were usually ordained as priests, and in some instances these took rank by the side of the bishops, their monasteries being looked upon as congregations of laymen. But after a brief resistance on the part of the rigid class, (*c*) the convents became the ordinary seminaries of the clergy. This divine philosophy was so generally received, that cities became solitary and deserts full of people. The burden of the declining state was not felt within the cloister's walls, noble minds were attracted by the magnanimity of a bold renunciation of the world, and what was then regarded as the most exalted state could not be found in the world. In the hands of the more violent bishops, the monks became an easily excited host, which in their contests with pagans and heretics often controlled the hearts and clubs of the populace, and feared neither the imperial despotism, nor the laws, nor human nature itself.

§ 135. *Hermits. Simeon Stylites.*

Sozom. VI, 28-34. *Rufini* Vitae Patrum s. Hist. eremitica. In the 2d vol. of the Vitae Patrum, ed. *Rosweidius*, Antw. (1615.) 1628. f. In the Protestant selection: Vitae P. repurgatae p. *G. Majorem* c. praef. *Lutheri*, Vit. 1544.—*Theodoreti*, Hist. religios. c. 26. *Evagr.* II. ecc. I, 13. Life of Simeon, by his pupil *Antonius* (Acta Sanctor. Jan. vol. I. p. 261ss.) and his contemporary *Cosmas* (*Assemani* Acta Mart. P. II. p. 268ss.)

Not only might the nuns reside in the cloister, but they were sometimes allowed even to remain in their father's house, or in the dwelling of a priest (§ 64). The ordinary home of the monks was in the desert. The Anachorets either entered into some fellowship with a neighboring monastery, or remained solitary until some of them became half savages. In the lives of those *primitive fathers* who were the idols of popular tradition, we meet with exalted virtues and heroic self-tortures carried to such an extreme, that human dignity and propriety were annihilated. We sometimes find a wisdom which seems almost supernatural, and sometimes the pious simplicity of an ecclesiastical mountebank like Paul the Simple.* *Simeon*, a Syrian, either invented a new kind of life, or imitated that which prevailed among the Indian penitents. When a boy, he forsook his flock, and more than once was saved from a fanatical suicide in the convent. For thirty years, on a pillar near Antioch (after 420), as a mediator between heaven and earth, he preached repentance to the astonished multitudes that gathered around him. He became an umpire and an apostle to the wild Arab tribes, and gave counsel, and even dictated laws to an emperor. He had imitators as late as the

a) *Epiph.* haer. 61, 7. *August.* de bono viduit. c. 10. Comp. *Cypr.* Ep. 62.
b) *August.* de haer. c. 40. *c*) *Cassian.* de instit. coenobb. XI, 17.
* General view of the accounts in *Tillemont.* Th. VII. p. 144ss.

twelfth century, but while many endured his tortures, few attained the spirit or the reputation of his life.

§ 136. *Monasticism in the West. Benedictines.*

Hieron. and *Cassian.* (§ 134.) *Ducherii* et *Mabillonii* Acta Sanctor. Ord. S. Bened. (till 1100.) 1668–1701. 9 Th. f. *Mabillonii* Annales Ord. S. Bened. (till 1157. Par. 1703–39.) Luc. 1739–45. 6 Th. f. In the Praef. Sacc. I. p. 7: Obss. de monachis in Occid. ante Benedictum.—Gesch. d. Benedictinerord. *A. Spittler's* Vorles. v. Gurlitt. Hamb. 1823. 4. [Article in Edinburgh Rev. for Jan. 1849, in Eclectic Magazine for April, 1849.]

Monasticism became known in the West through the followers of Athanasius. At first it was looked upon with astonishment, ridiculed or abhorred, but in a short time it was extensively propagated through the influence of Martin of Tours and Cassian in Gaul, of Ambrose and Jerome in Italy, and of Augustine in Africa. *Martinus*, Bishop of Turonum (373–400), was the saint of his people, was able to recognize Satan even in the form of the Saviour, and according to his disciples, possessed power to suspend or confirm the laws of the universe. He was carried to his grave by two thousand monks. (*a*) At first, those rules were adopted which had been devised in the East, but it was soon found that the privations of the desert were not suited to a Gallican stomach and winter. (*b*) *Benedict* of *Nursia*, who had dreamed away his youth in the grotto of Subiaco, and had been looked upon as a saint by the mountain shepherds, established in the wilderness of *Monte Cassino* (529) a society of monks, whose mild but well-arranged rules and inviolable vows soon united most of the Western monasteries into a perfectly organized community, and bound them to a useful course of life. (*c*) Already, in Martin's establishment, the disciples had been employed in the labor of copying books. (*d*) So when *Cassiodorus* escaped from the storms of his political life, and found refuge (538) in his convent of Vivarium, he directed the attention of the monks to literary pusuits. (*e*) The Benedictines preserved the monuments of antiquity for a more cultivated age, made the deserts fertile, and became the instructors of the people. The convents were placed under the supervision of the bishops within whose diocese they were, but these had no power to violate the constitution of the order. A few monasteries attempted to escape the jurisdiction or the oppression of their bishop, by putting themselves under the care of some distinguished bishop at a distance.

§ 137. *Veneration for Saints.*

In an age when people quietly enjoyed all that they possessed, those centuries in which painful struggles had been endured were looked upon as heroic, and those heroes who had purchased victory with their blood were invested with a growing splendor in the grateful recollections of subsequent generations. The pious respect which all felt for their earthly remains, in the course of time, and through the influence of Egyptian customs and hea-

a) *Sulpicii Sev.* de vita B. Martini L. et Epp. *Greg. Tur.* de miracc. S. Mart.
b) *Sulpicii Sev.* Dial. I, 8. *Cassian.* de instit. coen. I, 11.
c) Legends: *Gregorii M.* Dialog. l. II. Rule: *Holsten.* Th. I. p. 111ss.
d) *Sulp.* Vita Mart. c. 10. *e*) Institt. ad div. lect. (§ 119. note *g*.)

thenish superstitions, became exaggerated into a veneration for their bones, many of which were discovered by special miracles and revelations. So lucrative finally became the traffic in these relics, that various laws were formed against it. People took delight in other and strange relics which had been in any way connected with the daily lives of former saints. Public prayers for the martyrs were gradually changed into prayers to them as intercessors with God. The same feeling which had induced their heathen ancestors to deify men, now led them to regard the saints as subordinate deities. Some were honored only in those localities in which they had lived, or in which their relics were preserved, but others in much larger circles. Whole orders and nations attached themselves to particular saints, and others were made to preside over certain kinds of assistance. The heathen had some occasion for ridiculing Christians on the ground that their religion had become paganized. Agrippa's cheerful Pantheon, once dedicated to Jupiter and all the gods, was now consecrated to the Mother of God and all the martyrs (608). As soon as the Nestorian controversy had decided that the Virgin had given birth to God, she was placed at the head of the saintly host. Epiphanius, on the one hand, points out those as heretics (Ἀντιδικομαριανῖται) who believed that Mary had been the mother of several children after the birth of our Saviour, and on the other calls a female sect (Κολλυριδιανοί) which bestowed divine honors upon her by the offering of a cake, the priestesses of the Mother of God. (*a*) Though all were not agreed upon the subject, it was generally believed that her virginity was unimpaired even when she brought forth offspring. Prayers were also addressed to *angels*, especially as it seemed unsuitable that they should be regarded as inferior to the saints. (*b*) Some persons who had been objects of devout admiration during their lives, on account of their exalted or at least singular piety, were placed by their contemporaries on an equality with the martyrs. In acknowledging these as saints, the bishops only expressed the popular will. Such a veneration, often amounting even to adoration, did indeed put imperfect mediators, with their generally overwrought virtues, in the place of Christ, but it preserved in its freshness a poetic recollection of the illustrious examples of better times. From the very nature of these recollections, they could never attain their complete significance until they had been reproduced in popular legends and stories. Thus *St. Agnes* with her lamb became the type of pious virginity, (*c*) just as *Christopher* had become the type of a dauntless manhood, when he made diligent search among all the great men of the earth, that he might serve only the greatest, and finally found what he desired in the child Jesus. (*d*) Even the soil which our Lord once trod became an object of devotion on account of recollections of him. Beneath a temple of Venus was discovered the grave of the risen Saviour, and over the spot Constantine erected the Church of the Resurrection. (*e*) His mother Helena

a) *Epiph.* haer. 78 et 79.—*Münter*, de Collyrid. fanaticis saec. IV. (Miscell. Hafn. 1818. Th. I. Fasc. 2.)

b) *Ambros.* de viduis 9, 55. comp. *Justin.* Apol. I. c. 6.

c) *Tillemont.* Th. V. p. 344ss. *d*) Review of the Legends: Annalen d. Theol. 1834. Nov.

e) *Euseb.* Vita Const. III, 25–40.

had herself baptized in the Jordan (326), and it was near the close of this century that the legends first delighted the hearts of men by revealing the sacred cross, which has since been preserved unimpaired in spite of the removal from it of innumerable pieces. (*f*) Annually, at Easter, pilgrims assembled out of all countries around the sacred sepulchre.

§ 138. *Public Worship.*

The outward forms of religion became gradually more and more imposing. From the ancient temples the incense and many ancient customs of heathenism were transferred to the churches. (*a*) By the use of tapers and perpetual lamps, the solemnity of nocturnal festivals was combined with the light of day. In some places a piece of metal was struck by a hammer to call the people together, but in the seventh century *bells* were used for that purpose. Soon after, in face of continual opposition to all instrumental music, the organ (ὄργανον), worthy of being the invention of a saint who had listened to the minstrelsy of angels, was brought to Italy from Greece. (*b*) *Church music* in alternate parts had been extended in every direction from Antioch, and had been much improved, especially in the West, after the time of Ambrosius. (*c*) In the Greek Church the principal part of public service consisted in the sermon, though it was often only a rhetorical amusement rewarded by clapping of hands. From looking upon the *Lord's Supper* as a eucharist, men gradually passed to regard it as an expiatory sacrifice, and we find in some uncertain figures of speech, intimations of a change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. *Love-feasts* long survived the renunciation of the ecclesiastical family life which had first given occasion for them, and now took the form of repasts for the poor, prepared by the whole Church, but with only a few local exceptions they were regarded, even in the commencement of the fifth century, as an antiquated custom. As baptism was generally administered to infants, and in a public assembly, and as Christianity had now become universal, every thing like Christian mysteries had been gradually laid aside, although some expressions (missa catechumenorum et fidelium) derived from them still remained. A monkish custom, in imitation of the priests of Isis, who tried to assume the appearance of slaves by shaving their heads, was so far adopted by the clergy of the fifth century in the Roman Church, that they merely made bare the crown of the head (tonsura Petri). Particular kinds of vestments were also adopted by the clergy for their various orders and different sacred services. A white woollen cloak, like the holiday costume of the Greek bishops (ὠμοφόριον. pallium), was sent, after the sixth century, by the popes to the individual bishops of the West as a token of special honor and of connection with the apostolic see. In the sev-

f) According to different accounts: *Sozom.* II, 1. (counterfeit letter of Cyril to Constantius.) *Ambros.* Or. de obitu Theodosii. *Paulini Nolani* Ep. 31. (al. 11.) comp. *J. Dallaeus*, adv. Latinorum de cultus rel. objecto traditionem. Gen. 1664. 4. p. 704s.

a) According to *Mussard* and *Middleton: Blunt*, Vestiges of Anc. Manners and Customs discoverable in Mod. Italy and Sicily. Lond. 1823.

b) *Chrysander*, hist. Nachr. v. KOrgeln. Rint. 1755. *J. Antony*, Gesch. Darst. d. Entst. u. Vervollk. d. Orgel. Münst. 1832. *c*) § 130. note *f*.

enth century, Western bishops carried with them the ring and staff. (*d*) On *Sunday*, Constantine ordered that all worldly employments should cease, except works of necessity in the field, and the manumission of slaves. The Roman festival of the *birth of Jesus*, on the twenty-fifth of December, was adopted also in the East in the time of Chrysostom. (*e*) Epiphany was then observed as a celebration of Christ's baptism, and in the West had a reference to the Magi as the first fruits of the heathen world. The judaizing *Passover* having been condemned at Nicaea, those who observed it in Asia Minor were regarded as heretics (Τεσσαρεςκαιδεκατῖται, Quartodecimani.) (*f*) The time for the festival of Easter was announced at Alexandria, though sometimes different days were observed in different provinces. The great *Fast* before Easter was prescribed by the Church, and even the civil law required that it should be regarded as a time for quiet reflection, though the number of days included in it was not uniform. (*g*) Some traces of a pious preparation for Christmas (adventus) appear in the seventh century. The fortieth day of Pentecost was selected in the fourth century for the commemoration of the *Ascension* of Christ (*ἑορτὴ τῆς ἀναλήψεως.*) (*h*) In the other festivals was exhibited the new spirit which had become prevalent in that age: *Lady-days*, including the feast of the English Annunciation (*ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ*, annuntiationis, March 25th), and that of the churching of women (purificationis, Feb. 2d); (*i*) a festival of *All Martyrs*, which occurs in the Greek Church on the Sunday after Pentecost, and of *All Saints*, which is observed in the Roman Church on the 1st of November, the celebration of the First Martyrs (Dec. 26th), and a festival for martyrs and children referring to the massacre of the children of Bethlehem (Dec. 28th). The heavenly birth-days (deaths) of Peter and Paul (June 29th) were observed with peculiar solemnity, especially in Rome. With similar pomp was observed there a festival in honor of *St. Peter's chair* (Feb. 22d), which originally commemorated the establishment of the Roman see, but being connected with the ancient Roman feast for the dead (Feb. 19th), finally degenerated into a sacrificial feast for the dead. The only festival yet observed in honor of the natural birth of any saints, was that of John the Baptist, on the day of the year in which the days began to shorten. (*k*) The yearly festival of the recovered cross (Sept. 14th), called the *Elevation of the Cross*, was not sufficient to inspire men with courage to defend the holy sepulchre. In contrast with the heathenish festivities practised at the commencement of the secular year, the Church at first set apart that time for fasting; but in the seventh century, *New Year's day* was in some places connected with Christmas, and celebrated as the Feast of the Circumcision. The Church usually commenced the year with Easter, though in some instances at a later period it was dated

d) *J. du Tour*, de origine, antiquit. et sanctit. vestium sacerdotalium. Par. 1662. 4. *Pertsch*, de orig., usu et auctorit. pallii. Hlmst. 1754. 4. *J. A. Schmid*, de annulo pastorali. Hlmst. 1705. 4.

e) *Planck*, variar. de orig. festi nat. Chr. sententt. epicrisis. Gott. 1796. 4.

f) *Euseb.* Vita Const. III, 18. comp. 14. *Socrat.* I, 9. *Conc. Antioch.* can. 1. 7.

g) *Dallaeus*, de jejuniis et quadragesima. Daventr. 1654. 12.

h) *Horn.* Alter d. H. F. Festes. (*Wagnitz*, lit. Journ. 1806. vol. V. sect. 3.)

i) *Schmidt*, proluss. Marianae c. praef. *Moshemii*. Hlmst. 1733. 4. *Lambertini*, de J. C. Matrisque festis. Patav. 1751. Bonn. 1766. f. *k*) *Augustini* Hom. 287. comp. Jo. 3, 30.

from Advent. Every church celebrated the day of its original consecration, and the days on which their patron saints died.

§ 139. *Ecclesiastical Architecture and Works of Sacred Art.*

Pomp. Sarnelli, antica Basilicografia. Neap. 1686. 4. *J. Fabricii*, Or. de templis vet. Christt. Hlmst. 1704. 4. *Guttensohn e Knapp*, Monum. di rel. christ. ossia raccolta delle antiche chiese di Roma dal quarto Sec. Rom. 1822ss. 3 vols. f. *Platner* u. *Röstell*, Roms Basiliken. (Beschr. d. Stadt Rom. vol. I. p. 417ss.) (*Bunsen*) Die Basiliken d. christl. Rom. München. 1843. f.—*Muratori*, de templor. apud vet. christt. ornatu. (Anecdota. Th. I. p. 175ss.) *J. G. Müller*, bildl. Darst. im Sanctuarium d. Kirchen v. 5. b. 14. Jahrh. Lintz. 1835.—*Augusti*, Beiträge z. chr. KunstGesch. 1841. vol. I. 1846. vol. II. [*H. G. Knight*, Eccles. Arch. of Italy from Const. to 15th cent. 2 vols. Lond. 1844. *Brown*, Sacred Architecture, its rise, prog. &c. Lond. 1846. 4. *F. Close*, Church Arch. from the earliest ages to the present time. Lond. 1850. 12.]

Immediately after the time of Constantine sprung up in all parts of the empire a desire as well as a necessity of building churches. They were generally erected over the graves of the martyrs, in the form and with the name of the *Basilica*. This was an oblong parallelogram divided lengthwise by double or quadruple rows of pillars, and terminating in a semicircular hall (*βῆμα*. Sanctuarium). Immediately upon these pillars rested a beam, which in wealthy churches was overlaid with brass, or a second row of pillars with arcades (S. Agnese), and above these a rather flat gable-roof. Before the entrance was a quadrangular court (atrium, paradisus), surrounded with colonnades, and with a fountain in the centre. (*a*) The division of the main body of the church by a partition into an exterior and interior apartment (*νάρθηξ* and *ναός*), was probably common only while the penitents were kept apart from the congregation, and the catechumens were numerous. In some churches, at a later period, the exterior hall became properly a porch. In the sanctuary, separated from the other parts by lattice-work and curtains, stood the main altar, behind which were the seats for the priests, with the episcopal throne in the centre. Before the altar was an elevated choir for the singers, by the side of which was a pulpit (*ἄμβων*) or two. Smaller churches, and in general baptisteries, were in the Roman temple-form of the *Rotunda*, surrounded by pillars in the interior, and on the outside by a gable-screen upon pillars. When architecture had attained a more perfect Christian character, the foundation of the Basilica gradually assumed the form of the cross (S. Paolo, 386.) This was either the Latin cross, when the longest arm formed the nave, or the Greek cross, when all the arms were equal, and by connection with the rotunda, a cupola spanned the intersection in a hemispherical vault, so as to be an image of the heavens. The church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, as it was built by Justinian after the conflagration (538), is the principal monument of this style. Pillars and other ornaments were frequently taken from the heathen temples. The walls especially of the sanctuary were adorned with figures in mosaic. These were for a short time opposed, but they finally triumphed, not so much on account of any enthusiasm for the arts, as from the general tendency of men's minds in public worship. Statues, however, were always excluded from the oriental churches. Modern art still retained some of the skill which belonged to

a) *Euseb.* II. ecc. X, 4.

antiquity. But a pious veneration at an early period produced an invariable tradition, that our Lord should be represented as *Salvator*, and the apostles with a serious and dignified aspect, in ancient Roman costume. The Mother with her child was painted after the Nestorian controversy. Crucifixes appear in the seventh century. Subjects for the arts were generally taken from sacred history, but sometimes the lives and sufferings of the saints, and even of living persons, were chosen. (*b*) In opposition to all representations of the Father, it was alleged that he was visible only in the Son. (*c*) The Trullan Council decided against the ancient representation of Christ as a lamb. (*d*) It was, however, a fundamental principle of all Christian art, that the visible was to be only a type of the invisible. Pictures or images were to be a substitute for books to those who could not read. But before this, Augustine had complained of some who adored the image itself, and women excused their splendid garments by the plea that they were embroidered with scenes from sacred history.

§ 140. *Iconoclastic Controversy.*

I. Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum, coll. et illustr. a *M. Haiminsfeldio Goldasto*, Frcf. 1608. *Jo. Damasceni* Λόγοι ἀπολογητικοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας. (Opp. Th. I. p. 305ss.) *Nicephori* Breviar. Hist. (till 769.) ed. *Petavius*, Par. 1616. *Theophanes.* (§ 92.)

II. *Dallaeus*, de imaginib. Lugd. 1642. *Maimbourg*, Hist. de l'hérésie des Iconoclastes. Par. 1679. and 1683. 2 Th. 12. *Spanhemii* Hist. imaginum restituta. Lugd. 1686. (Opp. Th. II. I.) *Walch*, Ketzergesch. vol. X. XI. *F. L. Schlosser*, Gesch. d. Bilderstürm. Kaiser des oström. Reichs. Frkf. 1812.—*J. Marx*, d. Bilderstreit. d. byz. Kaiser. Trier. 1839.

A worship of certain persons was very intimately connected with a worship of their images. Some of these had been painted, as people generally believed, by apostolic hands, or had been miraculously sent down from heaven, and were therefore supposed to be worthy of adoration (*εἰκονολατρεία*). But the spirit of primitive Christianity which had always been so averse to artificial representations, and the spiritual view of it which had recently been revived by the reproaches of the votaries of Islam, soon took offence at what seemed a new form of heathenism. *Leo III.*, the *Isaurian*, had all images used for worship removed from the churches (726), and becoming irritated by opposition, he proceeded to destroy them (730). The pious sensibilities of the people were violently wounded by this proceeding (*εἰκονοκλασμός*). But while some, during the conflict, became possessed of an idolatrous and absurd regard for images, others had their hatred to them so much inflamed, that the persons represented by them became objects of contempt. It is not difficult, therefore, to perceive in this controversy a secret struggle between the friends of progress and the advocates of a sensuous devotion, between the Protestant and the Catholic principle. Political malcontents took advantage of these dissensions, and a military despotism was arrayed against the hierarchy. *Constantinus Copronymus* had a synod convened at *Constantinople* (754), which claimed to be œcumenical, and in obedience to the imperial requirement, rejected the use of images. (*a*) But the monks, in

b) *Paulin. Nolan.* Natal. Felicis carm. 9 et 10. *Ejusd.* Ep. 32.

c) *Grüneisen*, ü. bildl. Darst. d. Gotth. Stuttg. 1828. *d*) Can. 82.

a) The decrees may be learned from the Acts of the Second Nicaean Council. [*Landon's* Manual of Councils. p. 187.]

whose convents they were manufactured, placed themselves at the head of the popular party, and after some encouragements from the Roman bishop, raised an insurrection. A series of emperors, in fearful hostility to the feelings of the people, continued the struggle against images. Two empresses decided in favor of them: *Irene*, by whose direction the seventh œcumenical synod at *Nicaea* (787) recognized the propriety of image-worship, (*b*) and *Theodora*, who, after many vicissitudes in the struggle, proclaimed the victory of the image-worshippers (842), by appointing an annual festival in which the triumph of orthodoxy (ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας) should be commemorated.

CHAP. V.—OPPONENTS OF THE ORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM.

§ 141. *General View.*

As Catholicism became more and more developed, individual protests were heard against every departure of the Church from the simplicity of apostolical Christianity. This protesting spirit was shown sometimes by teachers of high standing, when they boldly reproved crimes committed in the Church, and advocated a spiritual worship instead of one which was merely external, and sometimes by men in inferior stations, but with a more decided and hostile opposition to the Church of their age. Among these we should distinguish between those parties which were striving to exceed the ordinary Church in strictness and purity, but which came down from earlier times, and those which had recently sprung up in opposition to the new tendency of the ecclesiastical spirit.

§ 142. *The Donatists.*

I. *Optatus Milevitanus* (about 368), de schismate Donatistarum, also, Monumenta vett. ad Donatist. Hist. pertinentia, ed. *L. E. Du Pin*, Par. 1700s. Augustine's Controv. Writing. Opp. Th. IX.

II. *Valesius*, de schism. Donatist. (following his edit. of Euseb.) Hist. Donatist. ex. *Norisianis* schedis excerpta. (*Norisii* Opp. edd. *Ballerini*, Veron. 1729ss. f. Th. IV.) *Walch*, Ketzergesch. vol. IV. *A. Roux*, de August. adversario Donatist. Lugd. B. 1838.

The schism of the Donatists was produced by those who favored a rigid and inexorable ecclesiastical discipline, in opposition to the lenient and prudent policy of the later Church, and those who longed for martyrdom. When Caecilianus, who as an archdeacon had been unfriendly to the confessors, was chosen Bishop of Carthage, and was ordained by a traditor (311), those who were opposed to him set up *Majorinus* as a rival bishop. The latter was succeeded by *Donatus*, called by his adherents the Great, who with his friend *Donatus* of Casae-nigra gave name to his party. In their views of the Church, and in the exclusiveness with which they administered baptism, this sect only adhered to the primitive African traditions. On their application to Constantine, a commission was appointed at Rome (313), and a synod was assembled at Arelate (314), to investigate their cause. In conformity with

b) *Conc. Nicaen.* II. Acts in *Mansi* Th. XII. p. 951.–XIII. p. 820. [Summary of them in *Landon*, p. 436.]

the decision of these bodies, severe laws were proclaimed by the emperor against them. But the peasants and some wandering tribes of Numidia and Mauritania (Agonistici, Circumcelliones), who had never really been subject to the Roman dominion, seized their clubs to avenge the conflagration of their churches, and the blood of some of their priests. With a wild love of slaughter, they maintained during the fourth century a predatory war with the Catholic Church and the Roman empire. *Augustine* endeavored to conciliate or to confute the milder portion of this party (411), but with little success. They were finally overcome by the Roman laws and legions, but not until individuals had struggled and suffered on till some time in the seventh century, and had shown the prodigious power which even a mistaken faith may exert over sincere, vigorous and gloomy dispositions.

§ 143. *Audians. Massalians.*

Audius broke off from the Church in Mesopotamia, because it paid no attention to his formal reproofs, and he finally established monastic communities in Scythia (about 340), which observed the passover according to the Jewish mode, and are said to have believed that God possesses a human form. (*a*) The Christian *Massalians* (מְצַלִּין, Εὐχῖται, in Armenia and Syria, after 360) held, that to overcome the evil disposition of the natural heart, it was necessary to pray internally without intermission; that all other means of grace were indifferent, and that labor was sinful. They wandered about and begged, refusing to hold any property of their own on earth. All traces of them disappear in the seventh century. (*b*)

§ 144. *Priscillianus.*

Sulpic. Sev. H. sacr. II, 46–51. III, 11ss. *Orosii* Commonitorium ad. Aug. de errore Priscillianistar. (Aug. Opp. Th. VIII.)—*Walch*, Ketzerhist. vol. III. p. 373ss. *S. van Vries*, de Priscillianistis. Traj. 1745. 4. *J. H. B. Lübkert*, de haeresi Priscillianistar. Hann. 1840.

Under Manichaean influence a Gnostic party more rigid than the Church was formed under Priscillianus (379), the object of which was, by unusual self-denials and efforts, to release the spirit from its natural life. At the Synod of *Caesar Augusta* (380), *Itacius*, a bishop, procured their condemnation, and obtained from the emperor *Gratian* a decree, according to which they were no longer to be tolerated on earth. But having gained the favor of the court, they began to think of persecuting their opponents, when Gratian was hurled from his throne by his general *Maximus*. The usurper gave his countenance to the party of Itacius, and Priscillian was summoned to Treves, where he was put to death by the sword (385). This was the first time in which the blood of a heretic was shed by the solemn forms of law. The Church was struck with horror at the act. The Priscillianists, roused to enthusiasm by the blood of their martyr, survived the persecution until some time in the sixth century.

a) *Epiph.* haer. 70. *Theodoret.* haer. fabb. IV, 10. H. ecc. IV, 9.
b) *Epiph.* haer. 80. *Theodoret.* haer. fabb. IV, 11. H. ecc. IV, 10. *Photii* cod. 52.

§ 145. *Protesting Ecclesiastical Teachers.*

Aerius, a presbyter in Sebaste, in opposition to his former friend and bishop *Eustathius*, taught that there was no essential distinction between bishops and presbyters; that fasts ordained by the authority of the Church were Jewish compulsory forms, and that prayers and alms were of no avail for the dead. This schism at Sebaste appears to have become extinct principally because the monastic ethics of Eustathius were rejected at the Synod of *Gangra* (between 362 and 370). (*a*) *Jovinianus*, a Roman ascetic, maintained that there was no difference before God between fasting and a pious enjoyment of food, nor between a state of celibacy and an honorable wedlock, and that a difference in good works presents no reason for expecting different degrees of reward. For these opinions he was expelled from the Church, first by his bishop *Siricius*, and then on the report of that prelate, by *Ambrosius* of Milan, to whom he had applied for redress (about 388). (*b*) *Vigilantius*, a native of Gaul and a presbyter in Barcelona, in an eloquent treatise denounced the ecclesiastical superstition of honoring deceased persons as idolatry, vigils as occasions for licentiousness, and vows of chastity as temptations to unnatural lusts, and maintained that it was far more Christian to use in a wise and beneficent way the property which had been inherited, than to cast it away as a burden. He was favored by his bishop and some neighboring prelates, but Hieronymus defended against him the customs of the Church with all his accustomed asperity. (*c*)

§ 146. *History of the Paulicians. Sect. I.*

I. *Petrus Siculus* (about 870) ἱστορία περὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως Μανιχαίων τῶν καὶ Παυλικιανῶν λεγομένων, gr. et lat. ed. *Raderus*, Ingolst. 1604. 4. *Gieseler*, Gott. 1846. 4. *Photius*, περὶ τῆς Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως, (*Wolfii* Anecdot. gr. Hamb. 1722. Th. I. II. & *Gallandii* Bibl. Th. XIII.) *Jo. Damasc.* Διάλογος κατὰ Μανιχαίων. (Opp. Th. I. p. 428ss.) *Jo. Ozniensis*, Armeniorum Catholici, Or. c. Paulicianos, after 718. (Opp. ed. *Aucher*, Ven. 1834. Comp. *Windischmann* in d. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1835. P. 1. Formula receptionis Manich. (*Tollii* Insignia itin. Italici. p. 144ss.)

II. *Frid. Schmid*, Hist. Paulicianorum orientalium. Hafn. 1826. (*Engelhardt*) Die Paulic. (Winers u. Engelh. Journ. 1827. vol. VII. Part 1. 2.) *Gieseler*, ü. d. Paulic. (Stud. u. Krit. 1829. vol. II. P. 1.)

Constantine, from the neighborhood of Samosata, and connected with a Gnostic congregation at Cibossa in Armenia, found in the perusal of the New Testament a world unknown, and became animated with the hope (about 660), of bringing back a state of things like that which had prevailed in the Apostolic Church. He assumed the name of *Sylvanus*, and called those communities which acknowledged him as a Reformer, Pauline congregations. By their opponents they were called Paulicians (at first according to I. Cor. 1, 12);

a) *Epiph.* haer. 75. Gangra: *Mansi* Th. II. p. 1095ss. comp. *Socrat.* II, 43. [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. IV.]

b) *Sirici* Ep. ad diversos Episc. adv. Jovin. (*Constant.* p. 663ss.) *Ambrosii* Rescript. ad Siric. (*Ib.* p. 670ss.) *Hieron.* l. II. adv. Jovin. (392.) *Augustin.:* De haer. c. 82. De bono conjugali. De s. virginit.

c) *Hieron.* Ep. 37. ad Ripuarium a. 404. and Liber adv. Vigil. a. 406. (Th. IV.) *Gennadii* de vir. illustr. c. 35.—*J. G. Walch*, de Vig. haeretico-orthodoxo. Jen. 1756. (*Pottii* Syll. Cmtt. theol. Th. VII.) *G. B. Lindner*, de Jovin. et Vigil. puriori doctr. antesignanis. Lps. 1840.

but they themselves acknowledged no name but that of Christians, and applied the title of Romans to the Catholics. They adhered to the Gnostic doctrines which maintained that the history of the world exhibits only the struggle between the good and the evil principles, that Judaism was the work of an inferior spirit, that the Old Testament was no part of the holy Scriptures (Jo. 10, 8), and that the conflict of the flesh with the spirit was in consequence of their creation by two different creators. Their principal attention however, was directed to a revival of apostolic and spiritual Christianity. On every subject they appealed to the New Testament as a sacred book for the people in the text used by the Church, but with the exclusion of the Epistles of Peter. They rejected all the external forms then in use, as the ecclesiastical system, fasts and monasticism, worship of saints and of Mary, crosses and relicts, and regarded baptism and the Lord's supper as only spiritual acts. Constantine was killed (about 684) by a traitor, but at the instigation of an imperial officer. The community always had a chief like him, and called after one of the companions of Paul, but neither he nor any of his fellow-pilgrims (*συνέκδημοι*) and scribes (*νοτάριοι*) exercised any hierarchical powers. As they were joined by some Manichaean congregations and were favored by the iconoclasts, the Paulicians spread over the extreme provinces of Asia, in spite of bloody persecutions from without, and their own internal divisions. Their principal city was Phanaroea in Helenopontus. Some of them considered it right to adopt the doctrines of the Church with an allegorical signification, and to submit to the external forms of the Catholic worship, on the ground that these might be beneficial to the body. The death of Constantine was so heroic that the very judge who condemned him, after some years, left the capital of that region to take his place. The reproach of unnatural licentiousness which was cast upon them may have been occasioned by their entire disregard of the Mosaic prohibitions with respect to consanguinity. It is, however, possible that their opposition to the law near the end of the eighth century, may have given occasion to a moral degeneracy, of which their overseer, *Baanes* (*ὁ ῥυπαρός*), may have been the most prominent specimen.

DIVISION II.—THE GERMANIC CHURCH.

§ 147. *Original Authorities.*

I. *Semler*, Vers. den Gebr. d. Quellen in d. Staats-u. KGesch. d. mittl. Zeiten zu erleichtern. Hal. 1761. *Rösler*, de annalium medii aevi condit. & de arte crit. in ann. Tüb. 1788s. 4. *Dahlmann*, Quellenkunde d. deutschen Gesch. Gott. (1830.) 1838.—*Meibomii* rer. Germ. Scriptores. Hlmst. 1688ss. 3 Th. f. *Leibnitz*, Scrr. rer. Brunsvic. illustrationi inservientes. Han. 1707ss. 3 Th. f. *Freheri* rer. Germ. Scrr. ed. *Struve*, Argent. 1717ss. 3 Th. f. *Harzhemii* Concilia Germ. (till 1747.) Col. 1759ss. 11 Th. f. *Ussermanni* Monumenta res Alemannicas illustr. Typis S. Blasian. 1790. 2 vols. 4. *Pertz*, Mon. Germ. historica. Han. 1826ss. 8 Th. f.—*Du Chesne*, Hist. Francor. Scrr. Par. 1636ss. 5 Th. f. *Bouquet-Dom Brial*, rer. Gallicar. et Franc. Scrr. Par. 1738–1833. 19 Th. f.—*Muratori*, rer. Ital. Scrr. Mediol. 1723ss. 21 Th. f.—*Eccard*, Corpus hist. medii aevi. Lps. 1723. 2 Th. f. 1) *Gregor. Turonens.* Hist. eccl. Francor. l. X. till 594, selected from & cont. by *Fredegar* till 641. ed. *Ruinart*, Par. 1699. f. (*Bouquet*, Th. II. p. 75.) *Beda Venerabilis*, Hist. eccl. gentis Anglor. l. V. till 731. Ed. *Jo. Smith*, Cantabr. 1722. f. *Stevenson*, Lond. 1838. [Bede's Eccles. Hist. with the Sax. Chron.

transl. into Engl. with notes, maps, &c. by *J. A. Giles*, Lond. 1845.] 2) *Jornandes*, de reb. Geticis till 540. Ed. *Fabric.* Hamb. 1706. f. (*Muratori* Th. I. P. I. p. 187.) *Isidor. Hisp.* Hist. Gothorum, Vandalorum, Suevorum till 625. Ed. *Rösler*, Tüb. 1803. 4. *Isidor. Pacens.* (about 754.) Chronicon. (*Henrique Florez*, España sagrada. Madr. 1742ss. Th. VIII. *Du Chesne* Th. I.) *Paulus Warnefridi, Diaconus*, de gestis Longobard. l. VI. till 744. (*Muratori* Th. I. P. I. p. 395.) 3) Annales rer. Francicarum: *Laurissenses* 741–829, revised & cont. since 788 by *Einhard*. (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 124.)

II. *Rühs*, Gesch. d. Mittelalt. Brl. 1816. *Hallam*, [State of Europe during the Middle Ages. Lond. 1846. 3 vols. 8. New York, 1847. 8.] *Luden*, Gesch. d. MA. Jen. 1821s. 2 vols. *Rehm*, Gesch. d. MA. Marb. 1821–35. 3 vols. *Leo*, Gesch. d. MA. Hal. 1830. 2 vols. *Moeller*, Précis de l'Hist. du moyen âge. Louv. 1841. *Gibbon* & *Schlosser* in their larger works.—*Wachsmuth*, europ. Sittengesch. Lps. 1831–33. 2 vols. *Charpentier*, Hist. littéraire du moyen âge. Par. 1833.—*R. v. Raumer*, die Einwirk. d. Christenth. a. d. Althochdeutsche Sprache. Stuttg. 1845. *F. W. Rettberg*, KGesch. Deutschlands. Gött. 1846. vol. I. [*F. Kohlrausch* Hist. of Germ. transl. by *J. D. Haas*. New York. 1847. 8. *J. J. Mascon*, Hist. of the Ancient Germans, transl. by *Lediard*, Lond. 1833. 2 vols. 4. *T. Greenwood*, First Book of the Hist. of the Germans: Barbaric Period. Lond. 1836. 4. *S. A. Dunham*, H. of Eur. during the Mid. Ages. Lond. 4 vols. 12. *W. Menzel*, H. of Germ. transl. by *G. Horrocks*. Lond. 1848. 3 vols. 12. *Guizot*, H. of Civilization. New York. 1840. 4 vols. 12.]

A picture of this age is especially to be found in some contemporary biographies (*a*) and letters (*b*) of persons prominent in the Church or State of that day. A vivid representation of German affairs, as they would appear to a Roman, is given by *Procopius*. (*c*) The German historical writers were exclusively clergymen, and confine their attention to their own respective nations, with only occasional glances at the affairs of others in the vicinity. *Gregory* of *Tours* (d. 595) and the *Venerable Bede* (d. 735) wrote ecclesiastical histories. The former, with an honest simplicity and an excessive faith, described a rude age as a warning to all who might be tempted to treat the Church with violence. (*d*) The latter collected together the original documents and traditions relating to the history of the English Church, as they existed among the clergy, and presented them in a learned style and in the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon Church, for the instruction of subsequent ages. *Jornandes* (Jordanis, about 550), a monk, possibly a bishop, but at an earlier period a private secretary, an Ostrogoth but not an Arian, wrote a history of his nation both in the East and in the West. His was the first German voice heard in the midst of the national migrations. His materials were principally derived from Roman authorities, and his notices of ecclesiastical affairs are not very abundant. *Paul* (d. 799), the son of *Warnefrid*, a monk of Montecassino, belonging to the literary circle around Charles the Great, collected and incorporated in his history of the Longobards, the lively traditions preserved among the people. Ecclesiastical subjects always seemed interesting to him, but he has introduced them but sparingly into his narrative. In the Annals of the convent of *Lorsch*, as well as in those of *Eginhard*, the exploits of the Frankish kings, and their relations to the Church, are recorded in a simple and concise style, but with respect to the principal facts in the animated language of interested witnesses.

a) Generally in *Pertz*. Th. I. II. *b*) Especially *Epp. Bonif.* & *Codex Carolinus.*

c) De bello Vandalico. De bello Gothico. Ed. *G. Dindorf*, Bonn. 1833. 2 vols.

d) *Löbell*, Gregor. v. Tours u. s. Zeit. Lpz. 1839. *C. G. Kries*, de Greg. Tur. Vita et Scriptis. Vrat. 1839.

CHAP. I.—ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 148. *Religion of the Germans.*

I. 1) *Taciti* Germ. c. 2. 9. 11. 27. 39. 40. 43. 45. Annal. XIII, 57. Hist. IV, 64. 2) Abrenuntiatio diaboli & Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, c. a. 743. (Epp. *Bonifac.* ed. *Würdtw.* p. 126ss. *Pertz* Th. III. p. 19s.) Capitulatio de partib. Sax. (*Walter*, Corp. jur. Germ. Th. II. p. 104ss.)

II. *Mone*, Gesch. d. Heidenth. im nördl. Europa. Lps. u. Darmst. 1822s. vol. II. p. 1–322. *Jac. Grimm*, Deutsche Mythologie. Gött. (1835.) 1840. *L. Uhland*, d. Mythus v. Thor. Stuttg. 1836. *G. Klemm*, Handb. d. germ. Alterthumskunde. Dresd. 1836. [*D. Mallet*, Northern Antiquities, Lond. 1848. 8.)

When the Germans first began to have intercourse with the Roman Empire, either as allies or as enemies, they were trained, not for civilization, but for military freedom. They were a bold, faithful, and chaste people, high-spirited whether in life or death, living by agriculture or by the sword, and addicted to no excesses but those of the table. Their women were admitted to equal privileges with themselves, and indeed were supposed to possess a peculiarly holy and prophetic character. Their history was preserved in oral traditions and poems. Their religion, as described by Tacitus, was a respectful awe in the presence of a mysterious power, which ruled over all things and was worshipped by all who spoke a common language, however variously apprehended by different tribes. In the ancient songs, *Thuisto*, a deity which sprung from the earth, and his son *Mannus*, the man, are extolled as the ancestors of the nation. The Semnones boasted that they were in possession of the most ancient sanctuary. There a divinity who ruled over all was worshipped in a forest so sacred that none could enter it but in fetters. The deputies of all the tribes belonging to the same race assembled there to celebrate a festival for the whole confederacy. On such an occasion a human being was offered up in sacrifice, as none but the most exalted being of earth appeared to them worthy of the Deity. Captives taken in war were generally the victims, and in extreme circumstances a whole hostile army was devoted to death. On an island of the ocean was a grove sacred to *Hertha* (Nerthus). At times her veiled chariot was drawn forth dispensing joy and peace among the people. On her return the goddess and her chariot were plunged into a mysterious sea, and all the slaves who had attended her were swallowed up in the waves. Other gods are mentioned by Tacitus, but with Roman names. There was a god of wisdom, another of power, another of war, and two youthful brothers like Castor and Pollux, but natives of the country, and served by a priest in a woman's apparel. Victory in battle was the gift of the gods. These were supposed to have their home beyond the great ocean from which their forms were sometimes seen to emerge and illuminate all around them by the beams which streamed from their heads. Persons praying turned their eyes toward the heavens. The Germans thought it inconsistent with the greatness of celestial beings to be confined by walls, or to be represented by a human form. Groves and forests were their sacred places, and they applied the name of God to that mystery which they could reverently contemplate only in the inner spirit. Unlike the Gauls (*a*) in these

a) *Caesar*, de bello Gall. VI, 21.

respects, they had no priestly caste, nor splendid sacrificial rites, but priests presided over their sacred things and in the religious assemblies of the people, and corporeal punishments could be inflicted on freemen only in the name of the gods. The military weapons of a deceased person were buried with his body in the grave. Such was the religion which the first Christian missionaries called the worship of the devil. The *Irminsul* was then regarded among the Saxons with especial veneration, because it was supposed to be the pillar which sustained the universe. This was only a vestige of the imageless worship of the one God, and was connected with recollections of *Hermann* the national hero. (*b*) The gods worshipped, though with different degrees of honor among different tribes, were: *Wuotan*, the arbiter of worlds and of battles, and the father of heroes and of kings; *Thunar*, the god of war and of thunder, to whom were dedicated the most ancient oaks; *Fro*, who dispensed peace and fertility; *Freyja*, the lovely consort of Wuotan, and *Eostra*, the goddess of Spring. (*c*) Later traditions give us slight notices of Frau *Holla* in Lower Germany, and of Frau Bertha in Upper Germany, beautiful goddesses of the earth who preside over the affairs of the household and of husbandry. The gods were supposed to look down upon men through the windows of heaven, and to direct human destiny. (*d*) Though the old sanctuaries under the canopy of the lofty forest were sometimes seen at the period of which we are writing, sometimes too might be found temples and images of the gods. Offerings were also presented at fountains and rocks, and in times of peculiar joy or necessity, human sacrifices were offered. In some instances in which men could not determine what was right, the judgment was submitted to God, and the method most preferred was the duel. So strong was the hope of meeting friends in another world, that the Friesan king, Radbot, scorned the Christian's heaven, from which his predecessors were excluded. (*e*)

§ 149. *Religion of the Northern Germanic Nations.*

I. The older *Edda* collected by *Saemund Sigfusson* (d. 1133.) in Ireland: *Edda Saemundar hinns Fróda.* Edda rhythmica, Saemundina dicta, ed. *Thorlacius*, Finn Magnusen, etc. Hafn. 1787–1828. 3 Th. 4. Miniature ed. c. rec. *Raskii* cur. *Afzelius*, Holm. 1818. Translations of most of the songs (in Germ.) by *Hagen*, Brl. 1812. Bresl. 1814. *Grimm*, Brl. 1815. *Legis*, Lps. 1829ss. 3 vols. The prose *Edda*, was commenced by *Snorre Sturleson* (d. 1241), and was completed in the 14th cent.: *Snorra-Edda* ásamt Skáldu af *Rask.* Stock. 1818. Uebers. v. *Rühs.* Brl. 1812. Muspilli, hrsg. v. *Schmeller.* (Buchner's Beiträge, Mun. 1832. vol. I. P. 2.) Auxiliary sources: For the northern heroic Sages, see *Müller*, Sagabibliothek. Kjöb. 1817. 3 Th. Uebers. d. 1. B. *Lachmann*, Brl. 1816. Saxo Grammaticus and Adam Bremensis.

II. After the investigations of *Suhm*, *Thorlacius* and *Finn Magnusen*, Gen. reviews: *Grundtvig*, Nordens Mytology. Kjöb. (1808.) 1832. *Stuhr*, Glaub. Wiss. u. Dict. der alt. Skandinavier. Kopenh. 1825. *Mone*, vol. I. p. 216–479. *Munter*, KGesch. v. Dänem. u. Norw. Lpz. 1823. vol. I. p. 1–204. *Dirckink-Holmfeld*, nord. Vorzeit. Kopenh. 1828s. 2 P. (Petersen u. Thomsen) Leitf. z. nord. Alterthumskunde hrsg. v. d. konigl. Gesellsch. f. nord. Alterth. Uebers. v. *Paulsen*, Kopenh. 1837. [*Mallet.* (§ 147.) *K. F. Wiborg*, Die Mythol. des Nordens a. d. Danisch. v. *Anton v. Etzel*,

b) I. *Pertz*, Th. I. p. 228. Th. II. p. 676.—II. *J. Grimm*, Irmenstrasse u. Irmensäule. Wien. 1815. *Hagen*, Irmin. Bresl. 1817.

c) *Beda*, De tempor. rat. c. 13.

d) *Paul. Diac.* I, 8. *Grimm*, Mythol. Edit. 1. p. 96ss.

e) *Jonae* vita S. Wulframi c. 9. (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. Benedict. Saec. III. P. 1.) Comp. *Appiani* Hist. Rom. IV, 13.

Berl. 1847. *G. Pigott*, Manual of Scand. Myth. Lond. 1839. S. *A. Crichton*, Scandinavia, Anc. and Mod. Edinb. 1839. 2 vols. 12. *Wheaton's* Hist. of the Northmen. 2 ed. New York. 1847. *H. Christmas*, Universal Myth. p. 278–315. Lond. 1838.]

The Scandinavian is a special branch of the common German mythology, but its general character was more fanciful and gloomy, and it penetrated deeper into the grotesque and monstrous forms of nature. Neither the purely historical view of it, according to which Odhinn was a mortal king or even an impostor, nor the purely symbolical, according to which the doctrine of the *Asa* is only a figurative representation of the origin, the redemption, and the regeneration of the world, corresponds with the character of this people. The fact that the worship of Odhinn was brought to the North by a nomadic tribe from the Caucasus, and that the original inhabitants with their gods were overcome, is clearly indicated in the tradition that the Aser themselves came from that region, and maintained a perpetual war with the conquered race of giants and dwarfs. The world was created by Odhinn out of the dead body of the giant Ymer whom he had slain, *i. e.*, out of the organic powers which had been brought into subjection. Creation therefore commenced with a murder, and a bloody feud sprung up between the gods who formed the world and the race of the giant who wished to revenge his death. *Odhinn* is in nature the sun which gives life to all things, and in history he is royal wisdom; *Thor* is the god of thunder, and the honest but wild prince of war; *Freyr*, with his lovely sister Freyja, represent the generative and conceptive powers of nature. Among men the latter represents love, but was originally different from *Frigg*, the beautiful wife of Odhinn. In the popular legends, however, all these gods are looked upon as personal beings, and their divine life and adventures while warring with the giants and magicians, is a picture of the military life of the people in their struggles with the powers of nature, with heroes, and with enchanters. The character of the goddesses is the only point which is strange, and indicates an Asiatic origin; for although in other respects they well represent the attractions of the German women, they do not generally exhibit a very high regard for chastity. The gods presided over the fortunes of men; Odhinn was the bestower of victory, of fame, and of the power of song, and Freyja is the giver of the pleasures and pains of love. The Nornas descry, weave, and announce the destinies of heroes. The deceitful and the cowardly are tormented in *Nifl'heim*, and such as die without renown wander as ghosts in the kingdom of *Hela;* but the *Valkyrias* hover over the field of battle, and select their favorite heroes for the slaughter. Those who fall gloriously ascend to the *Valhalla*, where they continue to spend a life of heroic activity with the gods. Thus love, death, and a higher life were united in the same moment, and hence, notwithstanding their joy in life, their delight in a hero's death was always great. Sacrifices were offered to the gods, and in circumstances of extremity a nation once offered up its own king. Ordinarily, however, the only offerings were such as were found on the tables of their cheerful feasts. This national faith knew nothing of self-inflicted tortures, but a gloomy sadness pervades the Edda, since pain and death are connected with all life, and spare not even the gods. Indeed, the very gods are aware of a prophecy which predicts their death. *Locke*, who represents the

all-devouring fire and the principle of evil in opposition to the new world of the gods, contrives to intrude himself among the Aser. Already, by his subtle artifices, *Balder*, the noblest of all the gods, has fallen. By stratagem and power the Aser are yet able to ward off their own destruction. But a time is coming called the *Twilight* of the gods, when all the powers of the abyss will break their bonds, and all the Aser and the heroes of the Valhalla will contend against them. As in the Nibelungen Noth, all the gods, the heroes, and the powers of the abyss will be slain together. In the mighty death-struggle, the world itself will become a confused mass, and be consumed by fire. Then a new earth will be produced, and be inhabited by an innocent human pair nourished by the morning dew, by a few sons of the fallen gods who will survive the ruin, and by Balder, who will then return from the lower world. They will spend their time in relating to each other the conflicts of the former world. But far above all this strife and change exists an unknown power which has been called, perhaps from some hint taken from Christianity, the *Universal Father* (Alfadur).

§ 150. *Arianism.*

Near the close of the fourth century, the Western provinces of the Roman empire, partly through conquest and partly through the increasing influence of German generals and mercenaries, came into the possession of the Germans. This people then had either become Christian, or were inclined to be so. The *Goths* had received the gospel by means of prisoners taken in war, and a Gothic metropolitan had a seat in the Synod of Nicaea. Among the West Gothic princes, *Fritigern* was favorable to Christianity, but *Athanarich* persecuted all who embraced it. When the *Western Goths* fled before the Huns, and sought the hospitality of the Roman empire (376), their baptism was the condition of their settlement on the further side of the Danube. (*a*) The form of Christianity which they then received from the emperor *Valens* was Arian, and to this they adhered with a German fidelity, even when another creed was announced to them by imperial edicts. Their bishop, *Ulphilas*, by natural disposition and by education well fitted to be a mediator, translated the Scriptures into their native language, (*b*) and after performing the duties of his office for forty years, died at Constantinople (388), deeply affected on account of the subversion of his faith. (*c*) But in consequence of the victories achieved by this nation, and the general reception of his German gospel, the other German conquerors embraced the Arian faith. It was carried by the *Western Goths* into Spain, by the *Eastern Goths* into Italy, and by the *Vandals* into Africa. The greater part of the *Burgundians*, after a brief period of partial sympathy with Catholicism,

a) *J. Aschbach*, Gesch. der Westgothen. Frkf. 1827.

b) *Ulphilae* partium inedit. spec. ed. *A. Majus* et *Castilloneus*, Med. 1819. 4. Cont. from the Epp. of Paul: 1829. 1834. 1835. 4. Ulfilas. V. et N. Test. versionis goth. fragmm. edd. *C. de Gabelentz* et *J. Loebe*, Altenb. et Lps. 1836–47. 2 Th. 4.—Skeireins Aivaggēljōns Jōhannēn, hrsg. v. *Massmann*, Munich. 1835. 4. comp. *Loebe*, Beitr. z. Textkritik u. Erkl. d. Skeireins. Altenb. 1839. [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. III.]

c) *Socrat.* IV. 23. *Sozom.* VI, 37. *Theodoret.* IV, 33. *Philostorg.* II, 5. *Jornand.* c. 25s. *G. Waitz*, ü. Leben u. Lehre d. Ulf. Han. 1840.

finally followed this example. Many, however, who professed to be Arians, were only Semiarians, or altogether ignorant of the difference between the two. (*d*) The Catholic Church to which the native Romans belonged remained unmolested, for the German kings held that religion could not be enforced by authority, and that as God tolerated various forms of it, no particular form should be forced upon all persons. (*e*) The Vandal kings in Africa (after 431) were the only sovereigns who by a violent persecution gave new martyrs and miracles to the Catholic Church, (*f*) and thereby prepared the way for their own overthrow, and for the victories of Belisarius, by whom the Roman empire was once more established there (533).

§ 151. *Victory of Catholicism.*

Gregor. Tur. H. Franc. II, 27ss.—*Michelet*, II. de France. Par. 1833. vol. I.

Clovis, of the Merovingian family, united the Franks under one monarchy, and subdued the various tribes of Gaul and of the provinces on the confines of Germany (481–511). His Catholic wife *Clotilda*, a Burgundian princess, endeavored to turn his mind from the gods whom his fathers had worshipped. In the battle of Zülpich (Tolbiacum, 496) against the Allemanni, when he saw his ranks give way, he raised his hands in supplication to the God of the Christians. After his baptism on Christmas by *St. Remigius*, in the Cathedral at Rheims, the victor was anointed as a Christian king, (*a*) and saluted as another Constantine. He obtained considerable reputation for his military exploits, his sanguinary selfishness, and his zeal for the Catholic faith. As he was then the only orthodox king, he professed to feel bound in conscience to obtain possession of the beautiful territories of the Arian princes, and in his attempts to do so, he received much assistance from their Catholic subjects. With a precipitate faith the Franks and Allemanni followed the example of their victorious monarch. In consequence of the success of the Franks, and the mental superiority of the native Catholic inhabitants, Arianism began to decline, and in the eighth century, when the Longobard kingdom (*b*) was overthrown, its independence as a national religion was entirely lost.

§ 152. *British and Anglo-Saxon Church.*

I. *Wilkins*, Concilia Brit. et Hibern. Lond. 1737. 4 vols. f. *Beda Ven.* II. ecc.

II. *Usserii* Britannicar. Eccl. antiquitt. (Dubl. 1639. 4.) Lond. 1687. f. *Lingard*, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Newcastle. 1806. 2 vols. *Stäudlin*, KGesch. v. Grossbrit. Gott. 1819. 2 vols. *J. Lanigan*, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland. Dubl. ed. 2. 1829. 2 vols. *Munter*, die altbrit. K. (Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 1s.) *K. Schroedl*, d. 1. Jahrh. d. engl. K. Pass. 1840. [*Stillingfleet*, Orig. Britannicae. with notes by *Pautin*, Oxon. 1842. 2 vols. 8. *G. Smith*, Religion of Anc. Britain, historically considered. Lond. 2 ed. 8. *H. Soames*, The Anglo-Saxon Church, its hist. &c. Lond. 3 ed. 8. *Wm.*

d) *Theodoret.* H. ecc. IV, 33. Procop. Hist. Goth. c. 4.

e) *Cassiodor.* variar. l. II. Ep. 27. l. X. Ep. 26.

f) *Victor*, Episc. Vitensis (487), Hist. persecutionis Afric. (*Ruinarti* Hist. persecutionis Vandalicae. Par. 1694. Ven. 1732. 4.)—*Papencordt*, Gesch. d. Vand. Herrsch. in Afr. Brl. 1837.

a) The popular account: *Hincmar*, Vita S. Remigii c. 3.—*C. G. v. Murr*, d. h. Ampulle zu Rheims. Nürnb. 1801.

b) *Koch-Sternberg*, Reich. d. Longobarden. Münch. 1839.

Hales, Origin of the Prim. Church of the Brit. Isles. Lond. 8. *F. Thackeray*, Researches into the Eccl. and Polit. State of Anc. Brit. Lond. 1843. 2 vols. 8. *S. Turner*, H. of the Anglo-Saxons. 5 ed. 3 vols. 8. Lond. 1836. *F. Palgrave*, H. of the Anglo-Saxons. Lond. 1837. 12. *Amer. and For. Chr. Union.* vol. II. (1851.) p. 36ss. 71ss. *Littell's* Rel. Mag. vol. III. (1829.) p. 315ss. *C. Anderson*, Hist. Sketches of the Ancient Irish. Edinb. 1828. 8.]

The Church in Ireland was founded (after 430) by Patrick, a Briton, who labored there with the zeal of a sincere and recent convert, and with the power of one who was believed not only by others but by himself to work miracles. (*a*) The convents he established were, until some time in the seventh century, the centres of a fervent ecclesiastical activity for the island, and Ireland was called the Isle of Saints. From it proceeded *Columba* (after 565), by whom the *Picts* in the Highlands of Scotland were brought over to the Christian faith. Adopting some remnants of Druidical customs, he established on the island of *Hy* (St. Jona) a sacerdotal order, to which, in various records after the ninth century the name of *Culdees* (Kele-De) was probably exclusively applied. (*b*) The bishops of the surrounding country acknowledged this presbyter-abbot as their superior. (*c*) *Britain* is mentioned as a Christian country in the fourth century. But when the *Anglo-Saxons*, who had been invited to enter it as allies (after 449), became its conquerors, the British Church continued only in Wales and in the mountains of Northumberland. The national hatred of the tribes was too intense to allow the Saxons to receive the gospel from the Britons. *Gregory* the *Great*, who for a long time took a deep interest in this people, availed himself of the marriage of *Ethelbert*, king of Kent, with a Frankish princess, to send a solemn embassy of forty Benedictines to proclaim himself and Christ among the Anglo-Saxons. The king was baptized, and *Augustine*, the principal person belonging to the embassy, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (597). From Kent, Roman Catholicism was propagated, in spite of many vicissitudes during the succeeding century, among the other Saxon kingdoms, more by covert concessions and gradual changes than by an open conflict with heathenism. For Gregory had instructed those whom he had sent not to destroy the temples of the gods, but to consecrate them to the true Deity; to allow the people to bring the oxen which they had been accustomed to sacrifice at their heathen festivals, and on days devoted to the dedication of a church, or to the commemoration of some saint, to slay them in honor of the true God, and to hold joyful feasts for them under green arbors near the churches. By retaining such customary pleasures, he hoped gradually to make these obstinate dispositions form a relish for the spiritual enjoyments of Christianity. (*d*) It soon became evident, however, from the efforts to unite the Saxon and British churches, that the latter would acknowledge no other subjection to the Roman bishop than that which was due to any other Christian. (*e*) But they tolerated each other with greater or less degrees of

a) *Patricii* Confessio. (Opusce. ed. *Waraeus*, Lond. 1658. and in *W. Betham*, Irish Antiquarian Researches. Dubl. 1826. P. II. App. p. 49.) Popular accounts: *Jocelini* (12th cent.) Vita S. Patric. (Acta SS. Mart. vol. II. p. 540.) [*Amer. and For. Chr. Union*, vol. I. (1850.) p. 489ss. 535ss.]

b) *John Smith*, Life of St. Col. Edinb. 1798.—*J. Jamieson*, Hist. Account of the Anc. Culdees of Jona. Edinb. 1811. 4.—*J. G. J. Braun*, de Culdeis. Bonn. 1840. 4. *c*) *Beda*, II. ecc. III, 4.

d) *Gregor.* Ep. ad Mellitum. (Opp. vol. II. p. 1176s. and *Beda* I, 30.)

e) *Wilkins*, Conc. vol. I. p. 26. *Beda*, Hist. ecc. II, 2.

hostility until the final union of the two nations, when the Church of the most numerous people gained the victory.

§ 153. *Irruption of Islam in the West.*

J. Aschbach, Gesch. d. Ommaijaden in Spanien. Frkf. 1829s. [*Pascual de Gayangos*, II. of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, from the text of *Al Makkari*, Lond. 1840–43. 2 vols. 4. *J. C. Murphy*, H. of the Moh. Empire in Spain, Lond. 1816. 4.]

In consequence of a dispute about the succession to the throne, Spain was opened to the Arabians, the conquerors of Africa. The kingdom of the Western Goths was speedily overthrown by *Musa*, the general of the Caliphate, and Spain was subjected to the Arabian prophet (711). Through this country *Abderrhaman* was preparing to pass for the conquest of the entire West, that he might unite it with his Eastern empire. He had already obtained possession of France as far as the Loire, when the power of the Arabians on the north of the Pyrenees was broken for ever, by *Charles Martel*, at the battle of Poictiers (732). In Spain the Christians received toleration from the Arabians (Mozarabes) as a distinct sect, and from their mountains in the North commenced against the Arabian government a chivalrous contest for their national independence and for Christianity.

§ 154. *Germany. Bonifacius*, 680–755.

I. *Bonifacii:* Epistolae, ed. *Würdtwein*, Mog. 1789. f. Vita, scr. Willibald about 760. (*Pertz*, Th. II. p. 331.)

II. *Othlonus* (about 1066), Vita S. Bon. (Acta SS. Jun. Th. I. p. 452.) *Serarius*, Moguntiac. rerum l. V. Mog. 604. 4. ed. *Johannes*, Frcf. 1722. f. Th. I. *Sagittarius*, Antiquitt. gentilismi et christianismi Thuringici. Jen. 1685. 4. *Gudenii*, Ds. de Bon. Helmst. 1720. 4. *Löffler*, Bon. Gotha. 1812. *Seiters*, Bon. Mainz. 1845.

Bishoprics had been established during the fourth century in Germany, along the Rhine and the Danube, as far as the Roman dominion extended, but in the fifth, Christianity was partially driven back by the national migrations. Under the influence of the Franks in the beginning of the eighth century, it pressed forward as far as the Saale and the Elbe, but it was under no ecclesiastical regulations, and was much corrupted by paganism. The gospel was also carried by British monks as far as the Main and among the Allemanni, but had no connection with Rome. Thus *Columban* (d. 615), who had been driven from the Vosges as far as the Apennines, established some convents as seminaries of Christianity, and his disciple *Gall* (d. about 650), who had been left at the lake of Constance, and had become a hermit on the Steinach, made a lasting and beneficial impression on the minds of the people, by destroying their idols, by casting out demons in a remarkable manner, and by refusing to accept the bishopric of Constance. (*a*) But *Winfred*, an Anglo-Saxon monk, originally from Kirton in Devonshire, better known by his Roman name of *Bonifacc*, was sent from Rome to undertake the conversion of Germany (718), and finally became the apostle of the Ger-

a) I. Vita S. Columbani by his pupil *Jonas*, Vita S. Galli by *Walafrid Strabo* in *Mabillon* Acta Ord. S. Bened. Saec. II. p. 1. 228. The older sources of the latter in *Pertz*, Th. I. p. 1.—*C. J. Hefele*, Gesch. d. Einführ. d. Christenth. im südwestl. Deutschl. Tüb. 1837. *G. C. Knottenbelt*, de Columbano. Lugd. 1839. *F. G. Rettberg*, Obss. ad vitam S. Galli spectantes. Marb. 1842. 4.

mans. This title, however, belongs to him not so much because he first proclaimed the gospel to the people, as because he effected the complete overthrow of paganism, announced by the destruction of the sacred oak at Geismar, (*b*) and because he was the founder of the German Church. He was superstitious in his views, rigid in his habits, narrow-minded with respect to external forms, and arrogant towards inferiors, but submissive to popes, except when he thought they protected abuses. (*c*) In conformity with his oath, (*d*) he made the German Church dependent upon the pope, but without the authority of the Roman bishop and of the Frankish monarch, he would have found the enforcement of his strict rules in opposition to the general resistance almost impossible. In consequence of the plenary powers given him by the Roman see, he was looked upon (after 732) as the general bishop of Germany, and by a decree of the German diet (747), the old episcopal city of Mentz was given him as a permanent see. When too old to perform the duties of ecclesiastical government, he requested that his disciple *Lullus* might be appointed his successor, and resumed a task which had been unsuccessful in his youth—the conversion of the Frieslanders. His tent was pitched on the bank of the Borne, when he was suddenly attacked by a band of heathen robbers. He allowed his followers to make no resistance, and all were slain. His body, in compliance with his last will, was buried in his favorite convent of Fulda.

§ 155. *The Saxons.*

Meinders, Tr. de statu rel. et reip. sub Carolo M. et Lud. P. in Sax. Lemgo. 1711. 4. *Just. Moeser*, Osnabr. Gesch. Brl. 1780. vol. I. *Funk*, ü. d. Unterwerfung d. Sachsen unter K. d. G. (Schlosser's Arch. f. Gesch. u. Lit. 1833. vol. IV. p. 293ss.) *G. Zimmermann*, de mutata Saxonum veterum rel. Darmst. 1839. 4. P. I. *Ozanam* (§ 148.)

The Saxons defended their national independence and the religion of their ancestors (after 772) against the butcher Charles, (*a*) until a series of battles and violated treaties made them desperate, and they finally resolved (804) to unite with the Franks as one nation and pay tithes. The Westphalian bishoprics were erected to serve as a kind of ecclesiastical fortresses. Laws written in blood forbade all return to the customs of heathenism, (*b*) and it was not until the Saxons had been completely subdued by the sword and the cross, that *Charles* the *Great* saw his plans accomplished.

§ 156. *Overthrow of German Paganism.*

[*H. Rückert*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Bildung in d. Per. d. Ueberganges Heidenth. in Chr. Berl. 1854. 12.]

As the Germans were in the habit of acknowledging gods besides their own, they readily conceded to their guests that Christ might be divine. But although the doctrine of a crucified God was not altogether strange to their

b) *Pertz*, Th. II. p. 343. *c*) *Würdtw.* p. 108.

d) *Würdtw.* p. 198. [The oath itself: *Gieseler*, Hist. vol. II. p. 214. nt. 3.]

a) *Gelübde*, Uncertain as an orig. doc. but often printed from the Goslar Archives, e. g. Hannöv. Mag. P. 26. p. 483.

b) Capitulatio de partib. Saxoniae. a. 789. (*Walter*, Corpus juris Germ. Th. II. p. 104ss. with comm. in *Meinders*, p. 23ss.)

minds, Christ, his apostles, and the monks, seemed to them a faint-hearted kind of people, until the clergy acquired military habits and legends of chivalrous saints were circulated among them. The bold assumption of superiority to the gods of their country, and the exclusive reliance upon their own power, which the northern heroes especially expressed without hesitation or reproof, was not directly favorable to Christianity, but proved that a living faith in the old religion was already much impaired. They had no powerful sacerdotal caste, and the opposition which Christianity encountered was not produced by a priestly nobility among any of Odhinn's worshippers, but by the various political circumstances in which it was introduced to the several tribes. (*a*) The religion of their ancestors had no support but the public sentiment of a free people. For the whole intellectual fabric of the Roman empire, and consequently for its church, they entertained the profoundest reverence. They were convinced by the example of the Western Goths that the Christians' God could bestow power and victory. The twilight of the gods which their mythology taught them to expect, seemed to them realized by Christianity, but in a milder and more beautiful form. Christianity was always foreign to the Greek and Roman national character, and could never be received by those nations without destroying their peculiar spirit. The disposition of the German nation on the other hand never found its proper development except in connection with Christianity. Hence, wherever the Germans were independent or victorious the gospel always had free scope. But it was not without many touching lamentations that the ancient system of paganism was renounced. (*b*)

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

Planck, Gesch. d. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. vol. II. *Eichhorn*, deutsche Staats-u. Rechtsgesch. 5 ed. Gott. 1843. vol. I. *J. Grimm*, deutsche Rechtsaltherthümer. Gött. 1828. *Hüllmann*, Urspr. d. KVerf. d. MA. Bonn. 1831.—*Ellendorf*, d. Karolinger u. d. Hierarchie ihrer Zeit. Essen 1839.

§ 157. *Original Records of the Canon Law.*

By the principles of the German law, the Church and all ecclesiastics retained the same privileges as they had enjoyed under the Roman empire, (*a*) and in consequence of the new relations in which these were possessed, a new legal state was developed. The Spanish collection and the Dionysian Codex were therefore continually appealed to as records of the Roman law. Any new ecclesiastical usages and laws were either incorporated with the popular code or published as decrees of synods or of the diet. (*b*)

a) On the other hand: *Leo*, Gesch. d. ital. Staaten. Hmb. 1829. vol. I. p. 55ss.

b) *Grimm*. Mythol. p. 4. *Uhland*, Thor. p. 223.

a) *Conc. Aurelian*, I. a. 511. can. 1. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 350s.) *Lex Ripuarior.* tit. 58. c. 1. (*Walter* Th. I. p. 180.)

b) *Walter*, Corpus juris Germ. antiqui. Ber. 1824ss. 3 Th. *Pertz*, Monum. Germ. Th. IIIs. Legum Th. I. II. Comp. Regesta Carolorum. All the orig. docc. of the Carolingian kings in the Extracts (752–918) by *Boehmer*, Frkf. 1834. 4.

§ 158. *Relation of the Church to the State.*

Rundе, v. Urspr. d. Reichsstandsch. d. Bisch. u. Aebte. Gött. 1774. 4. *v. Roth*, v. d. Einflusse d. Geistlichk. unter d. Merowingern. Nürnb. 1850. 4.

The bishops, who were equally respected by the conquering and the conquered nations, were generally employed as mediators when terms of peace were to be settled. No sooner had the kings, who were originally merely the leaders of their companions in arms, tasted the sweets of regal power as enjoyed under the Roman law, than they became anxious to attach the bishops to their interests. By conferring upon them offices at court and certain feudal estates, an ecclesiastical vassalage was created (*a*) which made it their policy to restrain any conquering hordes, or to conciliate any conquered tribes. The power of the kings over the Church, or of the bishops over the state, may be inferred from the feudal laws gradually developed during the conquest. The kings either directly appointed the bishops, or nominated those whom they wished to be chosen by the clergy or the people; (*b*) but the bishops themselves, along with the other great vassals, either elected the king or confirmed his hereditary successor. (*c*) The bishops were required to swear fealty to the king and to seek justice before the royal court, but they could be judged only by their peers. (*d*) Whoever felt aggrieved by any proceedings in a spiritual court could apply for redress, or at least for grace, from the king as his lord paramount. (*e*) Bishops sat in the diet with all other crown vassals, and it was on this ground that after the seventh century ecclesiastical causes were so much mingled with civil affairs in the transactions of that body. (*f*) Subsequently the power of legislation resided in the states and in the king. (*g*) By such a system the Church seemed almost blended with the state, but its power and its consequent independence was well represented by that hierarchical aristocracy whose authority the kings always found it best to maintain, as a counterpoise to that of an hereditary and military nobility.

§ 159. *Property of the Church and the Clergy.*

Many bishops and abbots received royal grants of land and of people. These ecclesiastical possessions, like all other royal fiefs, had immunities and jurisdictions of their own. They were only bound to furnish a certain quota of men for a general war (the Heerbann), and the counts exercised jurisdiction in cases of life and death. The divine institution of tithes was more zealously proclaimed than the gospel itself, and under *Charles* the Great, who paid

a) *Fredegarii* Chron. c. 41. 76. *Sangallens.* I, 13. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 736.)

b) *Conc. Aurel.* V. a. 549, can. 10. *Conc. Toletan.* XII. a 681. can. 6. Although *Conc. Paris.* V. a. 615. can. 1. yet comp. *Walter* Th. II. p. 13.

c) *Conc. Toletan.* VIII. a. 653. can. 10. *Wilkins* Conc. Brit. vol. I. p. 148s. Respecting Franco: *Planck*, vol. II. p. 248ss.

d) *Greg. Tur.* H. Franc. V, 19. 28. *Conc. Aquisgr.* a. 789. c. 37. (*Walter* Th. II. p. 84.)

e) *Conc. Paris.* V. a. 615. can. 3. [*Landon*, Paris. p. 461.] with Clotaire's enlarged confirmation (*Walter* Th. II. p. 14.) *Capit. Francof.* a. 794. c. 4. (*Walter* Th. II. p. 116.)

f) Reaction in Spain: *Conc. Tolet.* XVII. a. 694. c. 1. (*Mansi* Th. XII. p. 196.) Courts in France: *Hincmar.* de ord. palatii c. 29. comp. *Mansi* Th. XIV. p. 64.

g) *Conc. Arvernense* a. 535. Praefatio. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 859.) *Conc. Aurel.* I. Ep. ad Clodov. (*Mansi* Th. VIII. p. 350.)

tithes of all his possessions, it became the general law for the whole Frankish empire. (*a*) It was, however, much easier for the Church to acquire immense wealth from the scruples of the people than to defend it against the universal robbery and violence which then prevailed. *Chilperic* complained that the wealth of the kings had fallen into the hands of the Church, (*b*) but *Charles Martel* distributed the ecclesiastical wealth among his soldiers, and left to the Church the consolation of thinking that the deliverer of Christendom had gone down to hell. (*c*) The clergy preserved their privilege of being judged in civil causes only before the bishop's court; though in criminal cases, if the offence was proved, they might be arraigned in what was called a mixed court. Between the counts and the bishops of each district (Gau) sprung up mutual jealousies and encroachments, which the kings often found it easy to increase. The rights of the metropolitans were on various occasions confirmed, but they could not be sustained in opposition to the political power of individual bishops.

§ 160. *Ecclesiastical Power of the Pope.*

The authority of the pope in countries beyond the Alps had its origin in the necessity which the Catholics and Romans felt of a general centre of union in their conflicts with the Arians and Barbarians. The legates of Gregory the Great were therefore called upon to exercise supreme jurisdiction in *Spain*. But when the Western Goths went over to the Catholic party that necessity was no longer felt, and the bishops, becoming conscious of their political importance, freely opposed the papal claims. *Witiza* (701–10), who was anxious to recover the royal prerogatives from the nobility and the Church, went so far as to forbid all appeals to the Roman bishop. (*a*) But the overthrow of his throne and the subversion of the Gothic kingdom was generally regarded as a divine judgment on the impious attempt. The *Anglo-Saxon Church* gradually prevailed upon the neighboring churches to place themselves under the guardianship of Rome, for the people seemed to think it rather hazardous to prefer Columba to Peter, when the latter held the keys of heaven. (*b*) The pope was regarded with the highest veneration among the *Franks*, but his power was confined to remonstrances and intercessions except when the kings found it for their interest to make it appear greater. (*c*) But when Pipin grasped after the imperial authority, he knew of no better way to silence the scruples of the Franks respecting the oath which they had sworn to their legitimate king, than to obtain a declaration from Pope Zacharias that whoever possessed the power should have also the name of the king (750). (*d*) From that time all the

a) *Capit. Francof.* a. 794. c. 23. (*Walter* Th. II. p. 118.)

b) *Gregor. Tur.* H. Franc. VI, 46.

c) *Bonif.* Ep. 72. (*Würdtw.* p. 194.) *Hincmar. Rem.* ad Ludov. German. (*Walter*, Th. III. p. 85.)

a) *Schotti* Hisp. illustrata. Frcf. 1603. f. Th. II. p. 62. Th. IV. p. 69.

b) *Beda*, H. ecc. III, 25.

c) *Greg. Tur.* H. Franc. V, 21. cf. VII, 39.

d) *Fredeg.* Chron. appendix. (*Bouquet* Th. II. p. 460. comp. Th. V. p. 9.) *Annal. Lauriss.* ad a. 749. (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 136.)—*J. G. Loebell*, de causis regni Francor. a Merovingis ad Carolingos translati. Bon. 1844. 4.

Carolingians thought it best to exalt the dignity of those on whom the lawfulness and sacredness of their own crown depended. The *German Church* was from its very origin in a state of dependence upon Rome, and in its first synod (743) all its bishops swore obedience to the pope. (*e*) *Boniface* endeavored to bring the *Gallican* Church under the same regulation, but as its bishops possessed not much zeal for the general Church and great political power, his success was by no means complete. Great efforts were made to convince the metropolitans that the *pallium* was indispensable to the completeness of their power. But when Boniface complained that it was conferred at Rome for money, Zacharias called it a calumny to say that the Roman see would sell what had been bestowed upon it as a gift by the Holy Ghost. (*f*)

§ 161. *Secular Power of the Pope.*

Codex Carolinus. (*Cenni*, Monn. dominationis Pontificiae. Rom. 1760s. 2 Th. 4.)—II. *Orsi* dell' origine del dominio e della soveranità degli rom. Pont. Rom. 1754. *Sabbathier*, sur l'origine de la puissance temporelle des Papes. Haye. 1765. *J. R. Becker*, ü. d. Zeitp. der Verändr. in der Oberh. ü. Rom. Lüb. 1769. Comp. J. v. Müller, Werke. 1838. Th. 25.

As late as the middle of the eighth century a governor was placed by the emperor over the exarchate and the city of Rome. But in the latter the actual power was in the hands of the pope as the head of an aristocratic municipal government. The Longobards conquered the exarchate and threatened an attack upon Rome. In vain was protection sought from Constantinople, and *Stephen II.* in the name of St. Peter called upon the King of the Franks, whom he had anointed, for aid. In two campaigns (754–5) Pipin repelled the Longobards, and as the Roman Patricius he committed to the pope the provinces which the exarch had governed, (*a*) alleging that the Franks had shed their blood not for the Greeks but for St. Peter, and for the good of their own souls. *Charles* the *Great* having by systematic measures destroyed the kingdom of the Longobards (after 773), confirmed and enlarged the donation which his father had made, and on Dec. 25, 800, laid the deed which secured the whole on the tomb of the apostles. By this means the king effected his purpose, which was to gain a powerful ally in Italy, and the pope became a ruler over a considerable territory and its inhabitants. He was however obliged to acknowledge a lord paramount with indefinite powers above himself, (*b*) and was so much harassed by the factious strifes of the more powerful families, that he became continually dependent upon the protection of the King of the Franks.

§ 162. *Charles the Great.* 768–814.

L Annals, Capitularies (before § 147) & Letters in the Codex Carolinus. *Einhard*, Vita Karoli. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 426. & Han. 1830. Opp. ed. *A. Teulet*, Par. 1840–3. 2 Th.) Leben u. Wandel Karls d. G. v. Einhard. Einl. Urschr. Erläut. Urkundensamml. v. *J. L. Ideler*. Hamb. 1839. *Monachus Sangallensis*, (Anecdotes) de gestis Karoli (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 726.) *Poetae Saxonis* Annal. de gestis

e) *Bonif.* Ep. 73. (*Würdtw.* p. 179.) *f*) *Zach.* ad Bonif. (*Würdtw.* p. 148s.)
a) *Steph.* ad. Pip. a. 754. (*Cenni* Th. I. p. 75.) *b*) *Einhard*, Ann. a. 796.

Car. (*Leibnitii* Scrr. rer. Brunsv. Th. I. p. 120.) *Helperici* (Angilberti) Carol. M. et Leo Papa, ed. *Orelli*, Tur. 1832.

II. *K. Dippold*, Leben K. Karls. Tüb. 1810. *Bredow*, K. Karl. Altona. 1814. *Capefigue*, Charlemagne. Par. 1842. 2 Th.—*J. G. Walch*, Hist. canonisationis Car. M. Jen. 1750.—*Pütter*, de instaurat. Imp. Rom. Gött. 1766s. 10 P. 4. [*G. P. R. James*, Life of C. Lond. 1847. & New York. 1848.]

The grand objects to which Charles the Great devoted his life were, the union of all the German nations under his sway, and the establishment of civilization among them. He favored and governed the Church because it was a school for the improvement of his people. He was careful to maintain the same respect for the popes which his father had shown, and he even increased their power, but kept them in a state of dependence upon himself. For *Hadrian I.* he entertained a strong personal attachment. *Leo III* (after 795) sought refuge in his court from the ill treatment inflicted by a Roman faction, cleared himself by an oath from the crimes imputed to him, and was reinstated by the power of the king. In gratitude for this kindness, and professing to act under divine inspiration, the pope, on Christmas day 800, placed the imperial crown of Rome upon the king's head, while the people exclaimed, "Health and victory to Carolus Augustus, crowned of God!" By this ceremony, no actual increase of power was directly acquired, but the monarch became invested with an augmented dignity in the eyes of the people, and his authority in the West became sacred. It was only a thought, but the world is governed more by thoughts than by swords. By this renewal of the empire in the West the pope recognized a master, but all men saw that this master was of his own creation.

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

§ 163. *Religious Spirit of the People.*

The innocence of a rude and powerful nation was soon corrupted by Roman vices, the new pleasures soon became necessities of life, and to obtain them the energies of the people were employed in violence. The lives of the Merovingian princes were filled with murders, adulteries, and incests. But just as these children of nature were suddenly made acquainted with a corrupt civilization, Christianity was also introduced among them, and preserved in the minds of the people a love for more exalted objects, but accelerated the period in which the national advancement was interrupted. It pervaded even the German language, not merely by the naturalization of Greek and Latin ecclesiastical terms, but by giving a Christian signification to original German expressions. (*a*) The relation of the people to Christ was conceived of by them as that of faithful vassals to a mighty leader (Gefolgsherrn). If the mysterious spectacles, miracles, and legends of the Church did not always reform the people, they at least produced some regrets for the past and some anxiety for the future. But superstition soon supplied them with arts by which they could cunningly escape her own guardianship. The perjurer se-

a) *R. v. Raumer* (§ 147) especially in the 3 books, p. 273ss.

cured himself by relics against the vengeance of heaven, and the hired assassin consoled himself with the reflection that whatever might occur in his bloody course, he would have means to purchase the masses needful for his salvation. The virtues on which the Church most insisted were liberality, hospitality, fidelity in the payment of tithes and offerings, and an accurate knowledge of the creed and the Lord's prayer. The liberty which the Germans had always exercised of divorcing themselves from their wives on the repayment of dower was abolished, and marriage was regarded as indissoluble, except by mutual consent for sacred purposes, or on account of adultery, conspiracy against life, banishment, or bodily infirmity on the part of the wife. (*b*) The Church and the new government contended against those remnants of heathenism which still adhered to the faith or practice of the people, as: the exposure of children, the burning of corpses, the old sanctuaries by fountains, in the lofty forest and in the stone circle, wooden representations of bodily organs as votive offerings, images of gods dried in ovens or highly ornamented, the use of horseflesh, haunted places, watch-fires, rain-making, sacred lots, death-charms, love potions, the use of wooden images to effect the death of those they represent, magical predictions, and witchcraft of all kinds. (*c*) The less objectionable portions of the ancient were gradually incorporated with the Christian faith, legends of the gods were transformed into legends of saints, recollections of the former deities were so changed as to become a basis for a belief in magic, in leagues with the devil, and in violent assaults from him. A pleasant recollection was also retained for the silent people of the elves, and the wonderful gifts of the fairies. Ordeals were at first tolerated by the Church, then opposed, and finally used for its own purposes. A presentiment of the approach of the last day which sometimes comes up before us in this period, was suggested merely by those Romans who thought that the overthrow of the empire and the terrible national migrations were signals of that event. (*d*)

§ 164. *Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

The discipline of the Church was much opposed by the German people on the ground that it was inconsistent with their liberties. It was finally enforced in the eighth century, at least among the common people, by the *Synodal courts*, which were accommodated to the popular feelings of private rights. In the course of each year the bishop or his arch-deacon held his court in every important place within his jurisdiction, in which honorable men chosen from the congregation acted as a jury to decide upon the case of those who were accused. This inquisitorial process, which took cognizance not only of ecclesiastical but of many civil offences, was an indispensable addition to the easy proceedings of former times, when every offence was atoned for by a legal fine adapted to the simple manners of the people. The penalties now inflicted were scourging, fasting, prohibition of marriage, and

b) *Capitul.* a. 752. c. 5. 9. (*Walter* Th. II. p. 33ss.) *Greg.* II. ad Bonif. c. 2. (*Mansi* Th. XII. p. 245.)

c) Especially Indiculus superstitionum (§ 148.)

d) *Gregorii* M. l. XI. Ep. 66. *Greg. Tur.* II. Franc. Prologus.

an imprisonment, which for the heavier offences was severe and sometimes for life. (*a*) None but private offences voluntarily disclosed in the confessional were allowed to be atoned for according to the former custom by a fine. In such cases the money belonged to the poor, and the Church always suffered under the imputation that she allowed the rich to sin freely and yet gave them the hope of heaven. (*b*) Confession to a priest was looked upon as beneficial but not indispensable to salvation. (*c*) Excommunication was not common, and was therefore the more dreaded. Although the bishops had obtained a law which connected civil death with excommunication, it was understood that such a result would not take place without the consent of the king. By this means the bishops were obliged to pay great respect to the intercession of the king or of persons of distinction. (*d*)

§ 165. *Morals of the Clergy, and Canonical Life.*

As the bishops were generally selected from the royal retinue, and the clergy were sometimes even slaves and servilely dependent upon their superiors, bishoprics were often obtained by purchase or by flattery, (*a*) and the clergy were in continual danger of becoming quite secularized or degraded in ignorance. The laws against the marriage of clergymen were frequently renewed, but marriage was as common among them as adultery and lewdness. What was called mere fondling was expressly declared to be innocent. (*b*) For every act and degree of drunkenness a precise form of punishment was carefully prescribed. (*c*) The laws forbade the servants of God to bear the sword, but neither law nor shame could prevent what custom and feudal duty required. Many a valiant bishop never knew peace till he slept on the battle field. The authority of the Church was sufficient to make a clergyman honorable on account of the sacredness of his office, but many a layman was clever enough to take advantage of the solemn dulness of his bishop. (*d*) In a series of synods (after 742) Boniface endeavored to rectify the unclerical manners and the misgovernment which prevailed in the Frankish Church, by demanding of the clergy a peculiar ecclesiastical character and monastic habits, and that he might secure these he revived the old institution of provincial synods. *Chrodegang* of *Metz* gave to the clergy of his episcopal church the conventual rule which required a life in common (about 760). (*e*) *Augustine* was held up as an example, and the founder of this kind of life,

a) *Capit.* a. 769. c. 7. (*Walter* Th. II. p. 54s.) a. 813. c. 1. (*Ibid.* p. 261.) This arrangement was of an older date. For information respecting the proceedings, see Sittenspiegel der Zeit, first in *Regino*, de disc. ecc. II, 2ss. (*Harzhem.* Th. II. p. 551s.)

b) *Conc. Cloveshovian.* a. 747. c. 26s. (*Mansi* Th. XII. p. 408s.) Comp. Homilia de haereticis peccata vendentibus. (*Mabillon*, Museum Italicum, Th. I. P. II. p. 27.)

c) *Capit. Theodulfi Aurelianens.* c. 30. (*Mansi* Th. XIII. p. 1001.) Comp. *Conc. Cabilonense* a. 813. can. 33. (*Mansi* Th. XIV. p. 100.)

d) *Conc. Paris.* a. 615. c. 3. (*Walter* Th. II. p. 14.)

a) *Gregor. Tur.* Vitae patrum. c. 6. § 3. Hist. Franc. IV, 35. A multitude of histories in the *Monachus Sangallensis.*

b) *Gregorii* III. can. 6. (*Mansi* Th. XII. p. 290.) *c*) *Ibid.* can. 8.

d) E. G. the wag in *Sangall.* I, 20. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 739.)

e) *Chrodeg.* Regula in *Mansi* Th. XIV. p. 313ss. *Paulus Diac.* Gest. Episc. Metensium. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 267s.) Comp. *Thomassini* vet. et nova ecc. disc. P. I. l. III. c. 2–9.

which was called canonical, because it was regulated by sacred laws. The *canonici* lived, eat and slept in common, under the direct supervision of the bishop. Their devotions commenced long before day, and were regulated by a peculiar system of canonical hours. They were not prohibited the possession of private property, but their support was provided for by the bishop, out of the ecclesiastical revenues. Under the favor of the Carolingian kings this system was adopted in most of the German churches.

§ 166. *Public Worship.*

Ordo Romanus de div. officiis (8th cent.) *Amalarii*, Chorepisc. Metensis, de div. officiis l. IV. (819–27.) *Rabani Mauri* de clericorum instit. et ceremoniis eccc. l. III. (819) & de sacris ordinib, sacramentis div. et vestimentis sacerd. Collectively in: De div. cath. Ecc. officiis varii vett. Patrum ac Scrr. libri, ed. *Hittorpius*. (Col. 1568.) Par. 1610. f.

As the Church had been formed under the Roman empire, it retained many Roman usages. Its services were in Latin, though preaching was always in the language of the people. The British Church protested against the peculiarities introduced by the Roman clergy. They defended their own practice of shaving only the front part of the head, in opposition to the Roman tonsure, by appealing to the example of Paul (tonsura Pauli). Columba, when contending with Gregory the Great, defended a mode of reckoning Easter which was different from that used at Rome. (*a*) Charles the Great introduced the Gregorian liturgy into the new churches formed in the empire, and invited singers from Rome, to whom the sacred music of the Germans seemed like the howlings of wild beasts. The organ, however, was much improved in Germany. (*b*) The solemn pomp of such a worship was the most impressive way of addressing the robust feelings of an uneducated people. The propensity of the age for magical arts was gratified and strengthened by the numerous miracles performed by dead and living saints, the various accounts of which originated more frequently in the fancies of the people than in the cunning policy of the priests. A new festival called the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary* was introduced, and was celebrated on the fifteenth of August. (*c*) An appearance of the archangel *Michael* was, after Gregory's time, celebrated in Rome, but the decided preference shown for this festival by the Germanic churches was owing to the chivalrous character usually ascribed to this celestial prince. (*d*) In France *St. Martin* was honored as a Saviour and an Aesculapius, until the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite were sent to Pipin, and revived the memory of a Dionysius who had been mentioned as a bishop of Paris among the martyrs in the time of Decius. As this latter Dionysius was confounded with him who was contemporary with Paul, *St. Denys* became henceforth the war-cry of France. (*e*) The Spaniards

a) *Gregor. M.* l. IX. Ep. 127. comp. *Beda*, H. ecc. III, 4.

b) *Annal. Metens.* ad. a. 757. *Joan.* VIII. Ep. a. 872. ad Annonem. (*Mansi* Th. XVII. p. 245.)

c) Desire, doubt, and final confidence: *Epiph.* haer. 78. 11. *Gelasii* Decret. (*Gratian:* P. I. D. XV. c. 3. § 55.) *Gregor. Tur.* de gloria Martyr. I, 4.

d) *Haeberlin*, Selecta de Mich. Archangelo. Hlmst. 1758. 4.

e) Both saints are already confounded in: Acta Dionysii (beginning of the 9th cent. Acta SS. m. Oct. Th. IV. p. 792ss.) and *Hilduini* (abbot of St. Denys about 824.) Vita et passio Dionys. (Areopagitica, ed. *M. Galenus*, Col. 1563.)

made a knightly saint of the elder *James*, who, after his body had been found at Compostella (791–842), was extolled as the apostle of Spain, and the patron of its armies against the Saracens. The surest proof of the power and sanctity of these patron saints was victory. The Frankish empire became slightly involved in the controversy respecting images. The clear judgment of *Charles* the *Great* soon decided against all image-worship, and a treatise, published under his own name, (*f*) set forth in opposition to the decrees of the second synod of Nicaea that God could be worshipped only in spirit. The same view was expressed at the Synod of *Frankfort* (794) and of *Paris* (825) with an open censure of *Adrian's* treatise in favor of image-worship. But as this opposition did not extend to the destruction of the images, a hope was entertained and expressed in these acts that a reconciliation might yet be effected between the Greek and Roman churches. (*g*) The popes found it convenient to treat this heresy among the Franks more mildly than the same sentiments among the Greeks.

CHAP. IV.—ECCLESIASTICAL SCIENCE.

§ 167. *Preservation of Literature.*

Every thing in the primitive church had a primary reference to some type in the Old Testament. The Gothic version of the Bible does not seem to have found its way into other German tribes, but fragments of translations of different books of the Bible existed in several German languages, and even in the Anglo-Saxon. Remnants of Roman literature were preserved among the clergy as a kind of literary acquisition even to the age of Augustine, but the classic authors were enjoyed only by stealth. In the stormy period of the popular migrations, literary education was continued in Spain and in the British islands. In the former country there was a literary rivalry between the Catholics and the Western Goths, who had now become interested in the study of Grecian learning. Among these Goths, *Isidore*, Archbishop of Hispalis (Seville, 595–636), was particularly influential in behalf of the political power of the Church, a moderate monastic life, and Christian kindness toward the Jews, and was an eminent example of that ecclesiastical learning which was not only mistress of all secular knowledge, but, by collecting the works of ancient authors, secured the inheritance of antiquity. (*a*) The predominance of the Roman element renders it difficult to trace the process by which a transition was made to that which was more decidedly Germanic. In the Islands a degree of learning was maintained in consequence of the rivalry between the British and the Anglo-Saxon churches, and the intimate

f) *Libri Carolini*, a. 790. ed. *Eli. Phili.* 1549. *Heumann*, Han. 1731. (*Goldast.* Imper. Decr. p. 67.)

g) *Conc. Francof.* can. 2. (*Mansi* Th. XIII. p. 909.) *Conc. Paris.* ad Ludov. (Ib. Th. XIV. p. 415s.) [*Landon*, p. 252s. & 461s.]

a) Eccles. Literature, Liturgy, Explanations of laws and treatises, General history, history of Germanic nations and etymological encyclopedia. Opp. ed. *J. du Breul*, Par. 1601. f. *F. Grial*, Matrit. 1778. 2 Th. f. *F. Arevalus*, Rom. 1797ss. 7 Th. 4. Comp. *Braulionis* Praenotatio librorum S. Isidori in *Oudin*, Commtr. de Scrr. ecc. Th. I. p. 1584.

connection which the latter kept up with Rome. *Theodore*, a native of *Tarsus*, and Archbishop of Canterbury (668–90), diffused in England a knowledge of the Greek language and literature. From this school proceeded the *Venerable Bede*, a monk of Yarrow, who was honored as the representative of all the knowledge possessed in his time, and was a faithful teacher as well as learner to the last moment of his life (735). (*b*)

§ 168. *Scientific Education under the Carolingians.*

C. H. van Herwerden, de iis, quae a Car. M. tum ad propag. rel. chr. tum ad emendandam ejusdem docendi rationem acta sunt. L. B. 1825. 4. *F. Lorentz*, Alcuins Leben. Hal. 1829. *J. C. F. Bachr*, Gesch. d. röm. Literaturim karoling. Zeitalter. Carlsr. 1840.

In the Frankish Church some interest was created by Boniface in the literature of his native land, and he appears to have taken pains to improve the jargon in which the Latin baptismal formula was uttered by the ignorant Bavarian priests. But even he regarded the belief in the antipodes as a heresy. (*a*) Charles the Great conversed in Latin, understood the Greek, and in the circle of his learned friends laid aside his crown; but his hand was more accustomed to the sword, and began to form written characters late in life with extreme difficulty. Even the tales and heroic songs then current among the people, but which being neglected by the Church were passing into oblivion, he vainly attempted to preserve. His own education had been derived from Italy, and the few men of learning to whom he could intrust his plan of popular education were either from the same country or from England. Among these was Alcuin, (*b*) at an earlier period a canon and a superintendent of the convent-school of York and an abbot at Tours (d. 804), a pious, intelligent, and active man, but possessed of only ordinary natural talents. He conducted a school in the palace itself (schola palatina), and by its means established other schools of learning for the seven liberal arts (trivium and quadrivium) in the cathedrals and convents throughout the empire. (*c*) Popular schools were also founded in his own diocese by *Theodulf*, Bishop of *Orleans* (d. 821). A collection of sermons selected from the writings of the fathers was formed under the direction of the emperor by *Paul* the *Deacon* for an example to the clergy rather than for ordinary reading. (*d*) But all this literary improvement was not a direct growth of the popular life, but a foreign importation. Hence even the writings of the first men of the age seldom exhibit the fresh living spirit of the people. On the other hand their prose and verse are written in an unnatural, clumsy style, indicating that the whole was only a remnant of a decayed civilization, except where it immediately reflected the purely practical life and struggles of society in let-

b) Commentary, Homilies, Letters, Histories, Grammar, Astronomy. Opp. Bas. 8 Th. f. Col. 16ss. 4 Th. f. ed. *Giles*, Lond. 1843. 5 Th. [His eccl. Hist. & the Sax. Chron. are transl. by *Giles*. Lond. 1843. 12.] *Cuthberti* Vita Bedae Ven. (prefixed to Opp.) *H. Gehle*, de Bedae V. vita et scriptis. Lugd. B. 1839.

a) *Bonif.* Ep. 62. (*Würdtw.* p. 454s.)—Ep. 82. (*Ib.* p. 238s.)

b) Commentary, Homilies, dogm., moral phil., & astronom. treatises, lives of the saints, poems, & esp. 232 epistles. Opp. ed. *Frobenius*, Ratisb. 1776s. 2 Th. f.

c) Comp. *Val. Schmidt*, in notes to *Petri Alfonsi* Discipl. clericalis. Ber. 1827. 4. p. 109ss.

d) Homiliarium. Spir. 1482. Bas. 1493. f. & often.

ters of business and in laws. Such foreign ungraceful forms in which the newly awakened spirit attempted to clothe itself, seemed like the tattered garments of the European on the stately son of the forest.

§ 169. *Adoptionists.*

I. *Elipandi* Ep. ad Fidelem. a. 785. *Beati* et *Etherii* adv. Elip. l. II. (*Galland.* Th. XIII.) *Alcuinus:* adv. Elip. l. I. Ep. ad Felicem & adv. Fel. l. VII. (principally in *Froben.*)—

II. Fr. Walch, Hist. Adoptianor. Goett. 1755. *Frobenii* Ds. de haer. Elip. et Felic. (Opp. Alcuini Th. I. p. 923.)

Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, and *Felix*, Bishop of Urgel, carried out the Nestorian doctrine to its extreme results, and maintained that Christ was the Son of God in his human nature, only by adoption, and consequently that there could be no proper union of his divine and human attributes. Though this Adoptionism was condemned at the Synod of Frankfort (794) it exalted itself against the authority of the Church; but at the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (799) Felix, whose diocese was in the Spanish March, and therefore subject to Charles the Great, was persuaded by *Alcuin* to recant his opinions. Although this retraction was insincere, or at least not adhered to, and Elipandus, who lived under the protection of the Saracens, was especially violent in his opposition, the controversy was too little consonant with the spirit of the times to survive its original authors.

MEDIAEVAL CHURCH HISTORY.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM CHARLES TO INNOCENT III.

§ 170. *General View and Authorities.*

I. § 147 & § 148. 1) *Canisii* Lectiones antiquae (Ingolst. 1601.) Ed. *Basnage*, Antu. 1725. 4 v. f. *D'Achery*, vett. Scrr. Spicilegium. Par. (1653) Ed. *de la Barre*, 1723. 3 v. f. *Baluzii* Miscellanea. (Par. 1678.) Ed. *Mansi* Luc. 1761. 4 Th. f. *Mabillon*, vett. Analecta. Par. 1723. f. *Martene* et *Durand:* Thes. novus Anecdotor. Par. 1717. 5 v. f. & vett. Scrr. et Monum. Col. ampliss. Par. 1724ss. 9 v. f. *Pertz*, Thes. Anecdotor. Aug. Vind. 1721. 6 v. f.—Regesta regum atque Impp. Rom. Orig. Docc. of the Roman Emperors from 911 to 1313 in extracts, with References, by *Boehmer*. Frkf. 1831. 4. *Boehmer*, showing the imperial laws from 900 to 1400. Frkf. 1832. 4.—2) *Annales Fuldenses* by contemporaries 838–901. (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 361.) *Bertiniani* 835–882 by *Prudentius* of Troyes & *Hincmar* of Rheims. (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 419.) *Regino*, Abbot of Pruem, d. 915, Chronicon, documentary 870–907. cont. till 967. (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 537.) *Flodoard*, canon at Rheims, d. 966, Annales, 919–66. (*Pertz* Th. V. p. 363.) *Liudprand*, Bp. of Cremona, d. 972, Antapodosis l. VI. & de rebus gestis Otton M. (*Pertz* Th. V. p. 264.) *Widuchind*, monk of Corvey, d. about 1000, Annales de reb. Saxonum gestis. (*Weibom.* Th. I. p. 628. comp. *Leibnit.* Th. I. p. 208.) *Thietmar*, Bp. of Merseburg, d. 1018. Chronicon, hist. of the Sax. Empp. (ed. *J. A. Wagner*, Nor. 1807. 4. *Lappenberg* in *Pertz* Th. V. p. 723.) *Hermannus Contractus*, monk of Reichenau, d. 1054, Chron. from Christ, but esp. 1000–54, cont. by *Bertholdus* of Reichenau till 1080, extracts & continuation by *Bernoldus* of S. Blaise till 1100. (*Pertz* Th. VII. 67. 264.) *Lambertus Schafnaburgensis*, a monk of Hersfeld, de reb. gestis Germ. 1039–77. *Pertz* Th. VII. p. 134.) *Marianus Scotus*, a monk of Cologne, Fulda & Mentz, d. 1086, Chronic. till 1082, cont. by Abbot *Dodechinus* till 1200. (*Pertz* Th. VII. p. 481.) *Sigebertus Gemblacensis*, d. 1112, cont. by *Hieronymi* Chronicon, 381–1111. (*Pertz* Th. VIII. p. 268.) *Otto Frisingens.* d. 1158, Chron. rerum ab initio mundi ad ann. 1146 gestar. l. VIII. cont. by *Otto de S. Blasio* till 1209. *Ussermann* Th. II. p. 449.) *Chronicon Urspergense*, till 1126 by a monk of Bamberg, cont. by Burchard & Conrad of Lichtenau, Abbots of Ursperg, till 1229. (Argentor. 537. 609. f.) *Chronica regia* s. *S. Pantaleonis* by monks of the convent of S. Pantaleon at Cologne, 1000, 1106, & 1162. (*Eccard* Th. I. p. 683.) cont. by *Godefridus*, a monk of the same place till 1237. (*Freher* Th. I. p. 335.—3) *Adamus Bremensis*, after 1067 a canon of Bremen, Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecc. Pontificum, till 1076. (Ed. Lappenberg in *Pertz* Th. IX. p. 267. Uebers. m. Anm. v. *Carsten Miesegaes.* Brm. 1825.) *Odericus Vitalis*, a monk of St. Evroul, d. after 1142. Hist. ecc. l. XIII. till 1142.) [The Eccles. Hist. of Engl. by Od. Vit. has been transl. and publ. by Bohn. Lond. 1854.] *Du Chesne*, Scriptt. Normann. Par. 1619. f. p. 319. According to the more correct French text by *Dubois*, Par. 1825ss. 4 vols.) 4) Continuators of Theophanes: *Joannes Skylitza* 811–1037 & 1081. *Jos. Genesius* 813–67, *Leo Diaconus* till 975, *Simeon Logotheta* till 967, *Leo Grammaticus* till 1013, *Geo. Cedrenus* till 1057. [*Mich. Attaliota*, from 1056 to 1078.] *Jo. Zonaras* till 1118, *Nicetas Acominatus* till 1206, *Geo. Acropolita* till 1261. (Hist. Byzant. Scrr. Par. 1645ss. 42 Th. f. Corpus Scrr. Hist. Byzant. Bonn. 1828ss.)—II. p. § 147.

The plans which Charles the Great had begun to execute with so much violence and hope were apparently quite abandoned by his successors. But

the Church, though externally shaken, secretly nourished its higher life and imparted Roman civilization to Germanic energy and profundity. Accordingly in the tenth century when both the *hierarchy* and the *feudal monarchy* became strong, and when men no longer relied upon mere physical force, but contended with a youthful and romantic enthusiasm for honor, love, and faith, the church naturally became the supreme power of the age, because it was the educator of the people, and held in its hands all the treasures of spiritual grace for earth and heaven. Whenever it entered the lists against mere brute force it was of course defeated, but it always held the first place in the hearts of the people. Under these circumstances the power of the pope so much increased that he was looked upon as the head of the Church, and the representative of its spiritual power, in contrast with the imperial government. Every pope who understood his position must have felt that he was the protector of political freedom and the deliverer of all who were oppressed. The Germanic people became divided into different nations, and indeed every estate, every city, and every corporation endeavored to become independent. But the common connection of all nations and orders with the papacy united them together as one great Christian family, in whose general enterprises all distinctions were forgotten and national peculiarities were disregarded. The prominent thing, therefore, in the history of this period, is the development of the papacy until its influence extends to every thing else, and around it are grouped all the ecclesiastical relations of the Western world. The north-eastern part of Europe was now generally converted to Christianity. In the East, the great conflict with the West between the hosts of Islam and those of the Cross was just enkindled, but the Oriental Church was only passively involved in it, and the only reason we recollect her sluggish existence was her dependence upon more active agents.—Almost every generation of this period is represented by its own chroniclers, who wrote a history of the world from a position more or less of an ecclesiastical character. Many of them commence with the creation of man, or at least with the birth of Christ; but the ages preceding their own were described by writers like themselves, and every chronicle and every section of it is an original authority only where it contains some earlier documents, or records some contemporaneous event. Few of them were written by a single individual, but most of them were the common property of a whole convent, on which several generations were employed as original authors or revisers. Those most worthy of our notice are: *Liudprand*, who gives a dark coloring even to dark passages of history, and although his bitterest expressions are no calumnies, he is sometimes not very exact, and with reference to Italian affairs he displays too much passion. (*a*) The German history of *Lambert* of *Hersfeld* is just such a picture of society as might be expected from a pious monk who had made a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre, and looked out upon the world and his nation from the small stained window of his cell. *Sigbert* of *Gemblours*, though a monk and enthusiastic for ecclesiastical sanctity, represents the emperor's cause against the pope, and indicates the approach of a time when

a) *Martini*, Denkschr. d. Akad. z. München. 1809. Hist. Classe. p. 3ss. *R. A. Koepke*, de vita et scriptis Liudp. Ber. 1842.

such conflicts of piety and patriotism were common. (*b*) *Otho* of *Freisingen*, the uncle and the historian of the emperor Frederic, in the spirit of an ecclesiastical prince, familiar with the world in its highest stations, and mediating between the sword and the crosier, wrote a history of the world and of his times, as if it were a tragedy ending with the final judgment. *Adam* of *Bremen*, living at the centre of the great northern bishopric over which he presided, with considerable historical skill relates the history of the Northern Church at its establishment, according to original records, traditions, and personal recollections. (*c*) If in these contemporary writers the sentiments and superstition of the age is clearly reflected, we have in the Byzantine historians a more elegant and learned picture of their own court, and some occasional notices of the Western Barbarians, like faint vistas of another age.

CHAP. I.—GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY.

I. *Anastasius* (§ 130.) *Martinus Polonus* (d. 1278), Chronicon. Col. 1616. f.—II. *C. Höfler*, d. deutschen Päpste. Regensb. 1839. 2d part.

§ 171. *General View.*

Until the time of *Gregory*, the papacy contended for dominion over the Church, not so much because the popes themselves were ambitious to acquire it, as because the necessities of the times and of those who understood them compelled them to do so. The vicegerent of God on earth, in the midst of the distractions which took place in Italy, often had not where he could securely lay his head; and even when the party which sustained him was victorious, his office as the successor of St. Peter was little more than a good benefice. But after Gregory's time, the struggle for the freedom and ascendency of the Church was in many respects changed. The power of the Church was then established on the broad basis of a territorial possession, and by that very process it had entered the territory and intruded upon the province of the state. Hence the struggle between the imperial and the papal power now became inevitable, and could not be brought to an issue without a sacrifice. From its more perfect power over the higher nature of man, the papacy was triumphant, but the Church gained nothing by the victory, the vital interests of the state were seriously injured, and accordingly the conflict between the two was not terminated.

§ 172. *Donation of Constantine in the Ninth Century.*

Although the pope was the emperor's vassal, and chosen under the imperial dictation, (*a*) he was nevertheless honored by each emperor as a spiritual

b) *S. Hirsch*, de Sig. Gemb. vita et scriptis. Ber. 1841.

c) *Jac. Asmussen*, de fontibus Adami Brem. Kilon. 1834. 4. *Lappenburg* in Pertz Archiv. vol. VI. P. 5s.

a) E. g. Vita Lud. Pii per *Astronomum* c. 25s. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 619s.) *Leo IV.* Lothario. (*Gratian:* P. I. Dist. X. c. 9.) The spuriousness of the constitution in which Louis the Pious restores the right of suffrage to the Romans (817): *F. Walch*, Censura diplomatis, quod Lud. Pius Paschali concessisse fertur. Lps. 1749. (*Pottii* Sylloge, Th. VI. p. 278.) *Marino Marini*, nuovo esame dell'autenticità de diplomi di Lud. P., Ottone I. e. Arrigo II. Rom. 1822.

father, from whose hand the crown was received. But during the reign of the weak-minded Louis the Pious, and the contentions of his sons for the throne, the popes gradually withdrew from under the authority of the emperors, and the bestowal of the crown appeared rather as an act of special favor. *Gregory IV.*, however (827–44), gave such offence by his interference in these disputes, that the Frankish bishops threatened to depose him. (*b*) As the recollection that the secular power of the pope was the gift of the German princes became rather inconvenient, the story was started that *Constantine* the *Great* had given Rome and Italy to Pope *Sylvester*, and that this was the reason that the imperial capital had been removed to Constantinople. The political power of the pope had unquestionably been occasioned by that removal, and by merely substituting a direct intention of the emperor for what was the gradual result of circumstances, the story acquired considerable plausibility, and finally was confirmed by the fortunate discovery of what claimed to be the original deed of gift by Constantine. (*c*) All this, however, did not prevent the emperor who appointed the pope and the bishops, from prescribing laws for the Church, and governing it according to his own views rather than theirs, whenever the empire was free from internal distractions. Even the relaxation of political power which took place while the Carolingian princes contended with each other, was the occasion of licentiousness rather than of liberty among the clergy, and exposed them to the oppression of their secular masters.

§ 173. *Pseudo-Isidore.*

Coustant, de antiq. cann. Coll. (Epp. Pontif. Rom. p. LVI. § 10.) *Ballerini* (Opp. Leon. Th. III. p. CCXVss.) *Blasci* Com. de Col. cann. Isid. Merc. Neap. 1760. 4. (*Gallandii* Syll. Mog. 1790. Th. II. p. I.) *J. A. Theiner*, de P. Isid. cann. Col. Vrat. 1827. *F. H. Knust*, de fontib. et consilio pseudoisidorianae. Col. Goett. 1832. 4.

The collection bearing the name of Isidore came to light at intervals, much mutilated, and besides some later portions with nearly one hundred spurious decretals professing to have been put forth by different popes from the time of Clement I. (91) to that of Damasus I. (384). (*a*) In these enactments is presented a legal condition, in which the clergy were entirely disconnected with the state, and by the dissolution of the metropolitan and synodal courts, the supreme legislative, supervisory and judicial powers became united in the pope. The moral influence and strict discipline of the clergy were represented as dependent upon their complete separation from the state. Many irrelevant and trivial matters are taken from the literature of former times and mingled with the body of the work. It professes in its preface, and from its singleness of aim it would seem really to be, the work

b) *Paschasius* ex vita Walac. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 562.)

c) Edictum Dom. Constantini in *Pseudo-Isidore*, and in the extracts of *Gratian:* Dist. XCVI. c. 13. The first appeal to it is in *Hincmar*, Epp. III, 13. In the missives of *Hadrian* to Charles the Great (Codex Carol. Ep. 49.) is the first germ. *Münch*, ü. d. Schenk. Const. (Enlarged Hist. Schr. Ludw. 1828. vol. II.)

a) An imperfect edition by *Merlin:* Tomus primus quatuor conciliorum, etc. Ysidoro auctore. Par. 1524. f. (Col. 1530. Par. 1535.) Contributions to a crit. edit. by *Camus* and *Koch* in: Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibl. nationale. Th. VI. p. 286. Th. VII. P. II. p. 173ss.

of an individual who is called *Isidorus* (Peccator, Mercator). Most of the spurious decretals must have been in existence when Benedict Levita compiled his book of laws (845), and though it may be doubtful whether they were quoted in the Synod of Paris (829), they were certainly referred to in the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (836). Nicholas I., in the year 864, first used a certain collection unknown to him only the year before, and it may be that many things were afterwards added. It is difficult to form any definite opinion respecting the author, as many things indicate that he was a Roman, and still more that he was an eastern Frank. (*b*) The skill with which it was composed was not greater than was practicable and even necessary for that age. Some opponents of the papacy since the fourteenth century have suspected the deception, and Protestants have clearly proved it by pointing out references to the Codex Dionysii, a constant use of the barbarous Latinity of the ninth century, citations of laws of a later date, and numerous anachronisms. (*c*) After a brief contest, the advocates of the papacy merely attempted to show that such a deception was not criminal or of much consequence. (*d*) And it must be conceded that the spurious decretals contain very little which had not been actually asserted by some pope at one time or another. But that which had been only lately conceded or claimed under peculiarly favorable circumstances, and with many conditions and protests, was here announced under the sacred authority of Christian antiquity as an undoubted, generally conceded, and divine right. A forged document is indeed no very good foundation on which to build a claim for universal dominion, but as Isidore only expressed in a decisive manner what was the general object of effort during that age, he gave a definite direction to the fluctuating views of right which then prevailed, and filled even the minds of the popes and clergy with the moral power of a faith in their own right to what was claimed. Men are much more inclined to judge of rights from facts than from theories, and hence this fiction respecting former times certainly anticipated a future reality, and gave considerable support to the pretensions of the priesthood. The object of it was to promote the independence of the Church, which the same author, or some contemporary whose sympathies were remarkably similar to his, endeavored to sustain in an earlier plan, by increasing the difficulties in the way of sustaining charges against bishops, and by allowing them to be tried only in the provincial synods. (*e*) It was thought, however, that this could be secured against the threatening and overwhelming power of the emperor in no other way than by uniting the whole Church under one

b) *Leo IV.* a. 850. ad Episc. Britan. (*Gratian:* P. I. Dist. XX. c. 1.)

c) Centur. Magdeburg. Th. II. c. 7. Th. III. c. 7. (*Turrianus*, adv. Magd. Cent. pro cann. app. et epp. decretalibus Pontt. app. Par. 1573. 4.) *Dav. Blondel*, Pseudo-Isid. et Turr. vapulantes. Gen. 1628. 4.

d) *Walter*, KRecht. 8 ed. Bonn. 1839. p. 155ss. *Möhler*, aus u. über P. Isid. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1829. II. 3. 1832. II. 1. and miscell. writings. vol. I.) Only *Marchetti* has undertaken still to question the spuriousness of the Decretals. (Saggio crit. sopra la storia di Fleuri. Rom. 1781.)

e) *Capitula Angilramni: Mansi* Th. XII. p. 904ss. According to some Cod. these were a collection of 785 laws respecting legal proceedings against bishops presented by Angilram, Bp. of Metz and Arch-chaplain to Charles the Great, to Pope Adrian, but, according to others presented by Adrian to Angilram. For its authenticity: *Wasserschleben*, Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. falschen Decretal. Brsl. 1844. Against it: *Rettberg*, KGesch. Deutschl. vol. I. p. 501. 646ss.

earthly head. It is hardly possible that he who thus attempted to deceive the whole Church and the world had in view any direct personal advantage which he expected to derive from it.

§ 174. *The Female Pope Joanna.*

In the chronicles composed near the commencement of the thirteenth century, it is recorded that between *Leo IV.* (d. July 17, 855) who hoped to free himself from the influence of France by another connection with the Greek empire, and *Benedict III.*, a disguised female who had been highly educated at Athens, was elevated to the apostolic chair under the name of John VIII. (Anglicus), and met with a tragical end while paying the penalty of her sex. (*a*) It was on this account that John XX. (1276) assumed the appellation of John XXI., and this *Joanna Papissa* retained her place on the list of the successors of St. Peter. But the silence of all antiquity with respect to the matter, awakened doubts in the fifteenth century, and when proofs were brought forward that Benedict apparently succeeded Leo immediately in the papal chair, (*b*) with only a contest with an antipope named Anastasius, (*c*) a Roman presbyter who had before been excommunicated by Leo, and when the unlucky affair was at least boldly denied by the popes of the eleventh century, (*d*) even the Protestants abandoned the account. (*e*) It does not wear the appearance of a calumnious story, or of a satirical allegory, but rather of one of those popular tales in which the highest power of the age was treated with innocent poetic raillery, and after a German style, a deep sorrow was concealed under a playful semblance. It is, however, possible that a Church which has often made realities out of what never existed, may also possess magic power enough to annihilate what has really taken place, whenever the knowledge of it may have seemed injurious to the still tottering papacy. (*f*)

a) *Stephanus de Borbone* (1225 in Lyons) L. de VII. donis Sp. S. (*Blascus* de Coll. cann. Isid. c. 16. § 11. n. 2.) *Martini Pol.* Chronic. (comp. *Muratori* ad Anastas. p. 247.) The passage relating to the subject is interpolated out of Martinus in a few manuscripts of Anastasius. The mention of the papal mother in the editio princeps of *Sigebert. Gemblac.* ad a. 855 is wanting in the MSS. hitherto known. (*Pertz* Th. VIII. 340. 470.)

b) 1) *Hincmari* Ep. 26. ad Nic. I. a. 867. (Opp. ed. *Sirmond.* Th. II. p. 298.) according to which his messenger received the news of the death of Leo while on his way to Rome, and when he arrived at Rome his petition was granted by Benedict. 2) A diploma of the monastery of Corbey (*Mabillon*, de re diplom. p. 436.); and 3) A Roman denarius (*Köhler's* Münzbelust. vol. XX. p. 305.) have each the name of Benedict in connection with that of Lothaire. The Emperor Lothaire died Sept. 28, 855.

c) *Jaffé*, Regesta p. 235s. *Hincmari* Annal. (*Pertz*, vol. I. p. 477ss.)

d) *Leo* IX. ad Michael. Constant. Patriarch. a. 1054. (*Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 649.) c. 23.

e) *Blondel*, Joanna Papissa. Amst. 1657. *G. G. Leibnitii* flores sparsi in tumulum Papissae. (Bibl. hist. Goett. 1758. Th. I. p. 297ss.) *Gabler*, kirchl. theol. Schriften. vol. I. N. 29.— *W. Smets*, d. Mährchen v. d. P. Joh. Cölln. 1829.

f) *Spanhemii* Ds. de Jo. P. (Opp. Th. II. p. 577ss.) *Luden*, Gesch. d. teutschen Volkes. 1831. vol. VI. p. 512. *N. C. Kist*, d. Päpstin Joh. from the Dutch. (Nederl. Archief voor kerk. Geschiedenis III, 1. V, 461.) revised by *L. Tross.* (Illgen's Zeitschr. 1844. part 2.)

§ 175. *Nicholas I.* 858–867. *Hadrian II.* 867–872, *and John VIII.* 872–882.

Mansi Th. XV. p. 144ss. Regino ad ann. 858ss. Hincmar de divortio Hlotharii et Teutbergae. (Opp. ed. *Sirmond.* Th. I. p. 557ss.)—*Mansi* Th. XV. p. 806ss. Th. XVI. p. 570ss. *Hinc. Rem.* Opusc. 55 capitulor. adv. Hincm. Laudunens. (Opp. Th. II. p. 377ss.)

Nicholas I., a defender of the people, was gentle toward good men, but like an avenging Elijah toward those who were evil. He formed but never quite accomplished the design of surrounding himself with a council of intelligent bishops out of all nations. But perceiving the favorable disposition of the age, he raised the privileges of the apostolic see so that they became a protection for the whole Church, and under the sanction of public opinion a weapon against all kinds of violence. In opposition to a lascivious king and a large number of servile bishops, he appeared as the avenger of oppressed innocence, and as a defender of episcopal rights against an imperious and powerful archbishop. King *Lothaire II.* was obliged to humble himself, since the hostile princes of his own family stood ready to execute the papal threats, and the Frankish bishops did not object to have the spurious decretals applied for the first time against *Hincmar* of *Rheims*, for they thought it better to obey a distant pope than a threatening metropolitan at home. It was, however, still believed even at Rome, that a papal decision might very easily be annulled by a Frankish synod. (*a*) But when, with no such advantage of political circumstances, *Hadrian II.*, after the death of Lothaire (869), defended the rights of the lawful heir to the throne against *Charles the Bald* and *Louis the German*, and endeavored to protect *Hincmar* of *Laon*, a deposed bishop who had also been persecuted by the king, from the rage of his uncle, *Hincmar* of *Rheims*, the latter gave him to understand that in France a wide distinction was made between spiritual and secular power; that great disturbances of public tranquillity had been created by the pope, and that the bishops of former times had independent privileges. The pope therefore found it needful to assuage the wounded feelings of the Frankish nation by some concessions, and expressions of a holy love which he declared had always remained constant in spite of some epistles that might have seemed severe because written under the pressure of great infirmity, or forged in his name. (*b*) John VIII. bestowed (775) the imperial crown upon Charles the Bald in compliance with what he declared to be a divine revelation to his predecessor Nicholas, in spite of the superior hereditary claims of the German kingdom, and sustained the cause of that prince by every spiritual menace in his power. It was then solemnly announced that this bestowal of the imperial dignity was in consequence of the intercessions of the apostles Peter and Paul, through their vicegerent on earth. It corresponded with the political views of the emperor to compel the French bishops to acknowledge *Ansegisus*, Archbishop of Sens, as the primate and papal vicar for Gaul and Germany; but under the counsel of Hincmar they persisted in obeying the holy father only as far as was consistent with the rights of all the metropolitans, and with

a) *Anastas.* ad Adonem Vienn. (*Mansi* Th. XV. p. 453.)—*E. Rossteuscher*, de Rothado Episc. Suessionensi. Marb. 1845. 2 Pgg.

b) *Hincm.* ad Hadr. (Opp. Th. II. p. 689.) *Hadr.* ad Carol. Calv. (*Mansi* Th. XV. p. 857.)

the laws of the Church. (*c*) He gave his consent to the decrees of the Synod of *Ravenna* (877), in which the papal approbation was declared indispensable to the investiture of the metropolitans, the bishops were made independent of all censures and claims on the part of the civil powers, and the guardianship of widows and orphans was committed to their hands; (*d*) but the papal letters which interfered with the independence of the empire and the jurisdiction of the bishops over their clergy, he pronounced through Hincmar to be spurious. (*e*) The pope fell finally by the hand of an assassin. (*f*) He continued to the last inflexibly convinced of the imprescriptible rights of his see, and of his position as a servant of God, contending against the powers and princes of the world (Eph. vi. 12). Sorely pressed by the Saracens in Lower Italy, and wearied by the municipal and German factions in Rome, he defended himself with extreme difficulty, and sometimes not without treachery.

§ 176. *Formosus*, 891–896, *and Stephen VI.* 897.

Auxilii l. II. de ordinationibus Formosi (Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. XVII. p. 1ss.) and Dial. super causa et neg. Form. (*Mabill.* Anal. ed. 2. p. 28ss.) *Mansi* Th. XVIII. p. 99ss. 221ss. *Liudprand* I, 8.

When *Charles* the *Fat* was deposed by the German people on account of his incapacity (887), and when, soon after, the male line of the Emperor Charles had become extinct in France, Germany and France became distinct kingdoms. Both nations were rent into factions by the contentions of the sons-in-law and the illegitimate children of the old royal family. Italy struggled for its independence even with itself. The popes, it is true, were free from foreign masters, but they were often obliged to make concessions in the party contests of the Romans and of the Italian nobles. *Guido*, Duke of Spoleto, and *Berengar*, Duke of Friuli, contended with each other for the crown of Italy, and placed their favorites in the papal chair according as they were severally successful. *Formosus*, after a life of great vicissitude, was elevated to the apostolic throne, and though he was compelled to place the imperial crown upon the head of *Lambert*, the son of Guido, he immediately summoned the German *Arnulf* to Rome to free Italy from the tyranny of that prince. Arnulf was then crowned, and the Romans were made to take the oath of allegiance to him, with the understanding that their duties to the pope were in no respect to be affected by such an act. His successor, *Stephen VI.*, went over again to the party of Guido, and having disinterred the body of Formosus, subjected it to the mockery of a judicial trial. Enraged at these proceedings, the opposite party had him soon after strangled in prison.

c) *Conc. Pontigoneuse* a. 876. *Hincm.* Tr. ad Episcc. de jure Metropol. (Opp. Th. II. p. 719.) *Hincm.* Annal. (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 499ss.)

d) *Mansi* Th. XVII. p. 337.

e) De Presbyteris diffamatis ad Jo. P. (*Hincm.* Opp. Th. II. p. 768s.)

f) *Annal. Fuldens.* (*Pertz* Th. I. p. 398.)

§ 177. *Pornocracy.* 904–962.

I. The principal authority is Liudprand, but when he writes of great outrages, he must be compared with other chroniclers, especially *Flodoardi* Chron. and his Fragm. de Pontiff. Rom. (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. O. Ben. S. III. P. II.) *Jaffé*, Regesta p. 307–322.

II. *Löscher*, Hist. des röm. Hurenregiments. Lpz. 1707. 4. (2. A. Hist. der mittlern Zeiten als ein Licht aus der Finsterniss. 1725. 4.)

While Italy bled under the feuds of the nobility, the Tuscan party obtained the victory at Rome, and made their tool, *Sergius III.*, pope (904–911). At the head of this faction stood *Alberic*, Marquis of Tuscany, with his paramour *Theodora*, a widow of a noble family, and her daughter *Maria* (Marozia). These last were exceedingly beautiful, crafty and bold Roman women, whose love of power and of voluptuousness were so subservient to each other that it was hard to tell which was the strongest passion. For half a century their favorites, sons and grandsons, occupied the apostolic chair. Maria made no secret of the parentage of her children, acknowledging that her husband Alberic was the father of *Alberic*, and Pope Sergius of *John*. On the death of Sergius, the Archbishop of Ravenna, John X. (914–28), by the criminal favor of Theodora, became the successor of St. Peter. By him the strength of Italy was united against the Saracens, who for forty years had maintained a settlement on the borders of the States of the Church. At the head of a Greek and Roman imperial army, he destroyed their citadel (916) on the Carigliano (Liris). After the death of Theodora, the pope, with the aid of his brother Peter, endeavored to make himself independent. Maria had the Pope's brother killed before his eyes, and then caused him to be smothered in the castle of St. Angelo (928). Her son, *John XI.*, ascended the papal throne as though it were an inheritance from his father. She now married Hugh, Count of Provence, who was regarded as the real king of Italy. But her secular son *Alberic*, in a nocturnal insurrection of the Romans, expelled his stepfather, and as a senator (932–954) exercised supreme power in Rome. Under his administration the popes possessed nothing but a spiritual jurisdiction. His son *Octavian*, after the death of Agapetus (956), seized not only his father's power, but the episcopal office, and was the first among the popes who assumed an ecclesiastical name on attaining the papal throne. As *John XII.* (955–63), he hoped to disconnect the excesses of his secular life from his ecclesiastical name and office.

§ 178. *The Popes under the Othos.*

During the reign of Henry I. Germany became conscious of its power. *Otho I.* seized upon the first favorable opportunity for renewing the German dominion in Italy. (*a*) Since that time Germany and Italy have contrived to exert a disastrous influence upon each other. The German king was invited by *John XII.* himself to deliver the mother of churches from the violence of *Berengar II.*, the new king of Italy, and when victorious, he was crowned by the pope at Rome (962), on his taking a solemn oath that he would preserve inviolate the person of the pope, and all property belonging to the

a) W. *Dönniges*, Jahrbücher d. Deutschen Reichs unter Otto I. Berl. 1839.

Roman Church, and undertake nothing in Rome without the advice of the pope. The pope and all the notables of the city, on the other hand, swore on the precious body of St. Peter that they would henceforth abandon the cause of Berengar for ever. (*b*) But Italy could at that time neither dispense with nor endure the Germans. John soon formed an alliance with Berengar to drive them from the country. Otho hastened back and had the pope cited before a Synod at *Rome* (963), which convicted him of murder, blasphemy, and all kinds of lewdness, deposed him, and elected *Leo VIII.* in his stead. The Romans then swore to the emperor that no pope should be chosen or consecrated without his consent. (*c*) On the emperor's departure, John returned and took a most cruel vengeance on his enemies, but he was soon after found dead in an adulterous bed, slain as was generally believed by the devil. The succeeding popes were nominated and with great difficulty sustained by the emperor, against the hatred of the people and the deceitful policy of the Tuscan party. After Otho's death (973), *Crescentius*, a grandson of Theodora, under the character of a Consul, armed the Roman people against the foreign tyranny. Whenever the emperors had an army in Italy, the popes were entirely subservient to their will, but at other times they were the creatures of the Roman consul and people. *Otho III.*, intending to transfer the imperial residence to Rome, caused his young nephew Bruno to be proclaimed pope, under the name of *Gregory V.* (996), (*d*) subdued the fortress of St. Angelo, and had Crescentius beheaded, and a rival pope mutilated (998). *Arnulf*, Archbishop of Rheims, and a natural brother of the Duke of Lorraine, had surrendered Rheims to this relative, and had afterwards fallen into the hands of *Hugh Capet*, his enraged king. He refused to acknowledge any one but the pope as his judge. But a national synod at Rheims (991) compelled him to resign his office, and placed *Gerbert* in his chair. (*e*) The pope issued sentence of excommunication against all who acknowledged the validity of the acts of that synod. In vain did Gerbert remind the people that it was not his own interest, but the welfare of the general Church, which was to be sacrificed to the caprice of an individual; he was shunned as an excommunicated man by all the inhabitants of Rheims, and finally (995) he accepted the invitation of the emperor to become the imperial tutor. The new French kingdom sought reconciliation with the pope. Arnulf was reinstated in his former office by another synod held at Rheims (996), and even *Robert*, the king, submitted to a decision of a Roman synod (998), by which he was separated from his wife Bertha on account of a spiritual relationship and a natural consanguinity in the fourth degree. (*f*) Soon after, however, on the premature death of Gregory, Otho had his beloved teacher elected to the vacant chair, and from personal regard, while proudly denying

b) *Gratian:* P. I. Dist. LXIII. c. 33. *Liudp.* VI, 6.

c) *Liudp.* VI, 6–11. *Pertz* Th. IV. p. 29ss. The *Const. Leonis* VIII. as to its essential matter is trustworthy, but the form in which it has been known since the 11th cent. is not beyond suspicion. It may be found in *Pertz* Th. IV. II. p. 167. as an extract in *Gratian:* P. I. Dist. LXIII. c. 23.— *C. F. Hertel*, de Ottonis M. Ecclesiae prospiciendi conatu. Magd. 1736. *d*) *Jaffé*, p. 339ss.

e) Gerbert's account of the transactions in *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 103ss.

f) *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 225. *Helgaldus Floriac.* Vita Roberti c. 17. (Bouquet Th. X. p. 107.) The view entertained in the next century may be found in *Pet. Damiani* l. II. Ep. 15.

the validity of all former grants, he presented to St. Peter eight counties belonging to the States of the Church as if they were his own. (*g*) *Sylvester II.* (999–1003) was of a very humble origin, and in early life had been a strenuous opponent of papal assumptions. His elevation and his knowledge seemed so extraordinary, that the reverence of the Germans and the aversion of the Romans produced a report that he had sold his soul to the devil as the price of the papacy. But in the midst of the highest youthful aspirations the emperor suddenly died (1002), and the power of his favorite pope was broken. (*h*)

§ 179. *The Papacy until the Synod of Sutri.*

I. *Jaffé*, Regesta p. 351–364. *Glaber Radulfus*, a monk of Clugni (about 1046), Hist. sui temporis. (*Du Chesne* Th. IV. p. 1.) *Bonizo*, Bishop of Sutri and Piacenza, d. 1089, L. ad amic. s. de persecutione Ecc. (*Oefele* Scrr. rer. Boicar. Th. II. p. 794.) In and after the fifth book there is a history of the Popes, from Benedict IX. to Greg. VII. *Desiderius* (*Victor III.*) de miraculis a S. Benedicto aliisque Casinensib. gestis Diall. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. XVIII. p. 853.) Annales Romani from 1046. (*Pertz* Th. VII. p. 468.)

II. *Engelhardt*, Obss. de syn. Sutriensi. Erlang. 1834. 4. *Th. Mittler*, de schism. in Ecc. Rom. sub pontif. Ben. IX. Tur. 1835.—*Stenzel*, Gesch. Deutschl. unter d. fränk. Kaisern. Lpz. 1827.

In Rome the contest was still continued between a popular party and the Count of Tusculum, in whose family the papacy had become hereditary after the time of *Benedict VIII.* (1012.) *Benedict IX.* reached the sacred chair (1033) when he was yet a boy, disgraced it by crimes which are usually impracticable at such a youthful period of life, and finally was driven from it by the people. *Sylvester III.* was put in his place, but Benedict was soon after brought back between the swords of his party. Convinced, however, that it would be impossible to sustain himself against the popular contempt, the tiara was sold to Gregory VI. The latter regarded the disgrace of acquiring the papal crown in this manner as a necessary sacrifice for the deliverance of the Church. Benedict, however, soon repented of this transaction, and three popes shared the Church between themselves. *Henry III.* now came to restore the imperial power in Italy, and assembled, in the very midst of his army, the Synod of *Sutri* (1046), by which the papal chair was pronounced vacant. Gregory having deposed himself, Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, a serious and pious German belonging to the imperial retinue, was then saluted as Pope in the Church of St. Peter, under the name of *Clement II.* From the hands of the newly elected pope the German king received the crown of the Roman *Emperor*, and was made the *Patricius* of the city, and the Romans swore once more that no pope should be chosen contrary to his will.

§ 180. *The Popes under Hildebrand*, 1048–1073.

I. *Bonizo*, *Desiderius*, and *Annales Rom.* as referred to in the preceding section. *Leo Ostiensis*, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, 1101, Chron. monasterii Casinens. (*Muratori* Th. IV. p. 151.) These were thorough admirers of Gregory. Many notices may be found in the epistles of the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, *Damiani*, d. 1072, who essentially agreed with Hildebrand, but with all his con-

g) *Ottonis III.* Diploma. (Baron. ad ann. 1191. No. 57.) comp. *Liudpr.* Hist. Otton. c. 19.

h) *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 240ss.—*C. F. Hock*, Gerbert o. Sylv. II. u. s. Jahrh. Vienna. 1837. Wilman's Jahrbücher d. Deutschen Reichs unter Otto III. Berl. 1840. *Jaffé*, Regesta p. 345ss.

tracted views was independently opposed to what he called the holy Satan and the whole papacy. *Annales Altahenses*, restored by W. Giesebrecht. Berl. 1841.

II. *Joh. Voigt*, Hildebr. als. Greg. VII. u. s. Zeitalter. Weim. (1815.) 1846. *G. Cassander*, d. Zeitalter Hildebr. für u. gegen ihn. Darmst. 1842.—*Höfler*, deutsche Päpste. 2 Abth.

The popes of this period were dependent upon the emperor, but they were generally men selected for that station on account of their ecclesiastical character, and from the fact that as general bishops of the empire, honorably and securely residing at Rome, they had attained a high degree of ecclesiastical influence. The general voice of the people demanded of them the deliverance of the Church from the simony and the licentiousness of the clergy. The bishopries were regularly and sometimes at auction set up for sale, and the bishops sought remuneration for the expense of their purchase from the sale of the inferior offices. The whole Church had become venal. What had been obtained by worldly policy was administered and enjoyed in a worldly manner. The power of *Henry III.* was so great in Italy, that Roman messengers were sent to him demanding that he would bestow on them some one for a pope. At the Diet of Worms, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, a cousin of the emperor, was elected to that office, and under the name of *Leo IX.* (1048–54) proved himself a pious man, but somewhat dependent upon those who surrounded him. A Roman monk, whom he was desirous of making one of his retinue, refused all connection with him because he had obtained his station in the Church not in accordance with ecclesiastical laws, but by worldly power. In compliance with the counsel of this man, the pope went to Rome in the character of a pilgrim, and was there regularly elected by the clergy and people of the city. The monk who had such an influence over him was *Hildebrand*. He was born probably at Saona, the son of a mechanic, was educated at Clugni, and had shared the exile of Gregory VI. in Germany. Leo sought in the national councils of France and Germany to re-establish discipline, and to remove all those priests who had purchased their offices and would not perform penance for their sin. In a campaign against the Normans who had conquered Apulia, his whole army was finally destroyed. But when the imprisoned vicegerent of Christ beheld the conquerors at his feet, he blessed their arms and confirmed their conquests. (*a*) When Leo died, Hildebrand, then a subdeacon, was commissioned by the Roman people to select a successor, and chose Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, Victor II. (1055–57). (*b*) This man, on account of his wisdom and wealth as well as for his consanguinity and friendship with the emperor, was the most powerful bishop in the empire. The principal object aimed at in his election, was to break up a party of which he had been the centre, but which had been opposed to the papal power over the bishops, and to enlist his great personal influence against those abuses which prevailed beyond the Alps. Against these, Hildebrand, when Legate, had so effectually contended, that the contrition of a perjured bishop before his piercing glance was regarded as a miraculous influence upon the conscience. (*c*) The Emperor Henry, when

a) *Wibertus*, Bruno's Archdeacon at Toul, Vita Leon. (*Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 278.) *Bruno*, Bishop of Segni, about 1100, Vita Leon. (*Ib.* P. II. p. 846.)

b) Vita and Epp. in *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 833.

c) According to Damiani *Baron.* ad ann. 1055. No. 15ss.

dying, commended his son to the protection of the pope, and Victor promised that the empire should be given to the royal child, *Henry IV.* But a new power had recently been established in Italy, by the marriage of Godfrey of Lorraine with Beatrice, the widow of the Marquis of Tuscany. Godfrey's brother, *Stephen IX.*, was actuated by the very spirit of the Reformation. His plan of establishing a national empire in Italy, by investing his brother with the royal dignity, was defeated by his want of decision or his early death (Aug. 2, 1058.) (*d*) The Roman nobles, with a party of the clergy opposed to the Reformation, placed upon the throne the Bishop of Velétri, Benedict X. Hildebrand, with the concurrence of the imperial court, then procured the election of Gebhard, Archbishop of Florence, *Nicholas II.* (1058–61.) (*e*) The duke Godfrey conducted him to Rome, and Benedict submitted. At a Roman synod (1059), Nicholas committed almost exclusively to the college of cardinals the power of choosing the pope, in order that the papal election might not be disturbed by the factious interests of the nobles, or the storms of popular elections. The right of King Henry and of his successors (which, however, he would have obtained *personally* from the apostolic see) was made the subject of special stipulation. (*f*) The Roman court perceived the advantage of an alliance with the Normans in opposition to the Germans, and it agreed with the piety and policy of *Robert Guiscard* to have his conquests in Lower Italy and his designs upon Sicily pronounced lawful and holy by the pope. He now became, accordingly, the vassal and protector of the Roman Church. (*g*) By his assistance the offended nobility, and especially the faction of the Count of Tusculum, was overthrown. On the death of Nicholas, Hildebrand, in connection with the cardinals, made choice of Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, *Alexander II.* (1061–73). The imperial court regarded the alliance with the Normans with much uneasiness, and therefore induced the Lombardic bishops to proclaim Cadolaus, Bishop of Parma, Honorius II., as pope, whose previous life gave sufficient assurance that the Church would be protected against simony and concubinage. But Godfrey drew his sword, and the Normans were arrayed in defence of the pope chosen by Hildebrand, and when Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, carried off the person of the German king, then in his minority, that he might take upon himself the regency, Honorius was generally abandoned. The work of reformation, however, produced but little result in the Church in consequence of the opposition of the bishops, supported by the king. Henry IV. was desirous of a divorce from his noble but much-abused wife. The Cardinal Damiani, at a synod held at Mentz, so frightened the bishops when they seemed disposed to favor the royal request, that they dared not comply. When the Saxons sent messengers to Rome as to a divine court, to complain of Henry IV. for his intolerable oppression of his subjects, and for exposing to sale all ecclesiastical offices to raise a revenue for the support of soldiers employed against his people, Alexander summoned the king to answer the charges at Rome. Henry's wrath at so strange

d) *Leo Ostiens.* II, 100ss.

e) Vita and Epp. in *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 867.

f) Statutum de electione Papae. *Pertz* Th. IV. 2. p. 176. A falsified text in *Gratian:* P. I. Dist. XXIII. c. 1.—*E. Cunitz* de Nic. II. decreto. Argent. 887. 4.

g) Both feudal oaths are to be seen in *Baron.* ad ann. 1059. No. 70s.

a proceeding was soon after allayed by the sudden news of Alexander's death. It was then that Hildebrand felt that the time had come in which he might enter upon the execution of the plan for which he had long been preparing, and might assume the dignity of an independent sovereign. Even at the funeral of Alexander, the people exclaimed, "Hildebrand is Pope, St. Peter has elected him!"

§ 181. *Gregory VII. April* 22, 1073—*May* 25, 1085.

I. 1) *Gregorii* Registri s. Epp. l. XI. The 10th book is wanting in all the edit. hitherto, as in *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 60ss. According to the investigations of *Giesebrecht* on the basis of the Cod. Vaticanus the Registrum is not the official record of Gregory's writings, but the first seven books are a collection which a contemporary formed from them corresponding to the seven first years of his public administration. The 8th book, which was not until a later period divided according to the years of his reign, contains all his other writings afterwards found, compiled without a strict regard to their chronological order. Thus, *Jaffé*, Regesta p. 402–443. Acts of council & orig. docc.: *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 402ss. and in *Vlduricl Babenberg.* Codex Epist. collected about 1125. (*Eccard.* Th. II. p. 1.) 2) Panegyrists: *Bonizo* and others referred to at the head of § 179s. *Paulus Bernriedensis*, canon at Ratisbon, about 1130, de Vita Greg. (*Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 317.) *Bruno*, a Saxon clergyman, Hist. belli Saxon. 1073–81. (*Freher.* Th. I. p. 171.) The biographies of *Pandulph* of *Pisa*, and *Nicolas* of *Aragon*, for the sake of the original authorities preserved in them. (*Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 304.) 3) Opponents: *Benno*, a Cardinal of the party of Clement III. the Antipope, de vita et gestis Hildebr. l. II. *Otbert*, Bishop of Liege, de vita et obitu Henr. IV. (Both are in *Goldasti's* Apologia pro Henr. IV. Han. 1611. 4.) Concerning fragments of another adverse writer: *Pertz* Archiv. vol. V. p. 85. Among the Panegyrists the praise is unqualified, but although Paul of Bernr. writes as an independent man, and Bruno passionately when in opposition to the emperor, they express the sentiment of a whole nation. On the same side are also found some impartial chroniclers, as Lambert, Marianus Scotus, Otto of Freysingen, and, respecting the character of Gregory, even Sigbert. On the other hand, Benno's work is nothing but a lampoon full of contradictions.

II. *Guab*, Apol. Greg. Tüb. 1792. Voigt and Cassander referred to at the head of § 180. *A. de Vidaillan*, Vie de Grégoire VII. Par. 1837. 2 Th. *J. W. Bowden*, Life of Gregory VII. Lond. 1840. 2 Th.—*Söltl*, Heinrich IV. Munich. 1823. *Verenet*, de commutatione, quam subiit hierarchia Rom. auctore Greg. Traj. ad Rh. 1832. [*J. Stephens*, Hildebrand, or Greg. VII. (in Ed. Review, Jan. 1845. and Eclectic Mag. June, 1845).]

That he might not be embarrassed with an antipope, Gregory VII. asked the consent of the king to his assumption of the tiara. Henry IV., deceived by the humility and frankness exhibited in his letter, readily granted what it would have been difficult to withhold. No doubt Gregory secretly desired the possession of the papal crown, but the same feeling which even at a later period, in the midst of a stormy activity, made him sometimes tired of the hostility of the world, and long for retirement, for he was a sickly man, now made him shrink from the struggle in which he foresaw he must engage in opposition to the clergy, the bishops, and even the king, if he would radically heal the maladies of the Church. The marriages of the clergy, contracted with a consciousness of guilt, and generally of a dissolute character, were the most universal cause of their corruption. It was necessary, therefore, that marriage should be freely conceded to them, or be rendered utterly impracticable. At a synod held at Rome (1074), Gregory re-established the ancient law of celibacy. The largest portion of the inferior clergy in Lombardy and beyond the Alps were indignant at this. It was, however, only by renouncing the delights and cares of domestic life that the clergy could secure the independence of the Church, and yet retain possession of her vast estates. By exciting the common people against all married priests, the papal law prevailed in spite of their desperate opposition. A second Roman synod (1075)

pronounced the decisive sentence by which all simony was condemned, and the freedom of the Church was declared, since every one was laid under excommunication who should give or receive an ecclesiastical office from the hands of a layman. The kings, in opposition to this, defended a long established prerogative which was a powerful support to their thrones. In the mind of Gregory the idea of a universal theocracy had become ascendant, in which a vicar of God in times of brute violence (faustrecht) might stand between princes and their people, enforcing the law of divine right by his spiritual power, and able either to humble the people or to depose princes. As the cause of the papacy was then believed to be identical with that of general reformation, and all felt the necessity of a supreme moral power when such lawless violence prevailed, and of a legitimate dominion of the spiritual over the merely physical nature, of which the state was regarded as the representative, the best portion of society were favorable to this view. Many, however, saw the necessary result of intrusting such unlimited power to the hand of a man. (*a*) Gregory never lost an opportunity as a feudal lord paramount, and as an umpire or lawgiver, to assert with greater or less success his office of a divine vicar among the nations of Europe. His principles he openly and boldly avowed, (*b*) however careful and reserved he might be in expressing opinions of particular persons; but in the accomplishment of his purposes he never hesitated, if necessary, to make use of the most terrible measures. He gathered around himself men of vigorous and elevated minds, whom he raised often against their own wills from monastic concealment to the highest dignities. Beatrice and her daughter Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, always participated in his most secret counsels. The suspicions which some attempted to throw upon his relations to the former lady, were too convenient for the purposes of the thousands whose inclinations he opposed, to acquire any high degree of probability when opposed to the uniform character of the parties. (*c*) More credible evidences show that the relation was that of an earnest father to his spiritual daughter, who did homage to his lofty spirit, and was delighted when he intrusted to her his cares, and allowed her to assist him with her wealth and power. Gregory was indeed hated by the clergy and the principal men of Italy, but on Christmas night in the year 1074, the people delivered him out of the hands of the youth among the nobility, who had formed a conspiracy and threatened his life. His opinion that Spain by an ancient legal title belonged to St. Peter, and that Hungary had formerly been given to St. Peter by one of its kings, just as Saxony was said to have been given by the Emperor Charles, remained only as an idea founded upon a legendary tradition to be taken up by any one who might afterwards have the power to act upon the sug-

a) Apologia pro Henr. IV. 1093, written probably by *Waltram*, Bishop of Naumburg, and a Tract. de investitura Episc. by the same. Besides other Apologists in *Goldast Theodorici*. Ep. ad Greg. a. 1089. (*Martene* Thesaur. nov. Anecdot. Th. I. p. 214ss.) For Gregor.: *Bernold. Constant.* Apologet. pro decretis Greg. (*Mansi* Th. XX. p. 404.) Letters and Pamphlets: *Ussermann* Th. II. p. 183. *Anselmus*, Bp. of Lucca, contra Guibertum Antipapam l. II. a. 1084. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. XVIII. p. 602.) Others in *Gretser*, Apol. pro Greg. (Opp. Th. VI.)

b) Still as a collection by another hand, comp. Dictatus *Gregorii VII.* (L. II. Ep. 55. *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 169ss.) *c*) *Lambert Schafn.* ad ann. 1076.

gestion. (*d*) If he sometimes made concessions when great power and talents were arrayed against him, as when *Philip* of *France*, and still more, when *William* the *Conqueror* of England resisted his measures, it was because his extraordinary knowledge of political affairs enabled him to judge how far he might venture, and made him see the necessity of using worldly means in worldly transactions. But even when yielding to necessity, he openly avowed, that just as God had patience with the wickedness of man, he endured injustice only for the present in the hope of a future melioration. (*e*) The impetuous instability of the youthful Henry IV., who had been invested with the purple even from his birth, had been educated without discipline, and lived ever afterwards without affection, presented a fair mark for his terrible and cool precision. In opposition to this prince, Gregory went forward reforming the Church and exalting the papacy, and finally he beheld the highest of all earthly powers humbled before it. When the trade in ecclesiastical offices was persisted in at court, and those counsellors who had been excommunicated on this account were reinstated; when Henry's paramours went about adorned with jewels taken from the sacred vessels, and the Saxons endured the most horrible oppression, the pope demanded that the king should answer for these things at Rome, and threatened him with excommunication on his disobedience. At a synod held at *Worms* (Jan. 24, 1076), the king had the pope deposed as a tyrant who had laid unhallowed hands upon the Lord's anointed. Gregory replied by hurling against him an anathema which absolved all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him. By his violent proceedings Henry had already fallen out with the princes of his court, so that they hated him more than they valued the independence of the empire. They therefore resolved, at an assembly held at *Tribur* (Oct. 1076), that if the ban of excommunication were not removed from Henry within a year, he should forfeit his throne. With a broken spirit the monarch obtained absolution (Jan. 28, 1077), after he had brought disgrace upon himself and his kingdom at *Canossa*. Finally he seized those weapons which had long been offered him by the nobles of Lombardy. Again the sentence of excommunication and deposition was issued against him, a rival pope and a rival king were set up, and Italy and Germany were filled with blood. Gregory had predicted that in that year a false king should die, (*f*) and accordingly Rudolph of Swabia, whom he had himself made king, died (1080). Henry besieged and took Rome (1084), but the pope in his castle of St. Angelo would even then accept of nothing but the unconditional submission of the king, and was liberated by Robert Guiscard. But the Romanic nations commended the king's cause, (*g*) and the Romans were tired of the evils which the implacable spirit of the pope brought upon them. Gregory withdrew himself from them with his Normans, and died at Salerno, with the feelings of a martyr, though binding and loosing his fellow-men even in death. (*h*)

d) Registr. IV, 28. II, 13. VIII, 23. Desgl. Corsica V, 4.

e) E. g. the enfeoffment of Guiscard in *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 314.

f) *Sigb. Gembl.* ad ann. 1080. Bonizo's attempt to justify this proceeding is therefore about as absurd as Benno's accusation of witchcraft. *g*) Registr. VII, 3.

h) The falsehood which from fear of the power of the deceased pope was invented, may be found in

§ 182. *Gregory's Successors.* 1085–1099.

Victor III. 1085–87. *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 630ss. *Leo Ostiens.* see at the head of § 180. Biogr. by *Pandulphus Pisan.* and *Bernried. Guidon*, written during the 13th cent. in *Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 351.—*Urban II.* 1088–99. *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 642ss. *Jaffé*, p. 448ss. *Pandulph.* and *Bernried.* in *Muratori* l. c. After and along with the sources: *Ruinart* in *Mabillon* et *Ruin.* Opp. posth. Par 1724. 4. Among the chroniclers, especially *Leo Ostiens.* & *Bernold*, monk of S. Blasio. Chron. 1055–1100. (*Pertz* Th. VII. p. 385.)

Gregory's principles were deeply impressed upon the age in which he lived, and the clergy began to understand the advantages they acquired by sacrificing their domestic enjoyments. Those who had been selected by Gregory as worthy to become his successors were one after another raised to the apostolic chair. *Desiderius*, the Abbot of Montecassino, *Victor III.*, resolutely refused to leave the retirement of his convent, and thereby seriously impaired his influence, but he rigidly followed out the course on which his illustrious friend had entered. On his premature death, *Otho*, who out of disgust with the world had resigned his canonicate at Rheims and betaken himself to Clugni, where he had been noticed by Gregory and made Bishop of Ostia, and afterwards as Legate had been the prisoner and the mortal enemy of Henry, became pope under the name of *Urban II.* When Gregory was dead, the emperor, who had now attained maturity in the midst of the storms through which he had passed, with his pope Clement III. exercised sovereignty over Upper and Central Italy. Renouncing her widowhood that she might promote the interests of the Romish Church, *Matilda*, by her apparent marriage with Welf, Duke of Bavaria, gave for a brief period a military leader to the papal party. The conduct of the emperor was far more effectual than were all the solicitations of the pope to drive his son Conrad into acts of treason (1093). Urban, at the great Council of *Clermont* (1095), excommunicated *Philip* of *France* for his adulterous connection with the Countess Bertrade, and forbade all persons invested with ecclesiastical offices taking an oath of allegiance to a layman. In consequence of the crusades, the pope not only obtained an enthusiastic army for the execution of his plans, but his moral influence was so much increased that he became the head of all the popular movements of the Western world. Philip was compelled to give up his paramour, and Henry and his pope lost all power in Italy. Urban, however, purchased nothing but the precious friendship of the Normans, and preserved nothing but the shadow of his ecclesiastical claims in the appointment of Count *Roger* and his successors to be the perpetual legates of the pope in Sicily (Monarchia Siciliae).*

Sigb. Gembl. ann. 1085. The truth may be seen in *Paul. Bernrid.* c. 108ss. Respecting Gregory's canonization and the opposition made to it by the courts: L'avocat du Diable, ou mémoires sur la vie et sur la légende du P. Greg. VII. 1743. 3 Th.

* *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 659. *Gaufredi Malaterra* Hist. Sicula IV, 29. (*Muratori* Th. V. p. 601.) *L. E. Du Pin*, Defence de la monarchie de Sicile contre les entreprises de la Cour de Rome. Amst. 1716. 4.

§ 183. *The Crusades. Conquest of Jerusalem.*

I. Collections: *J. Bongars*, Gesta Dei per Francos. Hanov. 1611. 2 Th. f. *Schiller*, hist. Memoir Abth. I. vol. 1-3. *J. Michaud*, Bibliothèque des Croisades. Par. 1830. 4 Th.

II. *F. Wilken*, Gesch. d. Kreuzz. Lpz. 1807–32. 7 vols. *Michaud*, Hist. des Croisades. Par. 1812. ed. 6. 1840ss. 6 vols. [*Michaud's* H. of the Crusades, transl. by *Wm. Robson*, Lond. 1852. 3 vols. 12.] *H. v. Sybel*, Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzz. Duss. 1841. [*T. Keightley*, The Crusaders. Lond. 1852. 12. *C. Mill*, H. of the Crusades. Philad. 1845. *G. P. R. James*, Chivalry and the Crusades. New York. 1827. Eclectic Mag. April, 1845.]

The attraction toward the Holy Land which had formerly prevailed in the Church had never been interrupted, but in consequence of the ardent and sensuous devotion which was almost universal in the eleventh century, it then became especially powerful. German bishops with their soldiers heroically defended themselves against a sudden attack of the Saracens which took place on Easter, 1065. (*a*) Even before this (999), *Sylvester II.*, in the name of the desolate Holy City, had called upon the general Church for aid. *Gregory* (1074) once entertained serious thoughts of becoming leader of a host for the liberation of the Christian portion of the East. (*b*) When the Seljukian Turks had established their empire in Asia Minor, and had conquered Syria (after 1073), the pilgrims and Christians in Palestine made bitter complaints of their intolerable ill-treatment there. The hermit *Peter* of *Amiens* made known the prayers of the oriental Christians, and announced an immediate commission from Christ for their deliverance. *Urban II.*, at a general assembly of the Church at *Clermont* (1095), earnestly exhorted all to enter upon this holy war under a leader who never wanted provisions, and on whose side victory was certain, the reward was eternal, and death was martyrdom. All the people shouted, "God wills it!" (*c*) A hundred thousand men, chiefly Frenchmen, in the first moments of exhilaration took upon themselves the sign of the Cross, by which Christians were to be known as true disciples. Secular embarrassments and passions, romantic pleasures and superstitious hopes, doubtless had much to do in this, and yet it must be conceded that the spirit which animated these masses for two hundred years was something superior to that of this world. But it was not for a holy sepulchre alone that these expeditions were undertaken. They had also in view the honor of the Christian name, the triumph of oppressed Christianity in the East, and the dominion of Europe over Asia. An undisciplined host which followed the hermit's ass, was reduced to half its original number in passing through Bulgaria, and finally was utterly destroyed by the Turks. When the more disciplined army of the crusaders reached the plain of Nicaea, they found a high pyramid formed of the bones of their predecessors. At Edessa, which voluntarily surrendered to Baldwin, and at Nicaea and Antioch, which were soon conquered, the pilgrim princes erected principalities for themselves. After indescribable sufferings, *Jerusalem* was stormed on the fifteenth of July, 1099, and through blood and flames the army marched singing holy songs to the Church of the Resurrection. *Godfrey* of

a) *Lambert. Schafn.* ad. ann. 1065.

b) *Sylvestri* Ep. ad. univ. Ecc. (*Bouquet* Th. X. p. 426s.) *Gregor.* ad Henr. R. (*Mansi* Th. XX. p. 150.)

c) *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 821ss. *Bongars* Th. I. p. 86. 31. 382ss.

Bouillon was proclaimed the first king of Jerusalem, although the piety of his heroic spirit refused to wear a royal crown where the Son of God had worn a crown of thorns.

§ 184. *Pascal II.*, 1099–1118.

Letters and public documents in *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 977. dispersed in *Ildarici* Cod. epistolaris. Life by *Pandulphus* and the Cardinal of *Aragon*, with original documents, may be found in *Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 354 and 360.—*E. Gervais*, polit. Hist. Deutschl. unter Hein. V. and Lothar. II. Lpz. 1841. 2 Th.

Pascal, whom Gregory had taken from the monastery of Clugni and made a cardinal, possessed the fiery spirit without the firmness, and the zeal for the hierarchy without the knowledge of its proper limits, which had been displayed by his patron. *Philip* of *France*, who had again been excommunicated on account of his illicit connection, received absolution on his taking an oath that he would renounce Bertrade (1104). But when this oath was violated the pope took no notice of the perjury. A violent contest sprung up between *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in behalf of the pope, and *Henry I.* of *England*, in which the latter contended for his crown and the former for his life. It was finally compromised (1106) by the king's renunciation of the right of investiture with respect to bishops, though he retained the power of exacting from them the oath of allegiance. (*a*) Henry IV. abdicated in favor of his son who had rebelled against him, but died (1106) under a sentence of excommunication which reached even his lifeless corpse. But *Henry V.* had no sooner become settled in his throne, than he laid claim to the ancient royal prerogative of investing bishops with the ring and crosier, and to support his claim he crossed the Alps with a powerful army (1110). In this extremity, the pope thought of purchasing the freedom of the Church by the sacrifice of its secular power, and accordingly he proposed to restore to the king the imperial fiefs belonging to the bishops, on condition that the episcopal elections might be free from the royal interference. But the bishops and the princes were terrified at the idea of a contract by which the power of the Church would have been temporarily annihilated, and that of the king would have been rendered overwhelming. (*b*) The execution of such a compact would have been practicable only by a complete revolution. On the other hand, Henry had the pope imprisoned, and compelled him by threats to place the imperial crown upon his head, solemnly to acknowledge the king's right of investiture, and to promise never to issue against him a sentence of excommunication. (*c*) The pope, however, could not act as a private person in this matter, since he stood as the representative of a particular system of things. Pascal was therefore obliged to listen to the most bitter reproaches for his treasonable conduct toward the Church, and at a synod held at the Lateran (1112), to retract all that he had done. On his refusal to excommunicate the emperor, the sen-

a) Letters of Anselm, his Life by his confessor *Eadmer*, and his Historia novorum l. VI. are in *Anselmi* Opp. Par. 1721. 2 Th. f. *F. R. Hasse*, Ans. v. C. Leipz. 1843. Th. I.

b) *Pertz* Th. IV. p. 68ss. *Card. Aragon.* Vita Pasch. (*Muratori* p. 360.)

c) *Pertz* Th. IV. p. 71ss.

tence was pronounced by his legates. (*d*) While Gregory was yet alive, *Matilda*, for the good of her soul, had bequeathed to him all her possessions in trust for the Romish Church. (*e*) At her death (1115) new materials were added to the controversy, since the emperor claimed her estates as an imperial fief, and on the ground that he was properly her heir at law, while the pope claimed them as the inheritance of St. Peter. The people now began to perceive that the papal ban was launched against the emperor for his defence of the rights of the empire. Henry V. took violent possession of the forfeited fief, and drove the pope from Rome. The pontiff, however, was restored to the city by the Normans, and died while making active preparations for war.

§ 185. *Calixtus II.* 1119–24. *Concordat of Worms.*

The cause of the emperor in Rome was sustained principally by the powerful family of the Frangipani. *Gelasius II.*, whom the cardinals elected, was suddenly attacked by persons belonging to that family, cruelly abused, and obliged to fly to the friendly territory of France, where, after a brief victory, he died as early as 1119. (*a*) By his advice, Guido, Archbishop of Vienna, a prince of the house of Burgundy, was chosen to be his successor under the name of Calixtus II. (*b*) At a synod held at Rheims this pontiff renewed the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, whom he called a second Judas. The imperial party in Rome had made choice of Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, Gregory VIII., who was overpowered by the Normans, was cruelly mocked by the Roman populace, and finally died in the papal dungeon. (*c*) Adalbert, Archbishop of Mentz, formerly the imperial counsellor, and by whose advice all the violent and irregular proceedings against the pope had been conducted, was now seized by the hierarchical spirit, and sought to renew the civil war in Germany. But the people, tired of the evils which had been produced in the empire during a period of fifty years' dissension among its rulers, were importunate in their demands for peace. Finally a *Concordat* was agreed upon at an imperial Diet at Worms (1122), on conditions similar to those previously acknowledged in France and England. This was afterwards confirmed at the first general council in the *Lateran* (1123). "The emperor surrenders to God, to St. Peter and Paul, and to the Catholic Church, all right of investiture by ring and crosier. He grants that elections and ordinations in all churches shall take place freely in accordance with ecclesiastical laws. The pope agrees that the election of German prelates shall be performed in the presence of the emperor, provided it is without violence or simony. In case any election is disputed, the emperor shall render assistance to the legal party with

d) *Baron.* ad. ann. 1111. Acts of Synod, *Mansi* Th. XXI. p. 49ss. *Planck*, Acta inter Henr. V. et Pasch. II. Gott. 1785.

e) The conveyance of the allodial estate by will is certain, but the original document (*Muratori* Th. V. p. 384.) of 1102, by which a legal gift was attempted to be conveyed inter vivos is doubtful. *Tiraboschi*, Memorie Modenese. Th. I. p. 140ss. *Leo*, Italien vol. I. p. 477ss.

a) *Pandulphi Pisani* Vita Gelas. (*Murat.* Th. III. P. I. p. 367ss.)

b) *Jaffé*, p. 597ss. Biographies in *Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 418ss.

c) *Baluzius*, Vita Burdini. (Miscell. Par. 1680. l. III. p. 471ss.)

the advice of the archbishop and the bishops. The person elected is invested with the imperial fiefs by the royal sceptre pledged for the execution of every thing required by law. Whoever is consecrated shall also receive in like manner his investitures from other parts of the empire within six months." (*d*) Although in this proceeding the pope had barely saved appearances, and not the reality of his cause, and the strict hierarchical party complained loudly of the concessions made, so overwhelming was the authority of the papacy, that the influence which the emperor had hitherto exercised in the elections was gradually transferred to the pope, in spite of the laws by which their freedom was guaranteed.

§ 186. *Arnold of Brescia and Bernard of Clairvaux.*

J. D. Köler, de Arn. Brixiensi. Goett. 1742. 4. *K. Beck*, Arnold v. Br. (Basl. Wiss. Zeitsch. 1824. II. 2.) *H. Franke*, Arnold v. Br. u. s. Zeit. Zurich. 1825. Respecting Bernard, see § 207.

The Franconian imperial house became extinct on the death of Henry V. (1125), and a king chosen by suffrages had to purchase his new sovereignty from the states of the empire and from the pope. *Lothaire II.* having been chosen, received the allodial estates of the Countess Matilda from the hands of *Innocent II.* (1130–43), because she had been the pope's vassal. (*a*) The election of bishops was no longer restrained by the presence of the emperor, and the decisive question now began to be agitated whether the investiture of bishops should take place before or after their consecration. (*b*) During the struggles between the imperial and papal governments a new power had sprung up, first in the episcopal cities of Lombardy, from the remnants of the Roman municipal constitution. In this was presented an omen of a new period, in which *independent cities* were to enjoy their liberties, and constitute a third estate in opposition to the pretensions of the secular and spiritual nobility. (*c*) *Arnold* of *Brescia* embraced the extreme views connected with this tendency, and regarded the condition of the apostolic Church as a law for all periods of the world. He was a pupil of Abelard, had been a clergyman in his native city, was rigid and abstemious in his rules of conduct, and taught that the clergy ought to possess no worldly property, and that such possessions were the cause of all the abuses in the Church. The second Council of Lateran (1139) imposed silence upon this most dangerous heretic, and by papal influence he was driven from Italy, France, and Zurich, until in the city of Rome itself he attained supreme power. For, falling in with his views, the Romans (after 1143) confined the pope to the exercise of ecclesiastical government, and to the possession of tithes and voluntary offerings, appointed a Senate, and wrote to the German king to come and re-establish the capital of his dominions according to ancient imperial laws, within the walls of the

d) *Pertz* Th. IV. p. 75s. *Mansi* Th. XXI. p. 287s. Acts of the Lateran Synod. *Ib.* p. 281ss.—*J. G. Hoffmann*, Ds. ad Concordat. Henr. et Calixti. Vit. 1739. 4.

a) *Mansi* Th. XXI. p. 392.

b) *Olenschlager*, Erlautr. der güld. Bulle. Frkf. 1766. 4. Cartularies, p. 19. Gesta Archiep. Trevir in *Eccard* Th. II. p. 2197. *Radevici* de gest. Frider. I. 10.

c) *Leo* in his treatises on Italy, summarily in the Gesch. d. MA. vol. I. p. 548ss. *Hüllmann*, das Städtewesen des MA. Bonn. 1827. 2 vols. *Jager*, ü. d. rel. Bewegg. in d. schwab. Städten u. deren zusammenh. m. d. ideen Arnolds. (*Klaiber's* Stud. d. Geistl. Würt. vol. IV. H. 1.)

eternal city. (*d*) *Lucius II.* (1144) led an army against the people, and while his troops were storming the capital, he was killed by a paving-stone (1145). *Eugenius III.* fled to the quiet convent of his preceptor St. Bernard, by whose counsel he was directed in the government of the Church. (*e*) Roger, King of the Normans, having brought him back to Italy, Bernard wrote for his illustrious pupil the "Contemplations on the Papacy." (*f*) In this work the author regards the papacy in its ideal glory, as an office appointed by God for maintaining justice and concord among the people; he examines the difficult duties which such an office involves in relation to human infirmity, and predicts that its worldly arrogance will bring it to an unhappy end. No efforts, however, could give peace to Rome, where struggles for ascendency continually alternated with efforts at accommodation with the popular party. An English mendicant boy who had been promoted from one ecclesiastical station to another, until he had become Bishop of Albano, succeeded Eugenius under the name of *Hadrian IV.* (1154). (*g*) He prohibited all public worship in Rome, until the senate from jealousy abandoned Arnold of Brescia. The latter soon after fell into the hands of the emperor Frederic, who sacrificed him either from a professed regard to the pope, or from a real hatred to republican liberty. He was finally hung at Rome (1155), his body was burned, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber. (*h*)

187. *The Crusade of St. Bernard.*

Palestine had now become a European colony, receiving continual accessions of people from the migrations of discontented persons hoping to improve their condition by the change. The relations and parties which existed in Europe were therefore repeated there in an exaggerated form. Accordingly we find there a feudal sovereignty, in which the king was the chief and simply the first baron of the realm. He was also in perpetual conflict with the hierarchy, whose chief was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and who attempted to re-enact the part of the pope, so far as his relations to the king were concerned. Between these two personages sprung up independent municipal associations, and companies of spiritual knights. (*a*) The Greek emperor was always suspected and secretly hated, and the native Christians were regarded as aliens and proper objects of oppression. The Mohammedans fought under the conviction that it was for religion, honor and dominion. The Norman kingdom of Edessa had been overthrown (1144), and it was evident that deliverance could be expected only by new levies from the West. *Bernard*, the great saint of that age, assumed the direction of this enterprise, promising, as the messenger of God, a certain victory. *Eugenius* went so far as to

d) *Martene* ampl. Col. Th. II. p. 898s. *Otto Fris.* de reb. gest. Frid. I, 28.

e) *Jaffé* p. 617ss.

f) De Consideratione l. V. (*Bernardi* Opp. Ven. Th. II.) *C. F. Schneider*, Ber. 1851.

g) *R. Raby*, Adrian IV. Lond. 1849.

h) *Gerh*, Provost of Reichersperg, de investigatione Antichristi. (*Gretseri* Col. Scrr. adv. Waldens. Prolegg. c. 4.)

a) The laws enacted there are lost, but they may be inferred from the code which Count *Jean d'Ibelin* established in Cyprus: Assises et bons usages dou royaume de Jerusalem, etc. p. *Thaumas de Thaumasiere.* Par. 1690.

sacrifice the rights of creditors and feudal lords, that he might promote the interests of this crusade. (*b*) *Louis VII.* of France took up the cross, that he might atone for his crime of burning a church filled with human beings, and *Conrad* of Germany was hurried into the same act against his inclinations by the power of Bernard's eloquence. Each of these princes led across the Hellespont an army of 70,000 men (1147). Most of these perished in consequence of the deceitful policy of the Greeks, and the opposition of the elements, so that the princes returned with only the fragments of their armies. (*c*) Bernard defended his veracity by appealing to the inscrutable nature of the divine counsels, and by complaining of the crusaders themselves, whose crimes had rendered them unworthy of victory. The more pious portion of his contemporaries were consoled with the reflection, that if the undertaking had been injurious to their temporal interest, it had certainly promoted the welfare of their souls. (*d*)

§ 188. *Frederic I., Barbarossa*, 1152–1190.

I. Constitutiones in *Pertz* P. IV. p. 89–185. *Otto Frising.* de gestis Friderici I. II. till 1158, continued by *Radevicus* till 1160. (*Muratori* Th. VI. p. 629.) *Godofredi Viterbiensis* Pantheon till 1186. (*Pistorius* Th. II. p. 8.) *Guntheri* Ligurinus near the end of the 12th cent. ed. *Dumgé*, Heidelb. 1812. The Italian Chroniclers and others in *Muratori* Th. VI. The contemporary popes, and original documents in *Mansi* Th. XXI–. *Jaffé*, p. 678–854. Biographies in *Muratori* Th. III. p. 1–. *Jaffé*, p. 678–854.

II. *Korfüm*, Fr. I. Aar. 1818. *J. Voigt*, Gesch. d. Lombarden-Bundes u. s. Kampfes. mit Fr. I. Königsb. 1818. *F. v. Raumer*, Gesch. d. Hohenst. Lpz. (1823) 1841–. vol. II. *Ring*, Fr. I. im. Kampfe gegen Alex. III. Stuttg. 1835. *H. Reuter*, Gesch. Alex. III. u. d. Kirche seiner Zeit. Berl 1845. vol. I. *W. Zimmermann*, die Hohenst. o. Kampf. d. Monarchie gegen Papst und republ. Freih. Stuttg. 1838. 2 vols.

The heroic race of the *Hohenstaufens* almost succeeded in realizing the idea of the empire. *Frederic I.*, already renowned for his heroic exploits in the East and in the West, ascended the throne with a determination to re-establish, in spite of all opposition, the ancient power of the emperor Charles on both sides of the Alps. He well knew, however, that the pope could be of immense service to him in the attainment of his universal dominion. (*a*) He therefore gave *Hadrian* assurances of his friendship when he entered upon his Roman expedition (1155), and although some violations of good faith then took place, they were easily overlooked when both parties were inclined to peace. But the Roman people received iron instead of gold. First, Hadrian's one-sided treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies, and then an occasional hint from him that the emperor held the empire as a feudal tenure from the pope, (*b*) raised the indignation of the German nation. Under their powerful leader this people had been awakened to a recollection of their ancient independence. The emperor indulged the hope of putting an end to the subjection paid to a foreign bishop, and of forming a great national German Church, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Treves, to whom

b) *Eugen.* Ep. ad Ludov. (*Mansi* Th. XXI. p. 626s.)

c) *Otto Fris.* de gest. Frid. I, 35ss. *Odo de Deogilo*, de profectione Lud. in Or. (*Chiflet*, Bernardi illustre genus. Divione. 1660. 4.) *Wil. Tyr.* XVI, 18ss.

d) *Bern.* de consider. II, 1. *Otto Frising.* l. c. I, 60.

a) *Joan. Sarisber.* ep. 59. *b*) *Mansi* Th. XX. p. 790.

it was not altogether without significance that our Lord bequeathed his seamless coat, and Peter his staff. This plan, however, failed of accomplishment on account of the jealousy which prevailed among the German princes, and the contest with Italy. (*c*) The emperor went once more across the Alps (1158) with a larger army than before, reduced Milan to submission, and at the Diet of the Roncalian plains had his imperial rights explained out of the Roman Code by the renowned doctors of civil law in Bologna. According to these, his authority was that of an unlimited monarchy, such as was utterly foreign to the usages of the German people. But the power of science of which the Italians were at that time proud, was by this decision added to that of the imperial arms. (*d*) The bishops as well as the towns were referred to long forgotten feudal obligations, and when the hierarchy beheld its rights violated, it began to grasp after its spiritual powers, when Hadrian died (1159). The hierarchical party elected in his stead *Alexander III.*, while a few cardinals in the imperial interest chose Victor III. Alexander, whose cause was triumphant on account of its connection with that of popular freedom. A few cities of Upper Italy had sworn together (1164) that they would rather suffer destruction than any longer endure the oppressions which the imperial deputies had arbitrarily inflicted upon them. This League of Verona was soon after gradually extended till it became the great *Lombardic League*, at the head of which the pope appeared as the supreme demagogue. A terrible war was now kindled, in which one party contended for freedom and the other against rebels. Abandoned by the army of the Guelphs, the emperor was defeated at *Legnano* (May 29, 1176), but even when defeated and excommunicated he was still an object of terror. He concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with Alexander at *Venice* (Aug. 1, 1177), in which he renounced the rival pope, and entered into a truce of fifteen years with the King of the Sicilies, and another of six years with the Lombards. This last, after the death of Alexander (1181), was exchanged for the peace of Constance (1183). (*e*) The basis of the treaty of peace with the hierarchy was the Concordat of Worms, while that of the peace with the cities was the condition of Italy before the second Roman expedition. The cities were, as republics, to be equal in rank with the great vassals of the crown, and the estates of the Countess Matilda were to remain in the possession of the emperor for fifteen years, when they were to be disposed of by a decision of arbitrators. The emperor then took signal vengeance upon the Guelphic family, and thereby established his supremacy in Germany. By the marriage of his son Henry with Constantia, the heiress of the two Sicilies (1186), he also acquired for his house a prospect of possessing the whole of Italy.

c) Comp. *J. Ficker*, Reinald v. Dassel, Reichskanzler u. Erzb. v. Köln. Köln. 1850.

d) *Savigny*, Gesch. des rom. Rechts im Mittelalter. Heidelb. 1815ss. vol. IV. p. 151ss.

e) Conventus Venetus: *Pertz* Th. IV. p. 151ss. Pax Constantiae: *Ib.* p. 175ss.

§ 189. *Thomas Becket.*

I. *Thom. Beck.* Epp. l. VI. ed. *Ch. Lupus.* Brux. 1682. 4. *S. Thom. Cant.* Opp. (Patres Ecc. Angl. ed. *Giles*, Oxon. 1845ss. vols. I.–VIII. Biographies by four of his followers: Johannes Sarisber. Wilh. Stephanides, Alanus and Herbert de Bosham, by the command of Greg. IX. collected in the Quadrilogus de vita S. Thomæ, frequently published, especially in Lupus' edit. on of the Letters.

II. Hist. de démêlé de Henri II. avec Becket. Amst. 1756. *Bataille*, vie politique et civile de Th. Beck. Par. 1842. *Herbert de Bosham*, Vita S. Thom. (Patres Ecc. Angl. vol. VIII. *Brischar*, Th. Beck. (Tub. Quart. 1852. II. I.) – *Thierry*, Hist. de la conquête de l'Angl. par les Normands. Par. 1825. vol. II. p. 376ss. [transl. into Engl. by *Wm. Hazlitt*, with an App. Lond. 1847. 2 vols. 8.] *Reuter*, Alexander III. vol. I. p. 288ss. [*J. A. Giles*, Life and Letters of Th. à Becket, by contemporary historians. Lond. 1846. 2 vols. 8. Eclectic Mag. June, 1846.]

During the reigns of William the Conqueror and his son, the English clergy had been kept in the most rigorous subjection. But in the midst of the party struggles which took place under the feeble government of Stephen (1135–54), they broke loose from the State and established their freedom by connecting themselves intimately with the Roman court, as the only tribunal of ultimate appeal in all legal matters in which they were concerned. *Henry II.* demanded that the rights of the crown over the clergy should be restored, and caused an edict to be passed at the Diet of *Clarendon* (1164), which declared, "The election of prelates shall take place in the royal chapel with the consent of the king. In all civil matters, and in cases of dispute with laymen, the clergy shall be amenable to the royal court. Without the consent of the king, no cause can be carried to any foreign jurisdiction, no clergyman shall leave the kingdom, and no person belonging to the royal council shall be excommunicated."* For the accomplishment of his plan the king had appointed his Chancellor, *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of Canterbury (1162). But Becket was no sooner made the head of the Anglican Church, than he became possessed of the spirit of his station. He laid aside all worldly pomp, and put on the simple habit of a monk. He publicly performed penance for giving his assent to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and received from Alexander III. absolution from the oath he had taken with respect to them. He was now obliged to fly before the king's wrath, which fell upon his innocent kindred, and spared not even the child in the cradle. Sustained by the power of the pope, he maintained his cause, while in France, by spiritual weapons, until he compelled his king to enter into a compromise by which he was allowed to return to his diocese. He had no sooner done this than he issued sentence of excommunication against all who adhered to the Constitutions of Clarendon. A careless expression used by the king was seized upon by his knights, and unfortunately carried into speedy execution, and on the 29th of December, 1170, the archbishop was slain at the very foot of the altar. Alexander canonized this bold martyr for his ecclesiastical independence, and the king was generally looked upon by the people as guilty of the murder. As the opinions of the people were of great importance to Henry in his contests with his rebellious son, he purchased absolution from Rome by conceding to it the freedom of its judicial proceedings. He also became reconciled to his people by performing an humble penance at the

* *Mansi* Th. XXI. p. 1187. 1194ss. [*Landon's* Manual of Councils, p. 132ss. *Churton's* Early Engl. Church, chap. 18. *Wilkins*, Conc. vol. I. p. 435.]

grave of his deadly enemy (1174). After this the papal legates exercised complete control over the Church and the revenues of England.

§ 190. *The Crusade against Saladeddin.*

1) *Tageno*, Decanus Ecc. Patav. Descr. expeditionis Asiat. Friderici. (*Freher* Th. I. p. 405.) *Ansberti*, Clerici Austriaci. Hist. de exped. Frid. ed. *J. Dobrowsky*, Prag. 1827. 2) *Gulielmi de Vino Salvo* Itinerarium Richardi. (*Bongars.* Th. I. p. 1150. but better, *Gale*, Scrr. Hist. Angl. vol. II. p. 247.) *Rigordi Gothi* (royal physician) Ann. de reb. a Phil. Aug. gestis. (*Du Chesne* Th. V. p. 1.) [*G. P. R. James*, Hist. of Richard Coeur de Lion. Lond. 1842. and Philad. 1845. 2 vols. 8. *T. Keightley*, *C. Mills*, and *J. Michaud*, as referred to in § 183. Chronicles of the Crusaders (in Bohn's Ant. Lib.) Lond. 1848.]

Saladeddin united under his sword Anterior Asia and Egypt. Jerusalem submitted to him after a sanguinary battle (Oct. 3, 1187). Overwhelmed with the news, Europe heard the call of Gregory VIII. for a new crusade, to prepare for which all who remained at home, even the Church, were required to contribute Saladeddin's Tithe. Even Frederic I. did not consider himself too old to resume the heroic life of his youth. He broke his way through the Grecian empire and Asia Minor, and was finally drowned in the Calycadnus, near Seleucia (1190). His son and the strength of his host fell before the plague. The same summer, the kings of France and England, through the mediation of the Church, came to an adjustment of their differences, and transported their armies by sea to Palestine. Richard the Lion-hearted, on his way thither, recovered Cyprus from the hands of a Grecian rebel, and invested his knights with the fiefs of nearly half the island. Akron also soon fell before them. But in vain were prodigies of valor performed, since every advantage was rendered useless by the mutual jealousies of the different sovereigns and nations. After a few months *Philip Augustus* was taken sick, returned to France, and equipped himself against the possessions of the English king. Richard, forsaken by all, and threatened at home, concluded with his noble enemy a three years' truce, which secured the coast as a Christian territory, and opened Jerusalem to the visits of the pilgrims. On his return home the Lion-heart was imprisoned in Austria, and sold to the emperor, from whom he was purchased by his own people. The pope proved at least his good will by asserting the Christian law of nations in behalf of a crusader.*

§ 191. *Henry VI. Celestine III.* (1191–1198.)

Pertz Th. IV. p. 186ss. *Jaffé* p. 886ss.—*Raumer*, Hohenst. vol. II. p. 523ss. *O. Abel*, K. Philipp d. Hohenst. Brl. 1852. p. 13ss.

Henry VI. was on an expedition through Italy to take possession of the Two Sicilies, which had fallen to him by inheritance (1189), when he received from the East the news of his father's death. He immediately purchased an imperial coronation from the Romans, by abandoning the faithful city of Tusculum. The Sicilians, dreading a foreign government, had elevated to the throne Count *Tancred*, a natural son of their extinct royal family, whom the pope hastened to invest as his vassal. But after Tancred's death (1194),

* *Baron.* ad ann. 1193. No. 2ss. *Matth. Paris* ad ann. 1195.

the Two Sicilies submitted themselves to Henry. This prince possessed the powerful talents for government, but not the chivalrous spirit of his father, and utterly regardless of the means which he used, he now held Italy and the pope under the most galling slavery. He now made preparations to render the crown of the German empire hereditary in his family, to engage in another crusade, and to conquer the Grecian empire. Pious prophecies hailed him as the servant of the Lord to chastise the Church and to punish the nations. (*a*) *Celestine III.*, the aged pope who had placed the crown upon his head, without venturing upon any decisive step, merely admonished him that it would profit no one to gain the whole world to the injury of his own soul. (*b*) The youthful emperor beheld a vast German empire extended before him, when a superior power suddenly interposed, and he died at Messina (Sept. 28, 1197), leaving *Frederic II.*, a child of but three years of age, in the midst of his enemies.

§ 192. *Innocent III.* *Jan.* 8, 1198.—*July* 16, 1216.

I. *Epistolar. Innoc.* l. XIX. (l. 2. in parts 5. 10–16. vols. in Epp. Inn. ed. *Baluzius*, Par. 2 Th. f. 3. 5–9th vol. in Diplomata etc. ad res Francicas spectantia edd. *Feudrix de Bréquigny* et *la Porte du Theil*. Par. 1791. 2 Th.) *Registrum Inn. III.* super negotio Rom. Imp. (*Baluz.* Th. I. p. 687.) *J. F. Boehmer*, Regesta Imp. new ed. Stuttg. 1849. 4. p. 289ss.—*Gesta Inn. III.* by a contemporary. (*Bréquigny* Th. I.) *Richardi de S. Germano* Chronic. ad a. 1189–1243. (*Muratori* Th. VII. p. 963.) The unfavorable side in *Matthaeus Paris*, Hist. major. [*Matt. Paris*, Chronicle, &c. transl. by Giles. Lond. 1848. 12.]

II. *F. Hurter*, Gesch. Innoc. III. u. seiner Zeitgenossen. Hamb. 1834–42. 4 vols. (1845s. 3 ed.) [*Abbe Jorry's* Hist. of Innocent III. (in French) is announced in Paris. 1853. *Bohringer*, Church of Christ and its witnesses, in a new vol. publ. in Lps. 1854. is a life of Innoc. III.]

Cardinal *Lothaire*, of the noble Roman house of Conti which possessed landed estates in Anagni and Segni, educated in Rome, Paris, and Bologna, and eminent not only as a theologian but as a jurist, was raised to the papal chair in the full vigor of early manhood under the name of *Innocent III.* The grand objects to which this richly endowed sacerdotal prince devoted his thoughts were the fortification of the States of the Church, the deliverance of Italy from the dominion of foreign princes, the separation of the Two Sicilies from all connection with the German empire, the liberation of the Oriental Church, the exercise of a guardianship over the confederacy of the States, the extermination of heretics from the Church, and the promotion of ecclesiastical discipline. Immediately after his consecration he exacted an oath of allegiance from the imperial prefect of the city, accustomed the nobility and people of Rome to obedience, although he found them often deficient in this respect, took the Lombardic League under his protection, and established a similar confederacy of cities in Tuscany, by the aid of which he expelled the German governor whom Henry had made ruler of the territories belonging to the Church. Even before his baptism Henry's son was acknowledged as his father's successor in the empire. But Innocent was afraid to see so many crowns united upon a single head, and the princes of the empire thought the crown of Charles was too great and heavy for the head of a child. Having renounced all the prerogatives of the Sicilian monarchy,

a) Interpretatio praeclara Abbatis *Joachim* in Hieremiam. Ven. 1525. Comp. Abel, Philipp. p. 312. *b*) *Jaffé*, p. 900.

Frederic II. was invested by Innocent with the feudal sovereignty of the Sicilies. So highly was the power and uprightness of the pope esteemed that *Constantia* on her death-bed intrusted to him the guardianship of her orphan child (Nov. 27, 1198). He governed the Two Sicilies with firmness and energy, so far at least as was possible under the difficulties of his situation, and in face of the opposition of the German and Sicilian nobles. Italy was distracted by various factions, all of which, however, attached themselves to the one or the other of the two great parties, in favor of the Church or of the empire, afterwards called *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*. Innocent prepared the way for the reconciliation of these parties, without which the freedom of Italy could never be secured, by taking Frederic II. the natural head of the Ghibellines under his protection. Under his guardianship that prince received a liberal and brilliant education. But the deliverance of Italy was an event as yet far distant and beyond the power of the papacy. In Germany, when *Philip* of *Suabia* perceived that the crown could not be obtained for his nephew he resolved to acquire it for himself. The party of the Guelphs, on the other hand, chose Otho IV., a son of Henry the Lion. Both rival kings appealed to Innocent, who declared that it was the business of the pope to decide in all cases of contested elections. With every appearance of the utmost impartiality, and after a long and cautious delay, he decided against the Hohenstaufen (1201), but when victory seemed to decide in favor of that prince he hesitated not to negotiate with him. *(a)* Philip, however, was soon after assassinated (1208) by Otho of Wittelsbach, one of his offended vassals. This base deed was detested by Innocent, Otho, and all Germany. Otho was then crowned at Rome (1209); not, however, till he had given security for the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, the toleration of appeals to Rome, and the legality of all the claims which the Church had instituted for property against the empire. *(b)* But when he afterwards adhered to the imperial oath, in which he had sworn that he would demand the restoration of all fiefs which had been taken from the empire, the whole political scheme of the pope was endangered. Greatly dissatisfied, Innocent refused to acknowledge him any farther. Still resolved in some way to accomplish his purposes he made Frederic II. swear that when he should attain the imperial crown he would freely confer Sicily upon his son. This oath he regarded as a sufficient pretext for so using Frederic as to allay the threatening danger. Armed with the pope's gold and benediction, the Hohenstaufen now flew across the Alps to take possession of his father's empire (1212). Even with the blessing of the Church Otho seemed forsaken by fortune, and every one hastened to connect himself with the party of the youthful conqueror. In the very first year of his reign Innocent proclaimed a crusade. Germany was prevented by the civil war from enlisting in this service, and the kings of France and England had fulfilled their vows by their achievements in the last crusade. But *Fulco* of *Neuilly* who went forth preaching repentance, so stirred the hearts of the French people that the nobility of France placed themselves at

a) *Wichert.* de Ottonis IV. et Phil. Suevi certaminibus atque Inn. labore in sedandam Regum contentionem. Regiom. 1835. *O. Abel*, Philipp. See § 135.

b) *Registrum Imp.* Ep. 77. 186. 188. 189.

the head of the undertaking, and the Venetians were hired to transport and sustain the army by a naval force. The doge, *Dandolo*, took advantage of the embarrassments experienced in the payment of the price agreed upon, and in spite of the remonstrances and anathemas of the pope he employed the army of the cross in establishing the power of St. Mark in Dalmatia. The crusaders were then involved by the arts of a fugitive prince in the wars of the Greek imperial palace. In the course of these contests *Constantinople* was taken (April 12, 1204), a Latin empire was formed there, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was proclaimed its first but powerless emperor. Innocent condemned the whole transaction and the horrors connected with it, but did not scruple to derive advantage from it, and the Patriarch of Constantinople was appointed by him. (*c*) But the strong point thus gained, by which a land passage was opened to Palestine, ingulfed all the resources of men and treasure which had been prepared for the undertaking. When men failed, however, a vast host of children took the field.—By a dexterous use of the passions, the devotion, the dissensions, the interest, or the despotism of the kings of Europe, Innocent contrived to exercise supreme control over them. *Philip Augustus* had repudiated his wife Ingeburge, the sister of the Danish king, Canute, and the French bishops had given their consent to his second marriage. Innocent therefore deprived the whole kingdom of France of every ecclesiastical privilege, with the exception of the baptism of children and absolution for the dying. The heart of the king was deeply wounded by this proceeding, those who were utterly repugnant to each other were required to become united, and those who truly loved were to be torn asunder. But terrified at the commotion which prevailed among his people he was compelled to acknowledge the inviolability of his former marriage (1201). (*d*) *Peter II.* of *Aragon* regarded a coronation by the pope of so great importance that he came to receive the crown at St. Peter's altar, solemnly promising to be faithful, and to pay tribute to the Roman See (1204). *Sancho I.* of *Portugal*, after a stubborn denial of it, finally acknowledged the validity of the document in which his father had made his kingdom tributary to St. Peter. By the pope's mediation in Hungary the royal brothers were reconciled, and the king's son was crowned by the states. A disputed election to the archbishopric of Canterbury was submitted to his decision and pronounced invalid. This afforded him an opportunity of inducing the canons who were sent to him to choose his learned friend, Cardinal *Stephen Langton*, whom he immediately consecrated to that office (1207). *King John*, a despot without power or judgment, refused to acknowledge Langton, and seized upon the revenues of the clergy. Innocent then laid all England under an interdict, and excommunicated the king (1209). John sought by violence to compel his clergy still to perform the services of religion,

c) *Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin*, Hist. de la conqueste de Constant. 1198–1207. [transl. into Engl. by *T. Smith*. Lond. 1829. 8.] (*C. du Fresne*, Hist. de l'empire de Const. sous les Emp. françois. Ven. 1729. f.) Hist. of the empire by *Nicetas Acominatus*. 1118–1206. ed. *Fabroti*. Par. 1647. f.

d) I. *Rigordi* de reb. Phil. Aug. (*Du Chesne* Th. V. p. 36.) Acta Conc. Divion. et Vienn. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 708.) Successiones. (*Ib.* p. 738.)—II. *J. Schulz*, Phil. A. u. Ingeborg. Kiel. 1804. *Capefigue*, Hist. de Phil. A. Brux. 1830. Th. II. p. 144. 191ss.

and to maintain the wavering fidelity of his vassals. But when he had become utterly ruined in his own country, he was deposed by Innocent, and his kingdom was bestowed upon Philip of France. Rejoiced at such an opportunity the latter prepared an army and a fleet for taking possession of his new kingdom. John then humbled himself before the pope and consented to receive England as a fief from the Holy See (1213). But the bishops and barons, finding themselves subjected to a king whom they abhorred, and a pope who punished a whole people for the sins of their ruler, called to mind their ancient privileges, and extorted from John the celebrated *Magna Charta* (June 15, 1215), which has ever since been the fundamental law for the legislative power of an aristocracy sustained by the people. When John afterwards violated this engagement he was restrained by threats. Innocent beheld a dependent kingdom wrested from his grasp by a people who were becoming conscious of their power. In vain did he hurl his anathemas against the estates and their charter; the papal power, exalted as it then was in its authority, had now found an antagonist before whom it was destined to fall. (*e*) Just as he was on the threshold of great events and yet conscious of his approaching end, (*f*) Innocent collected around him the representatives of Christendom at the *Fourth Synod of Lateran* (1215), to take measures for the reconquest of the Holy Land, the extermination of heretics, and the reformation of the Church. A general Truce of God was consecrated, that the whole power of the European nations might be directed to the East. The most terrible measures were determined upon with respect to heretics. Seventy Canons were ratified by the Council, in which were specified the articles of the Christian faith, and the most important rules of law and discipline in a modern form, but in their ancient severity. The pope is represented as the head of the great Christian family of nations. (*g*) With the powers thus conferred Innocent was right in likening himself to the sun and the various civil governments to the moon, receiving their light from him as from a feudal lord. (*h*) He who had often described in the darkest colors the miseries of the human race, (*i*) regarded the earth as worthy of his care only that he might subject it to the law of God. Feeling that he had become too much estranged from himself by the press of public duties, and the want of time for heavenly contemplations, he longed to enjoy the privileges of the pastoral office, and preached as often as possible. His discourses, as well as his judicial decisions, which were long regarded as models for legal documents of that kind, were highly figurative and composed in the style of the Old Testament. But even in his most fanciful and subtle allegories there is always apparent a profound earnestness of spirit, with great gravity of expression. With his analytical mind he doubtless sometimes perverted the cause of justice, according to circumstances, from its strict course of recti-

e) *Matth. Par.* ad. ann. 1205ss. Original documents in: *Rymeri* Foedera et Acta publ. inter Reg. Angliae et al. Princ. aucta et em. a *Clarke* et *Holbrooke*, Lond. 1816ss. vol. I. P. I.

f) *Hurter*, vol. II. p. 633. *g*) *Acta* in Mansi Th. XXII. p. 953–1084. [*Landon*, p. 293ss.]

h) *Innoc.* l. I. Ep. 401. Gesta. c. 63.

i) De miseria humanae conditionis s. de contemtu mundi. Opp. (Sermons & ascetic writings, incomplete.) Col. 1575. Ven. 1578. 4.

tude, and yet he had a right to boast that even his intercepted letters would be only an additional evidence of his perfect integrity. (*k*) He was certainly covetous of wealth, and his legates, in whom he confided too much, (*l*) were still more so; but no presents ever turned him from his course. His style of living was as simple as that of Cincinnatus, and his wealth was always subservient to his purposes, and freely used in behalf of the crusades and the poor. He was inflexible in his friendships, a father to widows and orphans, and when acting as the Vicar of the Supreme Prince of Peace, he was frequently a peacemaker between princes and their subjects. Misfortune never subjected him to those severe trials in which great characters are proved, but he availed himself of fortunate circumstances with all the skill of an ancient Roman. By his exertions Rome became once more the head of the civilized world; although his greatest plans were unsuccessful, or contained the germs of future failure. The legend, according to which the soul of this great vicar of God was delivered with extreme difficulty from the claims of hell, (*m*) merely shows that no mortal can possess unlimited power without injury, or that even the highest are amenable to a master in heaven, and to public opinion upon earth.

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

§ 193. *Gratian and his Predecessors.*

Ballerini de antiq. canonum Coll. (*Leon.* Opp. Th. III. p. 289ss.) *Savigny*, Gesch. d. Röm. Rechts im MA. vol. II. p. 273ss.—*Anton. Augustini* de emendatione Grat. l. II. Tarracon. 1587. and often. *J. H. Boehmer*, de varia Decr. Grat. fortuna. (At the commencement of his edit. of the C. J. Can.) *Sarti*, de claris archigymnasii Bononiens. Professorib. Bon. 1769. f. Th. I. P. I. p. 247ss. *Riegger*, de Grat. (Opp. Frib. 1773.) and de Grat. Col., methodo et mendis. (Oblect. hist. et jur. Ulm. 1776.) Savigny vol. III. p. 475ss.

The Capitularies of Charles and Louis were collected in summaries and separate pieces, and published by *Ansegisus* (827) in four books. The two first relate to the affairs of the Church. To these were added the collection of *Benedictus Levita* (845), in which were embraced not only the Capitularies, but the statutes derived from all the judicial authorities of the time. (*a*) The traditions of the ancient ecclesiastical laws and the work of Isidore formed a basis from that time forward, to which the compilers only added the more recent laws which had been generally received. The chronological order was not required in a systematic arrangement, and was also abandoned for want of a knowledge of the original authorities. *Regino*, the abbot of *Prum* (d. 915), gave directions from older authorities respecting the visitation of a diocese, and quoted the legal passages on that subject. (*b*) *Burchard*,

k) *Boehmer*, Regesta, p. 290.

l) *Hurter*, vol. II. p. 695, perfectly trustworthy in all which is hostile to Innocent.

m) *Thomas Cantimpratens.* Vita Lutgardis II, 7. (*Raynald* ad ann. 1216. No. 11.) differently embellished near the close of the 15th cent. in the Compil. chronologica. (*Pistor.* Th. I. p. 1098.)

a) *Anseg.* in *Pertz* Th. III. p. 256. *Bened. Lev.* ib. Th. IV, 2. p. 17.

b) L. II. de synodal. causis et disciplinis eccl. ed. (*Baluz.* Par. 1671.) *Wasserschleben*, Lps. 1840. Antiqua canu. Col. qua usus est Regino Prumiens. e cod. Vat. ed. *A. L. Richter*, Ber. 1844.

Bishop of *Worms* (d. 1025), and *Ivo*, Bishop of *Chartres* (d. 1115), have collected together the whole stock of genuine and spurious laws, though they have arranged them in a very arbitrary manner. (*c*) But when the Roman law began to receive much academical study, *Gratian*, of the convent of St. Felix at Bologna, became desirous of enlisting a similar interest in behalf of the canon law, and (about 1143) (*d*) wrote his Text Book and Manual, containing a system of ecclesiastical law on an historical basis. In this he incorporated all the laws then regarded as in force, deriving his materials principally from the previous collections, which he sometimes compared with the original authorities, and even condescended to borrow some of the most liberal statutes from the decrees of the Greek synods. The arrangement of the work was logical, but to some extent dependent upon the historical matter, and each division was prefaced by legal principles generally derived from history, and connected by intermediate clauses composed by Gratian himself. It consisted principally of historical documents, especially laws and legal opinions of all kinds taken from ecclesiastical and secular authorities, and grouped together in a fragmentary manner, but copied with verbal correctness. Gratian generally adopted the historical errors of his predecessors, and seldom reconciles the older with the more recent enactments. Although this work never received the papal sanction, it possessed so high a character for science and academic convenience, that ever since, so far as its historical elements are concerned, it has been received as a manual of canonical law for the whole Western Church. It has also served as the basis on which, with the exception of some errors which historical criticism has discovered, ecclesiastical jurisprudence has been principally developed. (*e*)

§ 194. *The Church and the State.*

Mondtag, Gesch. d. deutschen staatsb. Freih. o. d. Rechte d. gemeinen Freien, d. Adels u. d. Kirchen. Bamb. u. Wurtzb. 1812. *Hüllmann*, Gesch. d. Urspr. d. Stände in Deutschl. 2 ed. Berl. 1830. vol. I. *Sugenheim*, Staatsleben d. Clerus im Mittelalt. Berl. 1839. vol. I.

The process commenced during the migration of the northern nations was completed during the stormy period of the ninth and tenth centuries. This was the process by which the German republics of free warriors and landed proprietors became merged into a feudal system of complicated sovereignty and dependence. The silent power of the Church also gave its sanction to the rights of man while claiming those of the Christian. When the Roman empire had been revived in the German nation by the Othos, the emperor was regarded as the political head of Christendom in the West, and the holy Roman empire as a divine institution. The emperor was elected by the German princes and bishops, but he was required to strengthen the

c) *Burchardi* Decretor. l. XX. Par. 1549. and often.—*Ivo*, Pannormia, l. VIII. ed. *Melch. de Vosmediano*, Lov. 1557. Greater revisions by another hand, in 17 vols.: Decretum in Opp. ed. *Fronto*, Par. 1647. 2 Th. f.—*Aug. Theiner*, ü. Ivo's vermeintl. Decret. Mentz. 1832. The opposite view in *F. G. H. Wasserschleben*, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. vorgratian. KRechtsquellen. Lpz. 1839.

d) Concordia discordantium canonum, l. III. Even in 1180 it is cited as: "in Decretis," and later generally as the "Decretum." Printed as the First Part of the Corpus J. canonici.

e) *Guido Pancirolus*, de clavis leg. interpretib. III, 6. Lps. 1721. 4. *Savigny*, vol. III. p. 519ss.

power of the empire in Italy, and to obtain possession of the imperial crown which the popes seldom conferred without requiring entangling oaths and a subtle confession of faith. (*a*) But while the imperial power was destroyed in Italy, and every effort to secure it as an hereditary possession was frustrated, the great vassals became firmly established as princes of the empire, and their fiefs became hereditary. As long as the election, or at least the investiture of the bishops depended upon the emperor, they were his natural allies in opposition to the secular princes. The result was, that in all those towns in which episcopal sees existed, the imperial favor to them was so great that the jurisdiction of the courts was superseded by them, and episcopal immunities (corpora sancta) sprung up. Some of the bishops were even invested with dukedoms. In other parts of Germany the bishops were gradually deprived of their political influence, and some even became dependent upon the higher crown vassals. Right struggled every where with might, and the royal power with the great vassals. The Church often found opportunity to mingle in these struggles, and sometimes it was compelled to do so, but not unfrequently the confusion was in this way only increased. In particular instances it was repeatedly overpowered, or compelled to resort to begging, in which it sometimes persevered with an Indian's obstinacy. (*b*) Finally, by collecting together all its strength in the single phalanx of the papacy, it became so completely victorious that it threatened to absorb all the prerogatives of the state. And yet the old legal principle (§ 122), that God has divided all power on earth between the *emperor* and the *pope*, was received according to its German construction, consistently with the later doctrine, that the emperor carried the secular sword as a feudal investiture from the pope. It was even conceded that the civil power might be peculiar in its nature, and the world might be committed to the government of princes, (*c*) and that the pope, by virtue of the sacerdotal and royal prerogatives which he had received from Christ, should only interfere when they exceeded their just powers. Against the scandals of which the princes in those rude times were not unfrequently guilty, the provincial bishops were generally unable to oppose any effectual resistance. Those, therefore, who acknowledged no law superior to themselves, the pope summoned in the name of God to answer at his bar. The temporal inheritance of St. Peter was regarded as indispensable to the personal independence of the pope, but it involved him in all the Italian convulsions, and was only a precarious possession in opposition to the claims of the emperor, the great lords, and the municipalities. The Romans, themselves straitened between the pope and the emperor, never possessed any thing but a mere caricature of freedom.

a) E. G. *Pertz* Th. IV. p. 188.

b) Comp. *Raumer*, Hohenstauf. vol. VI. p. 167. with *Bohlen* Indien. vol. I. p. 285.

c) The old view: *Sachsenspiegel*, vol. I. art. I. The new: *Schwabenspiegel*, Einleit. (Frkf. 1566. f.) P. II. comp. *Honor.* III, in *Raumer*, vol. VI. p. 60. *Grimm*, Bridantes Bescheidenh. Gott. 1884. p. LVII.

§ 195. *Ecclesiastical Power of the Papacy.*

The general belief that the bishopric of the pope was universal, frequently gave a show of justice to the efforts that on every opportunity were made to extend his power. Since the time of Gregory, the episcopal power was also regarded as springing wholly from the papal. It was, however, thought that, like the emperor in the civil department, the pope should not suspend the exercise of the subordinate ecclesiastical powers, but rather protect each of them in their peculiar duties, and the pope was reminded by St. Bernard that the papal was not the only power which had been instituted by the apostles. The bishops especially looked upon their pastoral office in their own dioceses as absolutely inviolable, and they simply regarded absolution as especially efficacious when obtained from Rome. (*a*) In important cases dispensations were with increasing eagerness sought for from Rome, and in all judicial causes in the Church the Roman Curia was looked upon as the court of ultimate appeal. The office of supreme judge, in which he was responsible only to God, and the general reputation which he had obtained of being the most perfect depositary of the pure faith, produced in some instances a belief that the pope was *infallible*. (Luke 22, 32 was appealed to.) This view, however, was never entertained without limitations, or advanced without opposition. The popes always acknowledged the articles of faith and the established laws of the Church as the guide and limit of their powers. They were far from appealing to their own arbitrary authority, but they looked to the law of God, or what was generally regarded as such, for the sole rule of their conduct. (*b*) The *Pallium* was considered indispensable to the performance of the archiepiscopal functions, and Gregory based upon this a demand that all the archbishops should swear allegiance to him from whom it was received. The same demand was gradually made of all bishops whenever their elections were confirmed by the popes. At first this confirmation was sought only when an election was disputed, but soon after the time of Gregory it was considered essential to all elections, and supplied occasions for innumerable interferences in the business of the dioceses. Gregory himself still adhered to the freedom of the canonical choice. (*c*) New dioceses were erected, and changes in the relations of the old were to be made only with the consent of the pope. When appointments were made to other benefices, the pope interfered only in particular instances, and by way of recommendation, although such recommendations were nearly equivalent to commands. The bishops were generally, by their political position, beyond all danger from the violence of the popes, who had a right to exercise jurisdiction over them only in cases of manifest crime, and with the cooperation of the Synods. But as a membership in the principal councils depended frequently upon the papal will, very few of them ever opposed or thwarted what was known to be the desire of the pope, and most of them

a) Conc. Salegunstad. a. 1022. c. 18. (*Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 398.) Greg. VII. l. VI. Ep. 4. (*Ib.* Th. XX. p. 260.) Comp. *De Marca*, de Sacerd. et Imp. IV, S. 2.

b) *Gratian:* P. I. Dist. XL. c. 6. and P. II. Caus. XXXII. Quest. 7. c. 18. *Innoc. III.* de consecr. Pont. Serm. 3. Comp. *Hase*, Streitschr. H. 2. p. 90ss.

c) *Greg.* VII. l. V. Ep. 11. l. VI. Ep. 14.

were assembled only to receive and perform it. The ascendency of the pope above councils was claimed with great caution, and only in some occasional instances. His authority was much increased by the *pilgrimages* to the eternal city, for even in the midst of her ruins, the glory of the ancient and the sacredness of the modern world combined with her wonderful attractions to render it a place of concourse for the people and princes of the West. The first instance of the canonization of a person at a distance was that of Ulrich, the holy Bishop of Augsburg (993), and was occasioned by peculiar external circumstances. In the twelfth century, this privilege, which in itself may be regarded as trifling, but became important on account of the idea from which it sprung, and to whose realization it contributed, (*d*) was claimed as exclusively belonging to the pope. A *papal Coronation* is nowhere met with until after the time of Nicolas I., and on the first occasion of the kind on which they were both present, the emperor led the animal on which the pope was carried. The kissing of the pope's foot sprung from an Italian custom. In the estimation of the people it was not an idle display, but very significant as the offering of pious humility to Him whom the pope represented. By means of *Legates*, the papal power became almost omnipresent. The rapacity of these legates, the venality of the ecclesiastical courts, and the illiberal Italian spirit of some of the popes, began to be matters of public complaint and derision. But as a general thing, the affections of the people were still firmly attached to the papacy, and the blessings which it procured in the unity, freedom, and reformation of the Church were generally acknowledged.

§ 196. *The Cardinals.*

Thomassini vet. et nov. Eccl. disc. P. I. l. II. c. 113ss. *Buddeus* de orig. cardinalitiae dign. Jena. 1693. 12. *Muratori*, de Cardin. institutione. (Antiqq. Ital. med. aevi. vol. IV. p. 152.)

In the primitive Church the cardinals were the ordinary spiritual officers of the Church (incardinati). Even after the tenth century they were the canons of a cathedral. But in the Romish sense of the term during the eleventh century, the cardinals were the highest spiritual officers (i. e., the deacons and presbyters) of the Church in Rome, and seven suburbican bishops whose sees were then for the most part much reduced in size. (*a*) These cardinals, in opposition not only to the Roman people and the emperor, but gradually even to the other clergy, maintained that it was their sole prerogative to elect the pope (§ 180). *Alexander III.* ordained (1179) that no one could be a legally elected pope who had not received the votes of two thirds of the legally assembled cardinals. (*b*) The cardinals were generally selected by the pope from among the Italians, and constituted his ecclesiastical and civil council. Though they possessed no power to control any person of eminent talents in

d) *Mansi* vol. XIX. p. 169ss. *Mabillon*, Acta SS. Ord. Ben. Saec. V. Praef. N. 99.—Decr. Greg. l. III. tit. 45. c. 1.—*Lambertini*, de servor. Dei canonizatione l. IV. (*Benedicti XIV.* Opp. Rom. 1747. vol. I.–IV. 4.) *Heilmann*, Consecratio Sanctorum ad ἀποθεώσεις veterum Rom. effecta. Hal. 1754. 4.

a) *Bunsen*, Hippol. p. 152s.

b) Conc. Later. III. c. 1. (*Mansi* vol. XXII. p. 217.) [*Landon*, p. 292.]

the papal chair, their influence was generally sufficient to insure a certain uniformity of action in opposition to those sudden changes which individuals would have introduced. In consequence of their rank above the archbishops, the pope was surrounded with a courtly splendor, and an opportunity was afforded by which he could reward great services, and place men of eminent talents under obligations to himself.

§ 197. *The Bishops, and the Bishops' Chapters.*

So high did the pope stand in the estimation of the people, that the bishops lost nothing in dignity by their subordination to him. On the other hand, it was by his assistance that they were generally able to preserve their independence in opposition to the princes of the various countries in which they lived. There were a few great bishopries whose *Chorbishops* had from the most ancient times acted as the bishops' vicars in all spiritual affairs with an authority which was uncertain and often usurped by the princes, but never dangerous to the bishopric. (*a*) The right of the bishop to appoint all ecclesiastical officers in his diocese, was limited by the *right of patronage*, which even a layman could lawfully acquire by founding a church or a prebend. (*b*) The *archbishops*, besides the power of presiding in the synods of their own dioceses, merely possessed that of confirming and ordaining the bishops, in which, however, they were obliged to have the concurrence of the popes or their legates. They generally possessed very extensive dioceses, and on account of their rank they acquired special political privileges. At the coronation of Otho I. the three Rhenish archbishops for the first time took precedence of all the officers of the empire. Some of the other archbishops acquired a kind of primacy over a whole kingdom, as Adalbert of Bremen (d. 1072), a man of a brilliant mind, but consistent only in his vanity, and ready to sacrifice the whole Church to the promotion of the interests of his see, in which he hoped to become a patriarch of the North. (*c*) In such instances, however, the popes always hastened to form another archbishopric in the same country to guard against the establishment of a national patriarchate. In many dioceses, when their bishops were to be appointed, the nobility and people of the archbishopric contended with the king and neighboring bishops for the right of choice, and not unfrequently those who were appointed by the latter were most terribly repulsed. (*d*) After a gradual attainment of their exclusive rights in this matter, the *canons* obtained by their prerogative and their prospect of the election, a position more and more independent of the bishop, and secured to them by treaties. The canonical life was generally abandoned during the tenth century, but some zealous popes and bishops insisted upon its re-establishment. In the midst of much contention two classes of canons were then formed (canonici saeculares and regulares), and even monks became possessors of some chapters. The canons were not all clergymen, but they were required by the

a) *Baluz.* Capitul. vol. I. p. 327s. 380s. Against Gfrörer: *W. E. Wenck*, d. frank. Reich. nach dem Vertr. v. Verdun. Lpz. 1851. Append. 3.

b) *H. L. Lippert*, L. v. Patronat. Giess. 1829. *J. Kaim*, KPatronat. Lps. 1845. vol. I.

c) *Adam. Brem.* l. III. comp. *Jaffé* p. 571. *d*) E. g. *Lambert. Schafn.* ad. ann. 1066.

synodal regulations to have at least a subdeacon's charge. Any vacancies which occurred in the *Chapter* were supplied generally by a vote of its own members, from whose number its various officers were chosen. A dean or prior, sometimes both, presided over the whole. After the close of the eighth century, it gradually became common to divide the large dioceses into archdeaconries, and these again into rural chapters. The *archdeacons* were the regular and sometimes even then the troublesome deputies of the bishops, but they were not regarded as indispensable to a complete chapter. When the canons were absent for a long period, they now began to hire vicars to officiate in their places, and to mark the hours by singing. The livings connected with the cathedrals were then sufficient to become objects of cupidity to the nobility, whose still increasing importance enabled them to take possession of most of the benefices. Against the coteries formed by a petty aristocracy, wealthy proprietors, patronizing relatives, and provincial prejudices, the popes endeavored to maintain the liberal principles of Christianity, which asserted the derivation of all men from the same original ancestry, pronounced the poor blessed, acknowledged no kindred but the children of God, and recognized no birthright in the kingdom of God but that which is acquired in regeneration. (*e*) The domestic *chaplains* employed by the nobility easily made themselves independent of the bishops by a servile dependence upon their employers. (*f*)

§ 198. *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.*

Greg. Decr. II. de judiciis. *Biener*, Beitrage z. Gesch. des Inquisitionsproc. Lpz. 1827. *St. Turck*, de jurisdictionis civ. per med. aevum cum eccl. conjunctae orig. et progressu. Monast. 1832

1. The clergy could be tried only before the episcopal tribunal. The civil authorities were utterly unable to enforce their penal code in opposition to the indulgence or partiality of this court, except in those instances in which the wounded honor of the Church itself required the surrender of the culprit. The highest ecclesiastical penalty was a hopeless banishment to a convent, and sometimes a walling in of the culprit. 2. The ecclesiastical court also claimed jurisdiction over all matters more or less intimately connected with the Church, or with religion in general, such as marriages, wills, oaths, usury, and all legal causes relating to the crusades. In consequence of this confusion of moral and legal subjects, this court invaded very considerably the sanctuary of the family. Ecclesiastical laws were formed against nearly all public offences, and when might every where prevailed against right, were powerful enough to extort respect from those who would have despised every human authority. The cause of humanity and of national rights formed also a powerful advocate in the Church by means of these penal courts. 3. A few individuals only arrogated to themselves the right to interfere in every municipal cause when requested by one of the

e) *Innoc. III.* l. VI. Ep. 121. IX. 130. More numerous examples can be found in the next period, e. g. *Greg. Decr.* III. tit. 5. c. 37. comp. *Seufert*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Adels in d. Domcapiteln. 1790. *Hurter*, Innoc. vol. III. p. 236.

f) *Agobard*, de privileg. et jure sacerdotum. p. 128.

party, or when the offence charged was of a moral nature (denunciatio evangelica).* The ancient custom of the synodal courts was gradually restrained by the introduction of the Roman law.

§ 199. *Property of the Church*

The property of the Church was continually augmented by donations, by bequests, by profitable investments and loans for pawns especially to crusaders, by royal fiefs, by free proprietors giving to the Church feudal lordship over their possessions to secure them against oppression, and by the increased value of property. On the other hand, it was diminished by the prodigality of individual prelates, which could not be checked till, after a dear-bought experience, laws were carefully formed against all pawning or alienation of Church property; by the claims and oppressions of Church wardens, by transference of fiefs to those who could protect them and become their liege lords, by expenses for the support of legates and princes, and by the claims of feudal lords upon the property of deceased prelates, and upon the revenues of vacant Church offices (jus spolii et regaliae). This spoliation of the Church was zealously resisted by the popes. Otho IV. in Germany was induced to surrender his claims, but other sovereigns renounced them only in particular instances. Even the *patronage* (advocatia) of ecclesiastical foundations which had been originally intended for legal and military protection, and which had sometimes originated with the act of endowment, or had been conferred upon a powerful neighbor, was frequently perverted, so as to be an instrument of oppression and robbery. (*a*) The principal portion of the Church property consisted of real estate and tithes. The legal titles by which the former was held were of various kinds, but the latter were claimed by a natural law propounded by God himself, although they were resisted in many ways when fully carried out, and were in collision with various local customs. The revenues even of the pope, in accordance with peculiar ancient usages, were paid in articles of natural produce, varying in different places. (*b*) Surplice fees (jura stolae) belonged chiefly to the lower clergy, but were only voluntary offerings of the people. Salaries from the state were indignantly rejected by the Church as dangerous to its independence and dignity. (*c*) The clergy claimed exemption from all taxes on persons or property, with the exception of the feudal aids and voluntary contributions in cases of extraordinary state necessity. A regular assessment was generally unknown in the feudal monarchies, but as late as the twelfth century the Church was often compelled to contribute for special objects, and in the free cities it had to bear its share in all general taxes. *Alexander III.* proclaimed the great fundamental principle of the Church, which was, that the clergy might contribute of their own free will when they perceived the utility and necessity of an

* *Greg. Decr.* II. tit. 1. c. 13. comp. *Raumer* vol. VI. p. 198s.

a) *P. Gallade*, de advocatis ecc. Heidlb. 1768. (*A. Schmidt*, Thes. jur. ecc. vol. V.) *Muratori*, de advv. ecc. (Antiqq. Ital. vol. V.) *W. T. Kraut*, die Vormundsch. Gött. 1835. vol. I.

b) *Cencii Camerarii* L. censuum Rom. Ecc. a 1192. Comp. *Hurter*. Innoc. vol. III. p. 121ss.

c) *Diomedes* Cronica di Cypro, according to Raumer vol. VI. p. 147.

assessment. (*d*) The protection which the bishops received from the popes against the demands of their respective kings, gave occasion to the legal maxim, that the Church could never be taxed without the papal sanction. (*e*) The natural right of the clergy to inherit property was finally legalized in spite of the opposition of the laity. Every Church was regarded as the proper heir of all ecclesiastics who died intestate in connection with it. There were different opinions respecting the right of such persons to bequeath their possessions, but it was generally conceded that they might freely dispose of all which had not been acquired from ecclesiastical revenues. At an early period the attempt was frequently made to bequeath the property of the Church to children, (*f*) by which it would soon have been either impoverished, or subjected to a sacerdotal caste. This was afterwards frustrated by the law which required the celibacy of the clergy. In consequence of the munificent donations which it bestowed upon the poor, the people were generally pleased to see the Church in the possession of the greatest wealth.

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

§ 200. *The Religious Spirit of the People.*

This was a period in which violence, power, and artifice were enlisted in the service of a rude sensuality. But a profound religious spirit ardently engaged in the pursuit of everlasting life, was no less prevalent among the people. These tendencies were sometimes in conflict with each other, and sometimes they were reconciled by the most remarkable compromises. The hierarchy, addressing itself to the religious spirit, but in a manner conformed to the age, endeavored to establish the ascendency of the law and of an elevated morality. A period in which brute force (Faust-recht) was the only law, was interrupted by one in which the *Truce of God* was sustained by ecclesiastical threatenings and miracles. (*a*) Women and children, defenceless persons, and every thing constructed or planted for purposes of peace, were in times of war under the protection of the Church. (*b*) It offered an asylum to all who were persecuted, without inquiring whether they were pursued by lawless violence or justice. Violent persons were terrified by frightful representations of a present God, and by narratives of divine judgments; and when those who possessed great power became penitent, they were compelled to undergo the most severe and effective penances. The tenth century is remarkable for having been the most degraded of all these periods for its reckless struggles and general rapacity. A vague presentiment of death, a remnant of the pagan notion of the Twilight of the gods, (*c*) passed

d) *Conc. Later.* III. c. 19. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 228.)

e) *Conc. Later.* IV. c. 46. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 1030.)

f) E. g. *Bened. VIII.* about 1014 in Conc. Ticinensi. (*Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 348.)

a) Treuga Dei, first proclaimed in 1041 in Aquitania. *Glaber Radulph.* V. 1. (*Bouquet* Th. X. p. 59.) *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 593. *b*) *Jaffé*, p. 632.

c) Comp. *Muspilli*, edit. by Schmeller, Munich. 1832.

through the youthful nations, and fixed upon the close of the first millennium of the Christian era as the period for the end of the world. (*d*) But new life was awakened by the conflict with the Saracens in Spain, as well as by their heroic example. The struggle between the papacy and the monarchies of that period contributed also to the same result. The pleasures of the world were principally enjoyed by the nobility and clergy. An independent estate of burghers, if it did not always contend for public freedom and justice, certainly strove to obtain special liberties and prerogatives for themselves. In accordance with both the tendencies above mentioned, the female sex was regarded with extravagant admiration, or as frail and dangerous. The peculiar spirit of the age was fully developed in the crusades. In them was displayed the absolute ascendency of the imagination and the feelings. Human life became so corrupted that it degenerated into a coarse sensual existence, or an ideal struggle for something beyond human attainment. All the peculiarities of the European nations were amalgamated with each other, or combined with the fanciful speculations of the East. The contracted horizon to which the people had been accustomed became much enlarged, and it was not without serious injury to themselves that many walked beneath the lofty palm-trees. (*e*) This sensuous piety required and put confidence in all kinds of miracles. The sepulchres of the East were opened, and the sacred antiquity of the Church became realized once more in the present, by means of peculiar relics, whose genuineness the understanding would no more think of proving than it would venture to suspect the miracles by which they were certified to the faithful. Many vessels and emblems, gradually or accidentally invested with a sacred character, received at that time a place in the primitive ecclesiastical usage by means of the legends, or became connected with the old German popular traditions. (*f*) Superstition was especially congenial with the spirit of the age, and the hierarchy made it subservient to their purposes, increasing or diminishing it according as their interests prompted them. As instances of the latter, may be mentioned their opposition to the ordeals or *judgments of God*, especially by duels. (*g*) While God was brought down to the level of humanity, men were invested with the attributes of God. Ancient saints were once more discovered, and the present age felt competent even to create new saints. The ardent feelings of the people prompted them to pray even to a dog, as a martyr and a patron saint, because he had lost his life in behalf of his master's child. (*h*) The Mother of God, however, was above all other saints the object of chivalrous gallantry. But notwithstanding the profound veneration

d) *Abbo Abbas Floriac.* Apologet. (*Galland.* Bibl. PP. Th. XIV. p. 141.) In a variety of ways in deeds of gift then made. Comp. *Lücke*, Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh. Bonn. 1832. p. 514s.

e) Comp. *Placidus Muth*, Disq. in bigamiam Comit. de Gleichen. Erf. 1788. *Thilow*, Beschr. d. Grabes u. d. Gebeine d. Gr. v. Gl. u. seiner beiden Weiber. Goth. u. Erf. 1836.

f) Comp. *G. Gerberon*, Hist. de la robe sans couture du monast. d'Argenteuil. Par. 1677. *J. Marx*, Gesch. d. h. Rocks. Treves. 1844. *J. Gildemeister* u. H. v. Sybel, d. h. Rock zu Trier u. d. 20 andern h. ungenähten Röcke. Dusseld. (1844.) 2. ed. 1845.—Der ungenähte graue Rock Christi. Altdeutsches Gedicht, edit. by *F. H. v. d. Hagen*, Berlin. 1844.

g) *Conc. Valentinum* III. a. 855. c. 11. 12. (*Mansi* Th. XV. p. 9.) *Innoc. III.* l. XI. Ep. 46. l. XIV. Ep. 138.

h) *Steph. de Borbone*, in *Echard*, Scrr. Praed. vol. I. p. 193.

in which the Church was held, the exuberant spirit of the age sometimes exceeded the limits of its own due reverence. Accordingly the devil, in spite of all his dismal enchantments and temptations, generally appears in popular traditions as a very poor and simple being. The wanton spirit of the troubadours sometimes ventured to treat with familiarity the sacred person of the holy Virgin and even of God the Father. The priests themselves in an innocent way sometimes made parodies of the holy mysteries and offices of the Church at their festivals of fools and asses. (*i*)

§ 201. *Manners of the Clergy.*

According to the feudal law of Germany the bishops were bound to appear personally with their quota of men in the army of their liege lord. On the other hand they were carefully reminded by the popes that they should devote themselves to the work of preaching, and to the care of souls, and that the Church should abstain with horror from the shedding of blood in all its forms. (*a*) We are therefore not surprised to find such a character as that of *Christian*, Bishop of *Mentz*, the heroic, learned, and rapacious general of the emperor Frederic, who slew his enemies with a club. (*b*) But even those bishops who were more spiritual in their dispositions were sometimes compelled to become leaders of armies, and as soon as they had administered the Holy Sacrament to their warriors they were called upon also to prepare them for the battle. (*c*) What was called simony was in some instances only the customary tribute given to the princes and to the popes soon after the time of Gregory. Even the better portion of the clergy could not entirely abstain from this, but as it was proscribed by the Church it was ensnaring to the conscience. In England, *Dunstan* (d. about 990), an abbot and a triple bishop, versed in all the knowledge prevalent in his day, so powerful that he held even the devil in his tongs, and though personally devoted to his own visions in worldly matters, so politic that he entirely controlled three successive kings, and broke the heart of another who presumed to resist him, attempted to reform the voluptuous lives of the priesthood by putting his monks in the place of those clergymen who would not give up their wives. (*d*) His efforts, however, were attended by no very lasting results. *Damiani*, who with Hildebrand was a severe censor of the manners of his age and even of the papacy, and who desired nothing from the world but a monastic cell in which he could scourge himself, presents in his writings such a naked and vivid picture of the excesses of the clergy, that Alexander II. prohibited the perusal of them on the ground of their injurious influence upon the morals of the

i) The hierarchy were at first zealous against these sports, but gradually they relaxed in their opposition, and at a later period attempted to improve them. *Du Fresne*, Gloss. ad Scrr. med. et inf. Lat. v. Cervula. Calendae. *Tiliot*, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la fête des foux. Laus. 1751.

a) *Damiani* l. IV. Ep. 9. Conc. Turon. a. 1060. c. 7.

b) *Albert. Stadens.* p. 291s. (Schilteri Scrr. Argent. 1702.)

c) *S. Ulrici* Vita in *Mabillon* Acta SS. Saec. IV. p. 440.

d) *Wilkins*, Conc. Angl. vol. I. p. 257ss. *G. Malmesbir.* Gesta Reg. Angl. l. II. Vita S. Dunst. p. *Britforth* et *Osborn:* Acta SS. Maj. vol. IV. p. 344. *Mabillon*, Ann. Ord. S. Bened. vol. III. p. 424ss.

readers. (*e*) Marriage was not declared unlawful to the clergy in England and Spain until the twelfth century, and in the Northern kingdoms till some time in the thirteenth. Some even died because they could not endure this separation from their wives and children. But although Gregory succeeded in abolishing marriage, he could not prevent licentiousness among the clergy. Before his time this had prevailed publicly, but in a less offensive form, whereas after his enactments it was practised in secret, and frequently in the most unnatural manner, so that many regarded the remedy as worse than the evil. The clergy partook also of the faults peculiar to the times, and were sometimes involved in the most shameless acts of violence. (*f*) But such individual instances of irregularity among the bishops, or of criminality among the clergy, which were generally put down in the Church after the influence of Hildebrand had been put forth, should not be regarded as specimens of the general character of that period. (*g*) The declamations which are sometimes found in the writings of that day, respecting clerical depravity, in many cases proceeded from monastic prejudices or secular antipathies. (*h*) The clergy must also have participated in the virtues of that period, for without these their increasing influence among the people would appear incomprehensible. This consciousness of control over the age in which they lived, and the true conception which they possessed of what a clergyman should be, contributed much to elevate even the inferior multitude of priests above their ordinary position and made them share in the common spirit of their order.

§ 202. *Church Discipline.* *Comp.* § 66. 132.

Eus. Amort. de origine, progressu ac fructu indulgentiar. Aug. Vind. 1735. f.

By the great body of the people, the act of binding and loosing on the part of the priest was regarded as equivalent to an admission to heaven, or an exclusion from it. Even death, which sunders all other ties, was supposed to bring men more perfectly under this influence. Conscientious clergymen were often distressed in the exercise of a power which extended even beyond the grave, and eminent theologians arrayed themselves in opposition to this error. (*a*) The synodal courts, when they had become corrupt, imposed fines upon offenders, or consented that the ecclesiastical penance should be discharged by the payment of alms, of which the Church was to be the dispenser. Penitential books were formed in which a choice of penances was proposed, and a kind of price current was kept for all kinds of crime. (*b*) The popes were generally supposed to possess a peculiar power of absolving from the guilt of the more heinous crimes, and they made use of this public confidence very extensively when they sold complete *absolution*, professing to devote the proceeds to the relief of the crusaders. Particular sanctuaries

e) Liber Gomorrhianus. Epp. II, 6. Opp. den. ed. *Gaetani*, Par. 1743. Life of Dam. by his pupil *Jo. Monachus* in Opp. and Acta SS. Febr. vol. III. p. 406.—Vita S. Dam. scr. *J. Laderchio*, Rom. 1702. 3 vols. 4.

f) E. g. *Lambert. Schafn.* ad a. 1063. *g*) E. g. *Hurter*, Innoc. vol. III. p. 327ss.

h) With respect to the former, see *Damian*, and with regard to the latter, the songs of the Troubadours and Minnesingers.

a) *Petrus Lomb.* Sentt. L. IV. Dist. 18. *b*) *Regino*, de disc. ecc. II, 438ss.

also were invested with the privilege of bestowing absolution on condition of a certain period of penance, to all who should visit them, either on some festival or at any time. (*c*) A period of penance which might ordinarily exceed the limits of human life might be accomplished in a brief space of time by means of the two kinds of absolution. Persons who were in a high degree the victims of remorse were required to build a church, to go upon a crusade, or to enter a convent. In all cases when services were performed, or money was paid to obtain such a pardon for sin, a cordial repentance and an amendment of life was made a prerequisite in the applicant. Intelligent teachers, however, perceived that the Church was placing itself in a position of extreme peril. (*d*) According to an opinion which had now become established, but was still opposed in some quarters, a mortal sin could be forgiven only in the confessional. The Church required that at least once in each year every person should confess all the sins of which he was conscious. (*e*) By this means the priests became possessed of all the hearts and secrets of the people. The *interdict* which had been on several occasions attempted in former times, but had been always regarded as an arbitrary exercise of an unchristian power, became during the eleventh century a legitimate measure in opposition to those who violated solemn treaties. It soon after became a terrible weapon in the hands of the popes by which a nation was compelled to atone for the crimes of its rulers, or was armed against those in authority over it. When the Church possessed a powerful influence over the life of every one, no people patiently endured a protracted discontinuance of ecclesiastical services, and frequently they did not hesitate to compel their clergy to open their churches for public worship. Innocent also obtained a promise that every one whom he should excommunicate should be subjected in like manner to the ban of the empire, but such an engagement it was found impossible always to fulfil.

§ 203. *Public Worship.*

Walafrid Strabo, died 849, de exordiis et increm. rer. ecc. *Ivo*, died 1115, Micrologus de ecc. observatt. (Both found in *Hittorp.* see § 166.) *J. Beleth*, about 1182, div. officior. brevis explic. ed. *Corn. Laurimann.* Antu. 1553. *G. Duranti*, died 1296, Rationale div. officior. l. VIII. Mog. 1497. f. and often.

The *Wessobrunnen* prayer, a monument of the ancient language and piety of Germany, contains an exalted poetical representation of the antemundane existence of God, and an humble supplication for spiritual blessings. (*a*) But the sensuous disposition of the people was necessarily predominant. In consequence of the sensuous tendency then so prevalent, public worship appeared to be little else than a worship of the saints. Preaching was hardly an essential part of the service on public festivals, although several synods and popes endeavored to introduce into churches only those who were able to instruct the people, and the popularity of those preachers who discoursed in an affecting style, proved that the multitude were susceptible of

c) Comp. *Conc. Lateran.* IV. c. 62. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 1050s.)

d) *Abelardi* Ethica c. 18. 35. (*Pezii* Anecd. Th. III. P. I. p. 666ss.

e) *Conc. Lateran.* IV. c. 21. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 1007ss.)

a) According to the extracts by Wackernagel (Brl. 1827.) in *Rettberg*, vol. II. p. 813.

benefit from the Word of God. (*b*) The use of the Roman Liturgy was required in all the churches as the visible bond of general unity. The Gothic Liturgy, although it was protected by an affectionate people, and had even passed the ordeal of fire, was gradually suppressed in Spain after the eleventh century. (*c*) The Sabbath was especially devoted to the service of the Virgin Mary, in whose honor a particular service was composed principally by Damian (Officium S. Virginis) to be performed in the convents. When *Paschasius Radbert*, a monk and (844–851) an abbot at Corvey (d. about 865), maintained that the virginity of Mary was unimpaired even by the birth of the Son of God, the learned divines of his day shrunk from the position as containing a Docetic sentiment. (*d*) That every thing might be removed which could throw the slightest suspicion upon the virgin purity of the Queen of heaven, the doctrine was finally set forth according to which she also was conceived in a miraculous manner, and some canons of Lyons (about 1140) solemnized this faith by instituting the festival of the *Immaculate Conception*. St. Bernard, however, and all learned theologians of that period were opposed to this innovation. (*e*) In popular traditions many pleasant things which had been told of the goddess Freyja were transferred to Mary. (*f*) A festival of *All Souls* (Nov. 2) for the deliverance of those who were confined in purgatory was also established by the monks of Clugny (1010), who obtained a hint from the popular tradition asserting that the gate of purgatory was in one of the volcanoes of the Lipari islands. (*g*) Some time after the ninth century the practice extended from Rome to the provinces, of observing *St. Gregory's day*, as a festival for schoolboys, derived from the old Minervan festival. (*h*) Among the sacred usages of the Church the *Sacraments* gradually became remarkably prominent, and the representation of them as the signs and actual communications of divine grace, as well as their number seven, so divided as to sanctify all the important relations of human life, were especially defended and established by *Peter Lombard* and *Gratian*. (*i*) The *baptism* of infants could be postponed without giving offence. (*k*) That abuses might be avoided, those children who had not been confirmed were (12th century) kept back from participation in the Lord's Supper, and when many other attempts had been made to render the wasting of the least particle of the divine blood impossible, the laity were entirely debarred from participation in the *sacred cup*. The doctrine of the presence of the entire Christ in the bread was defended, and the powerful influence of

b) *Conc. Moguut.* a. 847. c. 2. (*Mansi* Th. XIV. p. 903.) *Conc. Lateran.* IV. c. 10s. (*Ib.* Th. XXII. p. 998s.) *Jacobi a Vitriaco* Hist. occid. c. 68s.

c) *Roderico Tolet.* de reb. Hisp. VI, 26.

d) *Ratramni* L. de eo, quod Chr. ex virgine natus est. (*D'Achery*, Spicileg. Th. I. p. 52.) *Fr. Walch*, H. controv. S. IX. de partu Virginis. Goet. 1758. 4.

e) *Ant. Gravois*, de ortu et progressu cultus ac festi immaculati conceptus Dei Genetricis. Luc. 1762. 4.

f) *Grimm*, Deutsche Mythol. pp. 192, 417, 694. XX.

g) *Jotsaldi* Vita S. Odilon. c. 14. (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. S. VI. P. I. p. 615.) *Sigeb. Gembl.* ad a. 998.

h) *A. Weber*, Origo festi Gr. Illmst. 1714. 4. *Mirus*, de Gr. M. et festo Gr. P. II. Illmst. 1768. 4. *Mücke*, v. Urspr. d. Gr. Festes. Guben. 1793.

i) *Pet. Lomb.* Sent. IV. Dist. 1–42.

k) *Petri de Vineis*, l. III. Ep. 21. *Böttiger* Heinr. d. Löwe. Anm. 63.

the priesthood maintained this custom of withholding the cup against all subsequent opposition. (*l*) The solitary mass of the priest was at first decidedly reprehended. (*m*) In the tenth century adultery continued to be regarded by the popes as a sufficient ground for divorce, but the ecclesiastical view of the marriage rite was completely carried out when it was soon after declared absolutely inviolable, and Innocent III. insisted upon the reunion of husband and wife, even after a double adultery had been proved. Human frailty, however, was supplied with abundant opportunities for sundering this bond by means of the prohibition of all marriages between relatives, even of the seventh degree, since such a consanguinity was very generally proved when it was desirable. Innocent limited the degrees of relationship within which marriage was invalid, to four, and in fact regarded even these limits as prescribed only by human and natural laws. (*n*)

§ 204. *Monastic Life.*

The convents were regarded in the ninth century as the hereditary fiefs of the secular lords, under whose control they were more perfectly wasted and misgoverned, than by the irruptions of the Normans. (*o*) But the exalted contempt of the world displayed in the monastic life corresponded with the spirit of the times. Some who from their youth had never become attached to the enjoyments of the world, felt the need of such a pious seclusion and fellowship. Others felt the same necessity after the agitation of a sudden conversion, or that they might make an atonement in this way for the sins of an irregular life. Simultaneously, therefore, with the newly awakened energies of the people, and the general movement of multitudes in favor of corporations, a series of successful efforts were put forth to attain the proper objects of the convent by a renewal and completion of the Benedictine rule. The abbots, sustained by papal privileges and royal fiefs, were favorable to the party of the bishops and princes. The popular element of the Church, however, was especially maintained in the convents, and it was through these that Gregory was enabled to obtain his victory. Monasticism, though frequently arrayed in opposition to particular individuals among the clergy, was closely allied to the general body; and on account of its exemption from episcopal supervision it was generally in the immediate service of the pope. After the tenth century it was regarded as a peculiarly spiritual order (ordo of the religiosi), which, however, made use of lay brethren (conversi), to attend to their secular affairs. In this way the larger Benedictine convents carried on within themselves all the mechanical arts, at any time needed in them, especially those connected with masonry. The seclusion necessary for the convent was sometimes obtained even in the cities, but the spot best

l) *J. G. de Lith*, de adoratione panis consecr. et interdictione calicis. Suob. 1773. *Spittler*, Gesch. des Kelchs im Abendm. Lemgo. 1780.

m) *Conc. Moguut.* a. 813. c. 43.

n) *Leo VII.* Ep. ad Eberhard. (*Arentini* Annal. Bojor. IV, 28.) Comp. *G. W. Böhmer*, ü. d. Ehegesetze im Zeitalt. Carls d. Gr. u. seiner nächst. Nachfolger. Gött. 1826.—*Innoc. III.* l. I. Ep. 143. IX. Ep. 75. XI. Ep. 101. *Conc. Lateran.* IV. c. 50–52.

o) Episcopor. Ep. ad Ludov. a. 858. c. 8. (*Walter* Th. III. p. 86.) Conc. Troslejan. a. 909. c. 3. (*Mansi* Th. XVIII. p. 270s.)

adapted for it was generally found in some beautiful wilderness. It then frequently became the central point for all the business of the surrounding region. Sometimes convents were erected upon soil which had been stained with blood, or some sentimental legends were connected with their gloomy walls. (*b*) The uniform of the cloister which was at first nearly the same with the ordinary dress of the people, was gradually changed, until it became the peculiar habit of the order. The enlargement or diminution of the property of convents was produced by the same causes as those which affected Church property in general, but inheritance from the monks was the ordinary, and the cultivation of the desert soil was the noblest method by which wealth was acquired. In consequence of the rigidity of their rules and the sanctity of their founders, many of these orders rapidly increased in numbers, and became soon involved in the inconsistency of having devoted themselves to poverty, and yet being in the enjoyment of immense wealth. Monks and nuns sometimes resided under the same roof (monasterium duplex.) The secret sins or the public offences of individuals and of whole convents, are only occasionally mentioned, and then only because they were brought before the ecclesiastical courts. In the establishment of monasteries the Church allowed the various dispositions of individuals to be gratified, and only provided by their legislation that these diversities should all be confined within the limits required by the general objects of the order. And when the monastic life had assumed a great variety of individual forms, and appeared to have taken every possible shape, Innocent III. prohibited the formation of any new orders. (*c*)

§ 205. *The Congregation of Clugny.*

Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, in qua SS. Patrum Abbatum Vitae, miracula, scripta rec. Paris. 1614. f. The *Ordo Clun.* was accurately described in the 11th cent. by *Bernard* who belonged to it. (Vetus discipl. monast. ed. *Herrgott*, Par. 1726. 4. p. 133.) The *Antiquiores Consuett.* Clun. l. III. by *Ulrich*, one of the order 1070, has preserved a good representation of affairs at Hirsau. (*D'Achery*, Spicil. vol. I. p. 641.)—*Bernonis* Vita. (*Mabillon*, Acta SS. S. V. p. 66.) *Odonis* Vita by his pupil *Johannes*. (*Ib.* p. 150.) *Odilonis* Vita by his pupil *Jotsaldus*, (*Ib.* S. VI. p. 597.)—*S. Wilhelmi* Constt. Hirsaugiens. (*Herrgott*, p. 375.)

The rule of Benedict had been re-established by *Berno*, one of the family of the Burgundian Counts, in two of the monasteries under his control. Being invited by *William*, Duke of Aquitania, to form a convent after the same model, he founded that of *Clugny* (Cluniacum, 910), and placed it under the immediate supervision of the pope. His successor, *Odo* (927–41), who had been a monk in his habits even before taking the monastic vow, was well acquainted with the true method of governing the minds of men. A rule of discipline was formed under him, which, by severe, uninterrupted, mechanical employments of a religious nature, so completely destroyed all individuality of feeling, that the ecclesiastical and monastic spirit became exclusively active in the hearts of the members. Under *Odilo* (994–1048), who has been called the Archangel of the monks, and during the administra-

b) E. g. the priory of the *deux amoureux* at Rouen. see *Helyot*, vol. II. p. 471.

c) *Conc. Lateran* IV. c. 13. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 1002s.)

tion of a series of abbots, whose inflexible good sense never allowed them to act inconsistently with their monastic sanctity, most of the convents in France, carried away with the universal admiration, or compelled by their princes or protectors, became subject to the rule and government of the congregation of Clugny. This gave rise to a Congregation of Benedictines, which in the middle of the twelfth century embraced about 2000 convents, principally in France. At the head of these was placed the Abbot of Clugny, always chosen by the monks of his own convent, from whose ranks also he almost invariably selected the priors of all the convents belonging to the congregation. The legislative and supervisory powers were vested in a General Chapter which assembled annually at Clugny. The very heart of the French nation was in the hands of the monks of Clugny, until about the commencement of the 12th century, when the order withdrew from public affairs and lived upon its own resources. An instance of a reformation in the midst of extreme disorder was exhibited in Germany, when the congregation of *Hirsau* was established there (1069) by the Abbot *William* after the model of that of Clugny.

§ 206. *Minor Orders of the* 11*th Century.*

1. In the wilderness of the Apennine mountains were established two orders of monks, originally composed of hermits, but gradually connected with convents. The first of these was called the Order of *Camaldoli*, and was founded (about 1018) by the pious zeal of *Romuald*, one of the family of the Duke of Ravenna. The second was called the Order of *Vallombrosa*, and originated (about 1038) in the rigid austerity of *John Gualbert*, a Florentine. The members of these orders vowed that they would abstain even from ordinary intellectual enjoyments, and from all conversation with their fellowmen. At a later period, however, they endeavored to reconcile this contempt of the world, and self-mortification, with the enjoyment of the vast possessions acquired by the orders. (*a*) 2. *Stephen* of *Tigerno* was unwilling to be regarded either as a monk or a hermit, and acknowledged no rule but that of the gospel. With the sanction of Gregory (1073) he founded an order subsequently called by the name of *Grammont*. This determined to relinquish its own beloved convent rather than to defend a just claim by a legal process, and even sincerely declined the honor of the miracles imputed to its illustrious founder, because it thought such a reputation would be prejudicial to humility. After a rapid growth, however, it was powerfully agitated by disputes between its monks and those lay brethren, who, according to the Rule, had the charge of its secular affairs. The result was that in the 12th century it entirely lost its independence. (*b*) 3. *Bruno* of *Cologne*, the rector of the cathedral school and a Chancellor at Rheims, disgusted with the dis-

(*a*) *Romualdi* Vita, scr. *Damiani*. (*Mabill.* Acta SS. S. VI. P. I. p. 247.) Rule in *Holsten.* Th. II. p. 192. *Archang. Hastivill*, Romualdina s. Camaldulensis O. Hist. Par. 1681. 12.– *Gualberti* Vita (*Mabill.* Acta SS. S. VI. P. II. p. 273.) Bullarium Vallumbrosanum, s. bullae Pontificum, qui eundem Ord. privilegiis decorarunt, a *Fulgentio Nardio* Flor. 1729.

(*b*) Vita *S. Stephani* by *Gerhard*, the 7th prior of Grammont. (*Martene*, ampliss. Col. Th. VI. p. 1050. *Mabillon*, Ann. Ord. S. Ben. Th. V. p. 65.) Hist. prolixior Prior, Grandimont. (*Martene*, ib. p. 125.)

graceful life of his archbishop, renounced the world. There is a melancholy tale which assigns another cause for this act, but it was not known until the close of the thirteenth century. (*c*) He erected huts for himself and a few companions (1048) in the wild mountain gorge of *Chartreuse* near Grenoble. He was induced by his former pupil, *Urban II.*, to visit Rome (1090), but he soon became weary of a secular life in that city, and after refusing the bishopric of Reggio, he founded a new Carthusian monastery in Calabria, in which he ended his days (1101). The order was not organized into a society until 1141 in the mother convent. For a long time the Carthusians persevered in the practice of an abstinence so strict that they rejected all gifts except necessary food and skins for parchments. The wealth they received at a later period was expended in the embellishment of churches. (*d*) 4. When France was visited by a disorder called St. Anthony's fire, the order of the Hospitallers of *St. Anthony* was founded for the relief of the sick by *Gaston*, a wealthy nobleman of Dauphiné, from gratitude for the recovery of his son (1095). At first it consisted entirely of lay brethren, but afterwards it was composed of canons under the Rule of Augustine. (*e*) 5. *Robert* of *Arbrissel*, at an early period a divine, then a superintendent of a diocese, and subsequently a preacher of repentance and of the crusades, was the founder of the Benedictine Congregation of *Fontevraud*, for penitents, especially of the female sex who had once fallen from virtue. For this class of persons he seems to have felt a peculiar interest, and therefore fell under the reproaches of his contemporaries. In compliment to the Queen of Heaven the supreme direction of the society was intrusted to female hands. (*f*)

§ 207. *The Cistercians and St. Bernard.*

1) Relatio qualiter incepit Ordo Cisterciensis. (*Alberti Miraei* Chron. Cist. Ord. Colon. 1641. p. 8ss.) *Henriquez*, Regula, Constitt. et Privil. Ord. Cist. Ant. 1630. f.—*Manrique*, Ann. Cist. Lugd. 1642. 4 Th. f. *Pierre le Nain*, Hist. de l'ordre de Cîteaux. Par. 1696ss. 9 Th. 2) *Bernardi* Opp. (Letters, Discourses, Poems, ascetic writings.) ed. *Mabillon*, Par. 1667. 1690. 6 Th. f. 1719. 2 Th. f. Ven. 1726. 2 Th. f. Par. 1839. 2 Th. Med. 1851s. 3 vols. 4. His life by contemporaries: *Gulielmus*, Abbot of S. Thierry, *Gaufredus* and *Alanus de Insulis*, Monks of Clairvaux. (*Mabillon* Th. I. and VI.)—*Neander*, d. h. Bernh. u. s. Zeitalt. Berl. (1813.) 1848. [Tr. into Engl. by *Wrench*, Lond. 1845. 12mo.] *J. Ellendorf*, Bernh. u. d. Hier. 1838. 2 vols. *Ratisbonne*, Hist. d. S. Bern. Par. 1843. 2 Th.

Robert, who had been dedicated to the Virgin by his mother before his birth, became dissatisfied while yet an abbot with the comfortable life of the wealthy monks, and founded a convent at *Citeaux*, under regulations requiring the most extreme poverty (1098). In the order which sprung from this, the most rigid abstemiousness was demanded, all splendor in churches was condemned, and its members promised absolutely to submit to the bishop of the diocese, as well as to abstain from all the ordinary employments of life, not excepting even the charge of souls. The internal affairs of the society were directed only by the law of love; (*a*) the position of the Abbot of

c) *Launoii* de vera causa secessus S. Brunonis in eremum. Par. 1646. (Opp. Th. II. P. II. p. 824.)

d) *Mabill.* Ann. Th. V. p. 202ss. and Acta SS. S. VI. P. II. Praef. p. 37ss. Legends respecting the life of Bruno may be seen in Acta SS. Oct. Th. III. p. 491ss.

e) Acta SS. Jan. Th. II. p. 160.—*Kapp*, de fratrib. S. Ant. Lps. 1737. 4.

f) *Mabillon*, Ann. Th. V. p. 314ss. Acta SS. Febr. Th. III. p. 593ss.

a) Charta Charitatis. (*Manrique* Th. I. p. 109ss.)

Citeaux and the government by annual General Chapters, were all modelled after the Constitution of Clugny, although the abbots of the four oldest affiliated convents gradually attained equality with the Abbot of Citeaux (1119). The black dress of the Benedictines was exchanged for a white cowl. By the extreme veneration which the Cistercians acquired among their contemporaries, who regarded them as perfect representatives of apostolic simplicity, and by the splendor of St. Bernard's name, this new order was able to vie successfully with the congregation of Clugny. The latter was indeed considerably shaken by the excesses of its abbot, *Pontius* (1109–25), who carried the staff of the shepherd and of the pilgrim in the same hand which bore the sword of the highway robber. It was, however, enabled to close this controversy honorably to itself under the direction of *Peter* the *Venerable* (1122–56). (*b*) *Bernard* was born at Fontaine, of a family distinguished for monastic piety. Even during the struggles of his early youth he showed that he was by natural temperament inclined to a monastic life. Accordingly in the year 1113 he became a monk at Citeaux, and in 1115 the Abbot of Clairvaux, a convent founded by persons belonging to that community. By his entire disengagement from the world, he seemed utterly independent of the rules, and was actually superior to all those laws by which men are usually governed. He was certainly highly endowed by nature, and in popular estimation as well as in his own opinion he possessed the power of working miracles. Educated beneath the foliage of a mighty forest, his thoughts were continually directed toward heaven. In spite of the general insipidity of the age, he was distinguished by an eloquence which was irresistible even by those who could not fully comprehend his discourse. He was rather jealous of human learning, and so zealous in behalf of the Church that he engaged in a sanguinary persecution. He was enthusiastic in his efforts to promote the power of the priesthood, and yet candid and severe with respect to their irregularities. In almost every part of Europe he beheld those whose minds he had formed by his instructions seated upon episcopal thrones, he himself acted as an umpire in nearly all the quarrels which took place between different princes and nations, and by the diffusion of his highly theocratic spirit among the priesthood, he became the most influential man of his age. By his influence his order became so powerful, that soon after his death (1153) it endeavored to excel its rivals of Clugny, not so much in humility and contempt of the world as in independence and wealth.

§ 268. *Praemonstrants and Carmelites.*

Hermanni Monachi de miirac. s. Mariae laudes, III. 28s. (*Guiberti*, Opp. ed. *d'Achery*, p. 544.) Acta SS. June. Th. I. p. 804ss. *Chrys. van der Sterre*, Vita S. Norb. Antu. 1656. *Hugo*, Vie de S. Norb. Luxemb. 1704. 4. Bibl. Ord. Praemonst. per *Jo. le Paige*, Par. 1633. f.

Joan. Phocas, compendiaria descriptio, etc. (*Leon. Allatii* Symmicta. Ven. 1733. f. p. 17.) *Jacobi de Vitriaco* Hist. Hieros. c. 52. (*Bongars* Th. I. p. 1075.) Rule in *Holsten*. Th. III. p. 188s. *Daniel a Virg. Maria*, Speculum Carmelitanum. Antu. 1680. 4 Th. f.

Norbert was originally a canon at Cologne, and as the chaplain to Henry

b) *Bernardi*, Apol. ad Guil. (*Mabillon* Th. IV. p. 33.) *Petri Ven.* ad Bern. I. Ep. 28. IV. Ep. 17. VI. Ep. 4. (Bibl. PP. Max. Th. XXII.) Dialogus inter Cluniac. mon. et Cist. de diversis utriusque Ord. observv. (*Martene*, Thes. Th. V. p. 1569.)

V. lived in the enjoyment of wealth, with the brightest prospects of promotion in the priesthood. By an event which was supposed to bear a strong resemblance to the conversion of Paul, he was induced to throw all these aside, and enter upon the humble employment of a preacher of repentance. After some ineffectual attempts to reform other canons, he founded an order of monastic canons in the unhealthy vale of *Prémontré* (1120). When he appeared preaching repentance at the Diet of Speyer, he was elected as if by a divine inspiration to the vacant archbishopric of Magdeburg, and entered that city in the garb of a beggar. A powerful storm of opposition was raised against him on account of his strenuous efforts to induce his wealthy retinue there to practise the same abstemiousness which he showed. The people, however, before whose fury he was once obliged to save his life by flight, maintained possession of his body as though it were the sacred palladium of their city, in opposition to the demands of the monks of Prémontré. Before his death (1134) Norbert witnessed the rapid increase of his order in the establishment of numerous chapters and convents for monks and nuns.—*Berthold*, a crusader from Calabria, who with a few companions had resided for a time in a cave of Mount Carmel, was the founder of the order of the Carmelites, though his claims to that honor have been denied by his followers. On account of the hallowed recollections connected with the mountain where they resided, and the similarity of the habits of their order with those of *Elias*, they have always maintained that it was founded by that ancient prophet, and continued until modern times by a series of successive prophets. (*a*) When, by the conquests of the Saracens, the Carmelites lost possession of their original seat, they allege that the holy Virgin gave her scapular to *Simon Stock*, the general of the order, that it might become thenceforth the habit of all its members, with the assurance that whoever should die in this dress would never suffer in everlasting fire. (*b*) New possessions were acquired by these Brethren of our Lady of Mount Carmel in every country of Europe.

§ 209. *The Trinitarians.*

Bonaventura Baro, Annales Ord. S. Trin. Rom. 1684. Rule in *Holsten.* Th. III. p. 88s.

The vague and visionary efforts of two hermits, *John de Matha*, previously a Parisian divine, and *Felix de Valois*, appear to have been finally directed to a definite object by *Innocent III.*, and an Order of the Holy Trinity was established for the redemption of Christian slaves (1198). The first-fruits of its efforts were exhibited in the year 1200, when a multitude of Christians purchased from slavery in Morocco returned to their homes. The order of the *Trinitarians* (de redemptione captivorum, Mathurins, frères aux ânes) spread itself rapidly in all parts of Southern Europe. Female convents were also instituted, and through many vicissitudes the primary object of the order has not been altogether abandoned even to a very recent

a) *Papebroch* (Acta SS. April. Th. I. p. 774ss. and in some controversial writings) has given the true history in opposition to the prolix volumes of the Carmelites. [*Mosheim* Hist. Cent. XII. Part II. § 21. McLain's transl.]

b) *Launoii* Dss. de Sim. Stochii viso. Par. 1653. (Opp. Th. II. P. II.)

period. The residence of its General (minister generalis), and the place where its general chapter, composed of all the superiors of its convents, convened, was at Cerfroy, where the two original hermits were once visited by a white deer with the mark of a cross between its horns.

§ 210. *The Humiliates.*

Tiraboschi, vetera Humiliatorum monumenta. Mediol. 1766ss. 3 Th. 4.

Many felt that the religious should be brought into more intimate connections with the secular life than the general Church at that time was able to afford. The community of the *Humiliates* was therefore instituted in the eleventh century, composed, at first, of an association of pious Milanese who had been exiled from their native city. Gradually it became extended over all parts of Lombardy, and embraced principally mechanics, especially weavers of woollen fabrics, connected together by the bond of a common employment, and a love of pious exercises. All their property was held in common. At a later period even monks and priests united with them, and took part in the labors, the business, and the trade of the Society. Their community was tolerated by the hierarchy on the ground of its being a point of connection between the convent and the world. Innocent III. endeavored to give it a definite position by imposing upon it the rule of Benedict, and it was supplied with a grand master in 1246. Finally it became secularized, and was abolished by Pius V. (1571).

§ 211. *Establishment of the Orders of Knighthood.*

I. *Wil. Tyr.* I. 10. XVIII, 4ss. *Jac. de Vitriaco* c. 64. *Ptol. Veltronius*, Statuta Ord. hosp. S. Jo. Rom. 1588. f. *Holsten.* Th. II. p. 444ss.—II. (*Vertot.*) Hist. des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean. Par. 1726. 4 Th. 4. 1761. 7 Th. (*Niethammer*) Gesch. d. Maltheserord. nach Vertot. Jen. 1792. 2 vols. *Paoli*, dell'origine ed instituto del ord. di S. Giovanni. Rom. 1781. 4. *Falkenstein*, Gesch. d. Joh. Ord. Dresd. 1833. 2 vols.

I. *Wil. Tyr.* XII. 7. *Jac. de Vitr.* c. 65. *Bernardi* Tract de nova militia s. adhortatio ad milites templi. (Opp. Th. IV. p. 98.) *Holsten.* Th. II. p. 429ss. *Münter*, Statutenbuch. Brl. 1794. 1 vol — II. *P. du Puy*, Hist. des Templiers. Par. 1650. Brux. 1751. 4. Uebers. Frankf. 1665. 4. *D'Estival*, Hist. crit. et apol. des Chev. du Temple. Par. 1789. 2 Th. 4. An Epitome: Die Ritter des Temp. zu Jerus. Lpz. 1790. 2 vols. *Wilcke*, Gesch. d. Temp. Ord. Lpz. 1826s. 2 vols. *Falkenstein*, Gesch. d. Temp. Ord. Dresd. 1833. 2 vols. [*C. G. Addison*, Hist. of the Knights Templars, &c. Lond. 1843. 2 ed. 8. 3 ed. 1854. 8.]

I. Statuten des deut. Ord. edited by *E. Hennig*, Konigsb. 1806. *Petri de Dusburg* (about 1326), Chronic. Prussiae s. Hist. Ord. Teut. ed. *Hartknoch*, Jen. 1679. 4. Codex diplomaticus Ord. Teut. Urkundenbuch z. Gesch. d. deut. O. ed. by *J. G. Henne*, Mentz. 1845.—II. *Duellii*, Hist. Ord. Equit. Teut. Vind. 1727. f. *Joh. Voigt*, Gesch. Preuss. b. z. Untergange d. Herrsch. d. deutsch. Ordens. Königsb. 1827ss. 4 vols.

The various orders of knighthood which sprung up during the tenth century, were the legitimate result of the feudal system and the military occupations of the youth. When regarded as an affair of past times, this system is extolled as the ideal toward which noble minds were induced to aspire, but in its bitter reality it was the ascendency of a great corporation, whose power was restrained by Christian customs, and embellished by the principles of love and honor. Duels and tournaments were always zealously opposed by popes and synods, but the system of knighthood itself was sanctioned by the Church because it enlisted men in the service of God, and for

the defence of all who were oppressed. The two most powerful tendencies of the age were united during the holy wars in forming a spiritual knighthood which combined the three monastic vows with the solemn promise never to desist from a conflict with unbelievers. 1. Some citizens of Amalfi, while trading with Palestine, had (1048) founded a hospital for the reception of pilgrims to Jerusalem. The fraternity which had the management of this hospital, after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Christians, took the monastic vow under the name of the *Brethren of the Hospital*, dedicated to *St. John the Baptist*, in Jerusalem. *Raymond du Puy*, the second principal of the order, to their former duty of hospitality and attendance upon the sick, added that of knighthood in opposition to infidels (about 1118), and this soon became the principal object of the order. 2. Nine knights, with *Hugo de Payens* as their master (magister militiae), took from the hand of the Patriarch of Jerusalem the knightly monastic vow (1118), and from their location in the royal palace, by the side of the former Temple of Jerusalem, they assumed the name of *Templars* (pauperes commilitones Christi templique Salomonis). 3. During the siege of Aine (1190), some citizens of Bremen and Lubeck founded a hospital which was favored by the German princes, and under *Henry* of *Walpot* became the Order of the *German Knights* of the Virgin Mary. Each of these orders embraced three estates, viz., Knights, Priests, and Serving Brethren. In this latter class were included not only all who were engaged in manual labor, but squires. The whole was arranged in accordance with an aristocratic constitution, under the government of a Grand Master, Commanders, and Chapters of Knights. They formed the standing army of the Church in the East, but as a general society of noblemen they acquired vast possessions in every part of Europe. The Templars especially soon became independent by their own power, and the privileges granted to them by the pope. So highly was their spirit of devotion to the order cultivated, that they became a military society of noblemen, combining their hereditary powers with the privileges of the clergy. It was not long, therefore, before they found themselves in a hostile position to both bishops and kings. Wherever the Church in any way stood in need of worldly weapons, especially in Spain while contending with the Moors, and in Germany in connection with the Cistercians, similar orders of knights were established of a purely national character.

CHAP. IV.—STATE OF SCIENCE IN THE CHURCH.

§ 212. *Scientific Education of the Ninth Century.*

Launoii Ds. de scholis celebr. a Car. M. et post eundem instauratis. Par. 1672. Hamb. 1717. Hist. littéraire de la France par des rel. Bénédictins. Par. 1733ss. Th. IV. V. *Cramer*, Bossuet, Th. V. vol. II. *Hefele*, wiss. zust. im südwest. Deutschl. 9. 10. und 11. Jahrhh. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1838. P. 2.) *Bähr*, Gesch. d. röm. Lit. im Carol. Zeita. Carlsr. 1840.

The diffusion of education commenced by Charles the Great was continued under the Carolingians by the schools established in the cathedrals and convents. The most efficient agent in it, so far as related to Germany,

was *Rabanus Maurus*, the pupil of Alcuin, and the friend of the Emperor Louis when that monarch was in distress. He had travelled in Palestine, and in 822 was called to preside over the convent of Fulda. Compelled to fly from that place in 842, he soon after (847) became Archbishop of Mentz, and died in 856. With great humility he devoted himself to the lowly task of collecting the various explanations of the Scriptures found in the writings of the fathers, and gave a minute description of the universe. (*a*) The labors of scientific men were principally directed to the consideration of the external forms of the Church. In this kind of literature, as well as in his course of life, *Agobard*, Archbishop of Lyons (died 841), may be regarded as the representative of the moderate opposition raised in the French Church against praying to images, and all kinds of superstition. (*b*) *Claudius*, Bishop of Turin (d. about 840), a great admirer of Augustine, presents us with a specimen of the stormy battle then waged against the worship of images, popes, and saints. (*c*) *Hincmar*, Archbishop of Rheims (died 882), shows the position of an ecclesiastical statesman standing between kings, popes, and bishops, sometimes in the character of a friend, and sometimes in that of an opponent, frequently with great earnestness, but always with dexterity and dignity in times of extreme peril, defending the rights of the national Church and of his archbishopric. (*d*) *Haymo*, Bishop of Halberstadt (died 853), brought to the recollection of his contemporaries the views of the primitive Church by means of a much-used epitome of the Latin translation of Eusebius. (*e*) *Jonas*, the successor of Theodolf in the bishopric of Orleans, in opposition to Claudius defended the customs of the Church of that period, so far, at least, as they proceeded from a pious disposition. The advice he gave to laymen was superior to the prejudices of the Church, and frequently attained the enlarged philanthropy required by the gospel. (*f*) *John Scotus* (or) *Erigena* (d. about 880), who resided at the court of Charles the Bald, though he was originally educated in the British school, under the influence of the writings of Origen and the Areopagite, stood so isolated from his contemporaries, and so far superior to his times, that his doctrines were not sufficiently understood to be condemned by the Church until the thirteenth century. (*g*) To his profound conceptions of the divine immen-

a) Opp. ed. *Colvenerius*, Col. 1627. 6 Th. f. *Migne*. (Patrolog. Par. 1852. vols. CVII.-XII.)—*F. H. C. Schwarz*, de Rhab. M. primo Germ. praeceptore. Heidelb. 1811. 4. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1838. P. 3s. *F. Kunstmann*, Hraban. Mentz. 1841.

b) Opp. ed. *Baluz*. Par. 1666. 2 Th. (*Galland*. Th. XIII. p. 405.) *Handshagen*, de Agob. vita et scriptis. Giess. 1832. P. I.

c) Fragments in *Flacii* Catal. test. verit. p. 936. Bibl. PP. Max. Th. XIV. p. 197. *Mabillon*, vett. Anal. p. 90. *Rudelbach*, Claud. inedit. opp. specimina. Hafn. 1824. *C. Schmid*, Claud. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1843. H. 2.)

d) Opp. ed. *Sirmond*, Par. 1645. 2 Th. f. *Flodoard*, Hist. ecc. Rem. III, 15-29. Hist. lit. de la France. Th. V. p. 544ss. *Gess*, Merkwürdigk. a. Leben u. Schrr. Hincm. Gött. 1806.

e) De christ. rerum memoria s. Hist. ecc. breviarium, ed. *Boehorn*, Lugd. 1650. *Mader*, Helmst. 1671

f) De cultu imaginum l. III. a. 840. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. XIV. p. 167. De institut. laicali l. III. a. 828. (*D'Achery*, Spicil. ed. 2. Th. I. p. 258.) De institut. regia. (*Ib.* p. 324.)

g) De divisione naturae l. V. ed. *Gale*, Oxon. 1681. f. *Schlüter*, Monast. 1838.—*P. Hjort*. J. Scot. o. v. Urspr. e. chr. Phil. Kopenh. 1823. *Frommüller*, Lehre des J. Sc. v. Bösen. (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1830. P. 1. 3.) *Staudenmaier*, J. Sc. u. d. Wissensch. sr. Zeit. Frkf. 1834. vol. I. *Hock*, J. Sc. (Bonn.

sity, the world was one vast Theophany in different forms of development, the Incarnation was simply the reconciliation of the finite with the infinite, the sacred Scriptures were the necessary terms in which the truth must be expressed, in adaptation to human infirmity, and religion and philosophy were the twofold form in which the same essential spirit was manifested. A German poetic composition, (*h*) in which the evangelical history was represented with all the peculiarities of the Germanic popular life, was a dawn without a day, since all literature continued to be written in Latin, and science, even when laymen took part in it, was wholly of an ecclesiastical character (clergie). During the stormy period which followed the subversion of the house of Charles the Great, the more eminent lights of literary culture were either wholly extinguished, or were concealed behind the walls of convents, where their beams were only occasionally visible. That portion of Anglo-Saxon Christian literature which Alfred the Great (871–901) saved by his sword, and animated with the antique traditions of ecclesiastical learning, was apparently lost at his death. (*i*)

§ 213. *First Eucharistic Controversy.*

While attempting to present the mysterious import of the Liturgy, *Paschasius Radbert* advanced the doctrine that the substance of the consecrated bread and wine in the Eucharist was changed into the very body of Christ which was born of the virgin. This was declared to be an act of creation by almighty power, though invisible to any but an eye of faith. (*a*) This sentiment was opposed by the learned writers of that age, especially by *Rabanus Maurus*, by *Ratramnus*, a monk of Corbie, who maintained the indefinite view prevalent in the primitive Church, according to which there was simply a communion of the earthly with the heavenly, and by *Erigena*, to whom the sacrament of the Lord's Supper could present nothing but a sign of an omnipresent God. (*b*) The doctrine of Paschasius must have been well adapted to the popular understanding, from which, indeed, it may have taken its rise, since even before this the consecrated bread had been changed under the hands of Gregory the Great into a bleeding finger. (*c*)

Zeitschr. f. Phil. u. Th. 1835. II. 16.) *R. Möller*, J. Sc. Mainz. 1844. *A. Torstrick*, Phil. Erigenae ex ipsius principiis delineata. Gott. 1844. P. I.

h) Comp. (*Hase's*) Leben Jesu. p. 38.

i) *Asserii* Hist. de reb. Alfr. ed. *Wise*, Oxon. 1722. *F. L. v. Stolberg*, Leb. Alfr. Münst. 1815. [*Rob. Powell*, Life of A. the Great. Lond. 1634. 12. *Reinhold Pauli*, King Alfred, &c. Transl. Lond. 1852. Life of A. by *Spelman*, Lond. 1840. *F. Steinetz*, The Mod. Mon. &c. in a Life of Alfred the Gr., from the German of *A. V. Holler*, &c. Lond. 1849.] *Weiss*, Gesch. Alfr. Schaffh. 1852.

a) De corpore et sang. Domini s. de sacramentis, 831. the later edition, 844. dedicated to Charles the Bald, is in *Martene*, Col. ampl. Th. IX. p. 367. Ep. ad Frudegardum in Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. XIV. p. 754ss.

b) *Rabani* Ep. ad Heribald. (*Mabillon*, vett. Analect. ed. 2. p. 17.) *Ratramni* de corp. et sang. Dom. L. ad Carol. Col. 532. ed. *J. Boileau*, Par. (1686.) 1712. 12. Often attributed to Erigena.—*Lauf*, ü. d. verloren gehaltne Schrift des Joh. Sc. v. d. Euchar. (Stud. u. Krit. 1828. vol. I. H. 4.)

c) *Pauli Diac.* Vita Greg. M. c. 23. *Joan. Diac.* II, 41. *Pasch. Rad.* c. 14.

§ 214. *Gottschalk. Cont. from* § 212.

G. Mauguin, vett. auctorum qui s. IX. de praed. scripserunt, opp. et fragm. Par. 1650. 2 Th. 4. *Mansi* Th. XIV. XV.—*J. Usserius*, Gotteschalci et praedestinatianae controv. Hist. (Dubl. 1631. 4.) Han. 1662. Against Gottschalk: *L. Cellot*, Hist. Gottesc. praedestinatiani. Par. 1655. f. [Biblical Repertory, vol. XII. No. II. p. 225ss. *Neander*, Hist. of Chr. Rel. Transl. by *Torrey*, vol. III. p. 172ss.]

The authority of Augustine had continued unimpaired till the middle ages, though his peculiar doctrines were generally misunderstood, and almost universally rejected. *Gottschalk* was a monk, of a noble Saxon family, who even in his childhood had been devoted to a monastic life. At a synod which met at Mentz (829), he obtained a release from his monastic vow, but by the influence of his abbot, *Rabanus*, this decision was subsequently reversed. His excited spirit now sought tranquillity in the perusal of the writings of Augustine, in a removal to the convent of Orbais, and in a pilgrimage to Rome. In the most decided forms of expression he announced his doctrine of a double predestination, founded upon the absolute foreknowledge of God, according to which some were elected to life, and others were consigned to destruction. Personal bitterness was combined with the aversion felt in the Gallican Church towards Augustinism, and Gottschalk was condemned, through the influence of Rabanus, at the second Synod of Mentz (848), and delivered into the hands of his metropolitan, Hincmar of Rheims. (*a*) The cause of Gottschalk, or rather of Augustine, was sustained by all the learning of *Ratramnus*, and the hierarchical authority of *Remigius*, Archbishop of Lyons. On the other hand, *Hincmar* defended the Frankish doctrine that man was indeed free and yet needed divine grace, and *Erigena* contended for the perfect unity of the divine decrees. (*b*) The controversy remained undecided, but Gottschalk, worn down by hierarchical violence, and absorbed in private reveries by which his life was beguiled away, died excommunicated but unsubdued in prison (868).

§ 215. *Literary Interest during the Tenth Century, under the Othos.*

So strong were the recollections of classic antiquity awakened in the court of the imperial house of Saxony by its connection with Constantinople, that it began to indulge the dream of restoring the Roman empire to its original form. The decisions pronounced by the various emperors with regard to the popes, gave them an opportunity to speak freely respecting the abuses then practised in the Church. The Arabians had ever since the eighth century monopolized the natural sciences as the appropriate product of their own civilization, together with every thing in Greek literature which related to them. The school they had established at Cordova (after 980) excited the attention of the neighboring Christian countries. (*a*) As an evidence of the classic education which existed in the imperial court, *Hroswitha* (Helena v.

a) De praedest. contra Gottsch. Epp. III. ed. *Sirmond*, Par. 1647. (The Letters of Rabanus are also in *Maugerii* Th. I. P. I. p. 38ss.) Two unprinted letters of Rab. respecting Gottsch. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1836. H. 3.) *Flodoard*, H. ecc. Rem. III, 28. *Mansi* Th. XIV. p. 919.

b) *Ratramni* de praed. l. II. (*Mauguin* Th. I. P. I. p. 27.) *Remigii* L. de trib. epp. (*Ib.* Th. II. P. I. p. 61.) *Hincmar*, de praed. Dei et lib. arb. (1st sect. lost. Opp. vol. I.) De tribus epp. L. (Opp. vol. I. *Maug.* Th. II. P. II. p. 67.) *Erigena*, de praed. Dei. (*Mauguin* Th. I. P. I. p. 103.)

a) *Middledorpf*, de institutis literariis in Hisp. quae Arabes auctores habuerunt. Goett. 1810. 4.

Rossow, died about 984), a nun of Gandersheim, may be mentioned. She recounted the exploits of Otho the Great in rhyme and in hexameter verse, and expressed the great principles of Christianity in the style of Terence. (*b*) On the other hand, *Notker Labeo*, superintendent of the school in the convent of St. Gall (died 1022), availed himself of his knowledge of the ancient languages to give translations from them into the High German. (*c*) *Ratherius*, Bishop of Verona and Liege (d. 974), though sometimes a wanderer and even a prisoner in consequence of the political commotions of Italy and his own ardent temperament, in bitter and pointed language held up before his clerical brethren a picture of their own corruptions, and the duties required of them by the ancient laws of the Church. (*d*) The Arabic influence was represented by *Gerbert*. (*e*) In subsequent times he has been looked upon as a magician, and perhaps the spirit of his age rendered it necessary that astronomy should partake in some degree of the character of astrology. But the importance which the school of Rheims attained under his management, and the estimation in which he was held both in France and Germany, proves that he was not as isolated and unappreciated in his own day as the Italian accounts imply. It is, however, certain that the clergy in general were by no means in advance of the age in which they lived, and it required no great skill on the part of any one to subject a bishop who should exhibit his knowledge of Latin in the sacred desk, to the most awkward imputations. (*f*)

§ 216. *Academical Studies in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.*

No sooner was there sufficient order secured in the state and in the Church to afford opportunity for a tranquil elevation and communion of spirit among men, than the exuberance of life which had long been concealed broke forth in the cultivation of science. An appropriate instrument for the intellectual energy then awakened was found in the recently discovered Latin translation of the dialectic writings of *Aristotle*. (*a*) There were still preserved some remnants of a Roman empire and laws, and the condition of the Lombard cities rendered the development of these a matter of considerable importance. Accordingly, about the close of the eleventh century, the Roman law was reduced by *Irnerius* to a new scientific form, and applied to new relations as a European Christian law. (*b*) For the cultivation of these laws several universities were established. That of Bologna was at first merely a school for the study of Law, while that of Paris was for the study of Dialectics and Theology. In the former, the highest powers of the corporation (universitas) were vested in the pupils, but in the latter they were in the hands of the Doctors. They owe their establishment not to the favor of

b) Carmina Ottonis I. Comediae sacrae VI. (Opp. ed. *Schurzfleisch*, Vit. 1707. 4.)

c) Catalogue in *R. v. Raumer*, p. 388s.

d) De Contemtu canonum. Apologia sui ipsius. De discordia inter ipsum et clericos. Meditationes cordis s. praeloq. (Opp. ed. *Ballerini*, Veron. 1765.)—*Engelhardt*, ü. Rather. (KGeschichtl. Abhh. Erl. 1832. N. 5.) *Neander*, Leben d. Rather. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr W. 1851. N. 36.)

e) Comp. § 178. note *g*. Respecting Gerbert's works, see *Hock*, Gerbert. p. 166ss.

f) Vita *Meinwerci* c. 81. (*Leibn.* Scrr. rer. Brunsv. p. 555.) Comp. *Saxo Gramm.* l. XI. ed. *Stephan.* p. 209.

a) *Jourdain*, Recherches critiq. sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions lat. d'Aristote. Par. 1819.

b) *Savigny*, Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im Mit. Alt. 3 & 4 vols.

popes or princes, but to the necessities of the times, as thousands of students were drawn together by the reputation of some distinguished teacher. Acts of incorporation were not sought for from the pope until a later period, when the younger universities endeavored by such means to rival those which depended upon their own reputation. The advantages springing from these seats of science, which controlled the opinions of the succeeding generation, were so apparent that the popes were anxious by special favors to secure their attachment to themselves, and render them institutions in which Christian studies generally (studium generale) might be pursued. (*c*) By the influence of these universities science became generally diffused, at least among the higher classes, but in spite of the freedom of its development, it still continued subservient to partial corporate interests, enveloped in barbarous Latin, and almost exclusively of an ecclesiastical character.

§ 217. *The Second Eucharistic Controversy.*

I. *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 757ss. *Adelmanni* Ep. de verit. corp. et sang. Dom. ed. *C. A. Schmidt*. Brunsv. 1770. *Lanfranci* L. de euchar. sacr. c. Ber. (1063–70.) Bas. 1528, and often. (Opp. ed. *D'Achery*, Par. 1648, f. p. 230.) *Bereng.* L. de s. coena c. Lanfr. before 1073. (The edit. of the Wolfenbüttel MSS. made known by *Lessing*, and half finished by *Ständlin* and *Henssen* in 6 Pg. Goett. 1820–29. 4.) Edd. *A. F.* and *F. Th. Vischer*, Ber. 1834. Acta Conc. Rom. sub Greg. VII. a Bereng. conscripta. (*Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 761.) *Bernoldus Const.* (an opponent of Berengar) de Ber. damnatione multiplici. 1088. (*Matth. Rieberer*, Raccolta Ferrarese di opp. scientifici. Ven. 1789. Th. XXI.)

II. *Mabillon* de multiplic. Ber. damnatione. (Analect. Th. II.) *Lessing*, Ber. Turon. o. Ankünd. e. wichtigen Werks dess. Brunschw. 1770. 4. (Schriften. vol. VIII. p. 314ss. *Ständlin*, annuntiatur editio libri Ber. simul omnino de scriptis ejus. Goett. 1814. 4. *Ibid.* Ber. Tur. (*Ständl. u. Tzschirn.* Archiv. 1814. vol. II. St. 1.) [*H. Sudendorf*, Ber. Tur. o. e. Samml. ihn betreff. Briefe. Hamb. 1850.]

Berengar (after 1031), the superintendent of the cathedral school of Tours, and (after 1040) archdeacon at Angers, maintained, in opposition to the new doctrine advanced by Paschasius, that there was a change in the sacramental elements only in a figurative sense. He contended that not the earthly elements themselves, but their influences were changed by their connection with Christ in heaven, who was to be received not by the mouth but by the heart. These views he expressed in a letter to his learned friend *Lanfranc*, at that time Scholasticus (superintendent of a cathedral school) in the convent of Bec, but afterwards (1070) Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter carried out the doctrine of Paschasius, by saying that the actual body of Christ in heaven remained entirely unaffected by the change in the elements on earth. This letter of Berengar being denounced before the ecclesiastical authorities, (*a*) his doctrine was condemned at synods held at *Rome* and *Vercelli* (1050). Learned friends advocated his cause, but public opinion was against him. His doctrine admitted of a variety of interpretations, and left the subject in the vague state in which it had been held in past times; while that of his opponents presented a clearly defined idea, and threw great

c) *Bulaei*, Hist. Univ. Paris. 1665–73. 6 Th. f. *Crevier*, H. de l'Univ. de Paris. Par. 1761. 7 Th. 12. *Dubarle*, H. de l'Univ. Par. 1829. Th. I.—*Savigny*, Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im MA. vol. III. p. 130ss.

a) *Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 768.

honor upon the forms of worship, by making the sacrifice of the mass a glorious Theophany. *Hildebrand* was at that time legate, and not only personally the friend of Berengar, but in sentiment tolerant toward his opinions. But at the Synod of *Tours* (1054), this prelate was prudent enough to save his reputation for orthodoxy by the simple scriptural confession that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper were the body and blood of Christ. Berengar, however, was without sufficient influence at Rome (1059) to defend his opinions against the rude violence of his enemies, and finally he consented to subscribe a confession in which a grossly carnal participation in the flesh and blood of Christ was asserted. But no sooner were his feet beyond the Alps than he recalled this confession, with bitter execrations against what he called Satan's seat at Rome. The controversy was continued with equal literary skill on both sides, in a learned correspondence between him and Lanfranc, the keenest dialectician of the age. The whole spirit of the times, however, was arrayed against Berengar, because he contended for a spiritual and against a sensuous conception of Christianity. At a Synod held at *Rome* (1078), *Gregory* made one more effort to secure indulgence for the conscience of his friend by presenting a formula of a general nature, but even he was obliged to give way before the zealots who surrounded him, and (1079) to demand a more decided declaration. Although even this was subsequently recanted by Berengar, he was protected by the influence of Gregory, and lived in retirement on the island of St. Come, where he died (1088) amidst the blessings of the Church. His memory was for a long time honored in Tours, but the doctrine that there was a change in the nature of the sacramental elements, although the outward phenomena, in order to try the faith of believers, remained the same, had now obtained the victory. *Transubstantiation* by the hand of the priest was made an article of faith at the great Council of Lateran. (*b*)

§ 218. *Scholasticism. First Period.*

L. Danaeus, Prolegg. in Sentt. Lomb. (Opp. theol. Gen. 1583 f. p. 1693.) *Tribbechovius*, de doctorib. schol. (1665) ed. *Heumann*, Jen. 1719. *Cramer*, Bossuet, vol. V.–VII. *Eberstein*, natürl. Theol. der Schol. Lpz. 1803. *Ritter*, ü. Begr. u. Verlauf. d. chr. Phil. (Stud. u. Krit. 1833. II. 2. p. 286ss.) Histories of Philosophy, especially by Degerando, Hegel, Ritter, [G. H. Lewes, Dugald Stewart, V. Cousin, and C. S. Henry.]

In the Berengarian controversy Scholasticism had commenced its development. This was a kind of knighthood in Theology, a natural result of the free power of thought in connection with the absolute ascendency of the doctrines of the Church. Academical studies were pursued without restraint, Aristotle's Logic was universally admired, and the whole movement of the age was vigorous, though partially turned aside from what experience shows to be the sober reality of life. All these circumstances had given occasion for its existence, and its whole power was now to be exerted in proving that the doctrines which had been previously adopted by the Church were absolutely true in the view of an intelligent mind, and in defending their necessity. After a brief struggle it was completely triumphant over the Theology

b) *Conc. Later.* IV. c. 1. (*Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 981.) [*Landon*, p. 293ss.]

which had no other basis than that of authority, and during its first period it was wholly employed in giving subtlety to the thoughts of the common mind by Aristotelian formulas. In the very commencement of its course we find *Anselm* of Aosta, the pupil of Lanfranc, and the successor of that prelate, not only in the monastic school, but also (after 1093) in the archiepiscopal office (died 1109). Though always humble, he exhibited extraordinary powers of mind not only as a theologian, but as a dignitary of the Church. The knowledge he sought was that with which faith supplied him, though he endeavored to complete the ecclesiastical system of truth on the basis of Augustine's Theology, by his doctrine of Satisfaction for sin, and to found a rational system by his proof of the divine existence. According to him, a recognition of the divine existence is necessarily involved in a complete self-consciousness, and immortality and salvation were the direct result of the love of God. This religion, which had been wholly lost by sin, could be restored in no other way than by the expiatory death of the incarnate God. (*a*) At the close of this period appeared *Peter Lombard*, an academical teacher, and (after 1159) Bishop of Paris (d. 1164). In his *Sentences*, the whole doctrine of the Church is derived from the writings of the fathers, but it is compiled and arranged in such a way as to constitute a scientific whole. This work became the manual in universal use during the century in which it was published, and gave its character to that which followed. This distinction was due not so much to its acuteness or its profundity, as to the ecclesiastical position of its author, its happy adjustment of opposite views, and its plainness to the popular mind. (*b*) In the speculative views which constituted the basis of its system of truth, was apparent a principle which had been much discussed in the old Greek philosophy under the name of Nominalism and Realism. The former regarded all general ideas (universalia) as nothing but abstractions of the human understanding, and derived from the objects presented to its observation (post rem); while the latter viewed them as having their origin entirely in the mind itself (ante rem), or according to a turn of expression at one time prevalent, and introduced for the sake of compromise, as that which is essential in every thing actual (in re). (*c*) These opposite views had a theological significance in the controversy which sprung up between *Anselm* and *Roscelinus*, a canon of Compeigne. The latter was a nominalist, and was consequently accused of Tritheism at the Synod of *Soissons* (1092), where he was compelled to retract his assertions on this subject. (*d*) Nominalism, after this, wore a suspicious aspect in the view of the Church generally.

a) Monologium, Proslogium, Cur Deus homo? (Erl. 1834.) De conceptu virginali et orig. peccato, Opp. (ed. *Gerberon*, Par. 1675.) edd. *Benedictt.* Par. 1721. 2 Th. f.—Acta SS. Apr. Th. II. p. 966ss. (*Möhler*) Anselmus. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1827. 3. 4. H.) *Billroth*, de Ans. Proslogio, et Monol. Lps. 1832. See § 184. note *a*.

b) Sententiarum l. IV. Ven. 1477. rec. *J. Aleaume*, Lovan. 1546. f. and often.

c) *J. Salaberti* Pl.il. Nominalium vindicata. Par. 1651. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, de vero Schol. Realium et Nominalium discr. decretisque ipsorum theol. (Opusc. 1836. p. 55ss. Remodelling of the Progr. of 1821.)

d) *Joannis Mon.* Ep. Ans. (*Baluz.* Miscell. l. IV. p. 478.) *Anselmi* l. II. Ep. 35. 41. and (1094) L. de fide Trin. et de incarn. verbi c. blasphemias Ruzelini.

§ 219. *Mysticism. First Period.*

H. Schmid, d. Mystic. d. Mitt. Alt. in s. Entstehungsper. Jen. 1824. *Alb. Liebner*, Hugo v. S. Victor, u. d. theol. Richtungen sr. Zeit. Lpz. 1832. *J. Görres*, die christl. Mystik. Regensb. 1836ss. 3 vols. *A. Helferich*, d. chr. Mystik in ihrer Entw. u. ihrer Denkm. vol. I. Entwicklungsgesch. Goth. 1842. [*L. Noack*, Gesch. d. chr. Mystik. Lps. 1853.]

The tendency of the age in the direction of the feelings and of the imagination was shown in a mysticism of a lively and vigorous character. This was an effort of the human mind, by means of its affections, to connect itself immediately with the Deity. It was not unfriendly to the Church, but it was earnest against the moral abuses found there. *Bernard* discovered the highest life which man can attain in a perpetual love of God, which, while it is vigorous in action and in self-denials, poetic in its utterances, and the source of all spiritual knowledge of God, is nevertheless conscious that it is itself inexpressible. (*a*) *Richard of St. Victor* (d. 1173), by means of biblical allegories, made known the secrets of the human heart struggling for words, for he describes the process of contemplation as one in whose highest flights the soul in ecstatic rapture is perfectly blessed with intuitions of the divine glory. (*b*) The fanciful nature of this spirit appears in the revelations of *Hildegard*, Abbess of the convent of Rupert, near Bingen (d. 1178). Under the sanction of St. Bernard, they were acknowledged to be actual divine revelations, because the figures and allegories in which they were clothed were agreeable to the taste of her contemporaries. But although they revealed nothing supernatural, they contained many profound views of the mysteries of history. (*c*) In the convent of St. Victor near Paris, ever since its founder (1109), *William of Champeaux*, had been obliged to give way before the more brilliant reputation of his pupil Abelard, a reconciliation had been sought between Mysticism and Scholasticism, on the ground that the latter was represented by inspired men, and the former professed to be a series of spiritual elevations. (*d*) The profoundly spiritual mind of *Hugo of St. Victor* (died 1141), naturally inclined to discover the points of agreement between different systems, regarded Scholasticism as an excellent preparation for Mysticism, since it intelligently established the doctrines of the latter, and in its perfection must lead the soul up to the enjoyment of ecstatic emotions. He therefore regarded each of these tendencies of the mind as the complement and correlative of the other. (*e*) The union of these distinct ele-

a) Especially, De contemtu mundi, de consideratione, de diligendo Deo, Tr. ad Hugonem de S. Vict. comp. § 207.

b) Especially, De statu inter hominis, de praepar. animi ad contempl. s. Benjamin minor, de gratia contempl. s. Benj. major. Opp. Rothom. 1650. f.—*Liebner*, Rich. a S. Vict. de contempl. doctrina. Gott. 1837. P. I. *Engelhardt*, Rich. v. S. Victor u. Ruysbroek. Erl. 1838.

c) *Scivias*, (Revelationes S. Virgg. Hildeg. et Elis. Col. 1628. f.) Liber divinorum opp. simplicis hominis, comp. *Mansi* ad *Fabric.* Bibl. med. et inf. Lat. Th. III. ed. *Patav.* p. 263ss.—*C. Meiners*, de S. Hild. vita. (Comm. Soc. Gott. Th. XII. Class. hist. et ph.) *J. K. Dahl*, d. h. Hild. Mainz. 1832. *Görres*, vol. I. p. 285ss. II. p. 210s.

d) *Schlosser*, Abh. zu Vincent v. Beauvais' Handb. Frkf. 1819. vol. II.

e) Especially, de sacramentis chr. fidei l. II. Opp. Rothom. 1648. 3 Th. f. According to the proofs adduced by *Liebner*. (Stud. u. Krit. 1831. part 2. p. 254ss.) the Tractatus theol. ascribed to Hildebert (Hildeb. Opp. ed. *Beaugendre*, Par. 1708. f.) contains nothing except the first four books of Hugo's Summa Sententt.

ments of the age after all never became a prominent result, for even Hugo's successor, Richard, declared decidedly in favor of Mysticism, and *Walter of St. Victor* (1180), who had studied under Richard, assailed the most celebrated leaders of the French Scholastic party as sophists and heretics. (*f*) He defended Mysticism without really being a Mystic, but *John of Salisbury*, a faithful companion of Becket, and who became, after the assassination of that prelate, a bishop of Chartres (d. 1182), stood, like one conversant with Romans and Greeks, in an entirely different position. It is true that he justified philosophy on account of its general utility for moral purposes, but honestly exposing his pride of an empty knowledge to the ridicule of his contemporaries, he predicted, as a warning to others, that Scholasticism, in the course of its scientific investigations, would lose the truth. (*g*)

§ 220. *Abelard*, 1079–1142.

I. Letters of Abelard and Heloise, especially Ep. I. in the Reliq De historia calamitatum suarum, with notes by *Du Chesne*. Introductio ad Theol. l. III. incomplete. (*Abael.* et *Hel.* Opp. ed. *Amboise*, Par. 1616. 4.) Theol. chr. l. V. (*Martene* Thes. Anecd. Th. V. p. 1156.) Ethica s. L. scito te ipsum. (*Pez*, Anecd. v. III. P. II. p. 627.)—Dial. inter Philos., Judaeum et Christian. ed. *Rheinwald*, Ber. 1831. Sic et non. Dialectica. (and dialectical fragments in: Ouvrages inédits d'*Abelard* publiés par *Victor Cousin*, Par. 1836. 4.) Sic et Non. Primum integrum edd. *E. L. Henke* et *G. S. Lindenkohl*, Marb. 1851. From his school: *Abael.* Epitome Theol. chr. ed. *Rheinwald*, Ber. 1835. [Abailardi et Hel. Epp. Oxon. 1728. 8. Lettres d'Ab. et Hel. traduits sur les manuscrits de la biblioth. royale p. *L. Orelland*, précédés d'un Essai hist. p. M. et Mme *Guizot*, Par. 1839. 2 vols.]

II. *Gervaise*, vie de P. Ab. et Hel. Par. (1720) 1728. 2 Th. Hist. lit. de la Fr. Th. XII. p. 86. 629ss. *J. Berington*, Hist. of the Lives of Ab. and Hel. from 1079–1163, with the Letters from the Coll. of Amboise. Birming. 1788. 4. *Schlosser*, Ab. u. Dulcin, Leben e. Schwarmers u. e. Phil. Goth. 1807. *J. H. F. Frerichs*, de Ab. doct. dogm. et mor. Jen. 1727. *Cousin*, Introduction to his edition. *J. D. H. Goldhorn*, de summis principiis Theol. Ab. Lps. 1836. *E. A. Lewald*, de Opp. Ab. quae Cousin ed. Heidelb. 1839. 4. *Franck*, Beitr. zu Würdig. Ab. (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1840. II. 4.) *M. Cavière*, Ab. u. Hel. Giess. 1844. *J. L. Jacobi*, Ab. u. Hel. Brl. 1850. *F. Braun*, de Ab. Ethica. Marb. 1852. [*O. W. Wight*, The Romance of Ab. and Hel. New York. 1853. 12. *Bsbringer*, Church of Christ and its Witnesses, in last vol. 1854.]

In its opposition to Scholasticism, Mysticism found its most distinguished antagonist in Abelard. His reputation in the schools was more brilliant, his spirit more liberal, his familiarity with the ancient Roman writers more intimate, and his independence of the ecclesiastical fathers greater, than that of any of his associates of the scholastic party. He regarded the principle, that nothing is to be believed which is not understood, as the primary maxim of that school. This doctrine of the supremacy of reason, when taken in connection with that of the absolute authority of the Church in matters of faith, which was equally sustained by Abelard, produced an obvious incongruity in his fundamental principles. Even in his youth he took delight in vanquishing the most renowned teachers of that period by his dialectic skill. He taught (after 1115) on Mount St. Genevieve, and became the most celebrated

f) Contra novas haereses, quas Sophistae Abaelardus, Lombardus, Petrus Pictav. et Gilbertus Porretan. libris sentt. suarum aeuunt. Generally called: Contra quatuor labyrinthos Galliae. Extracts in *Bulaei* H. Univ. Paris. Th. II. p. 200. 402. 562. 629ss. *A. Planck*, ü. d. Schr. d. Walth. v. S. V. (Stud. u. Krit. 1844. II. 4.)

g) Policraticus S. de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophor. l. VIII. Lugd. 1639. Metalogicus, l. IV. *Ib.* 1610. Epp. 303. (Bibl. PP. max. vol. XXIII. p. 242.)—*H. Reuter*, Joh. v. Salisb. Berlin. 1842.

instructor in philosophy and theology then in Paris. It was there that he found the highest rapture and the deepest grief in his love of Heloise. Her lofty spirit scorned to become the wife of Abelard, for she thought such a connection incompatible with his attainment of those ecclesiastical dignities which she regarded as his proper right. Even this hope her relatives attempted to baffle by an act of most shameful atrocity (1119). Abelard then took refuge from the world in the convent of St. Denys, where in an earnest penitential spirit he was gradually enabled to praise God for the chastisements which he had endured. Heloise was induced solely by her attachment to him to take the veil. Compelled to return to his station as an instructor by the solicitations of the academical youth, he was opposed by the combined jealousy of the Scholastics and the hatred of the Mystics. At a synod held at *Soissons* (1121), at which a legate presided, his "Introduction to Theology" was condemned to be burnt as an infidel representation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and he himself was sentenced unheard to be confined in a very retired convent. But such severe ill-treatment only increased the sympathy of the people with him, and he was soon after permitted by the legate to return to St. Denys. When, however, he was persecuted by the monks on account of his discovery that Dionysius of Paris was not the Areopagite, he betook himself to a wilderness near *Nogent*. Immense multitudes followed him to this retreat that they might listen to his instructions, and in a forest they constructed a multitude of huts, and a temple which he dedicated to the Spirit, the Comforter. When threatened with new persecutions, he committed this Paraclete to the care of Heloise as its abbess, and consented to become the abbot of the convent of St. Gildas at Ruits, in Brittany, to which he had been elected (1126). Here for ten years he struggled unsuccessfully to establish monastic discipline, when he gave up the attempt and returned to give lectures once more as a professor in Paris. There he was opposed by a crowd of enemies under the direction of *St. Bernard*. A catalogue of alleged heresies was extracted from his writings, many of which were contrary to the ordinary mode of instruction in the Church, or would admit of inferences inconsistent with the orthodox creed. The real controversy related to the subject of Scholasticism itself, which was accused of desecrating divine mysteries by its daring attempts at analysis. (*a*) The spirit of Abelard was now broken, and when his writings were condemned at a synod held at *Sens* (1140), he appealed to the pope, by whom he was doomed on Bernard's representation to a perpetual confinement in a convent. (*b*) An asylum was finally secured for him by *Peter* of *Cluny*, and when he died the body of her friend was committed to the hands of Heloise (*c*), as an offering richly adorned by God himself in behalf of mental freedom, not only in the literary but in the social world. It is difficult to tell whether he was most beloved or hated by the age in which he lived.

a) *Bernardi* Ep. 188. ad Cardinales. 189. ad Innoc. Tr. de erroribus Ab. ad Innoc. (Opp. Th. IV. p. 114.) Also with the Index XIX. capitul. in the works of Abelard.

b) Documents of Synod, sent to the pope by *Bernard*, Ep. 370. Abelard's Apology in opposition to Bernard in his Ep. 29. (Opp. p. 330ss.) Satires respecting the Synod and St. Bernard by *Berengarius Scholasticus*, Apologet. pro magistro c. Bernard. (*Abaelardi* Opp. p. 392ss.)

c) *Petri Ven.* Ep. ad Hel. *Heloissae* ad Petrum. (*Abael.* Opp. p. 357ss.)

§ 221. *The Sacred Scriptures.*

Many works upon the Scriptures were written by persons belonging to the circles of the Mystics and the Scholastics, but although they exhibited a high degree of mental acuteness and sprightliness, they displayed an entire want of a proper conception of the peculiarities of ancient times. Though these peculiarities were not unknown to the authors, they nevertheless received a deep coloring from the outward relations of the modern world, and yet were represented as a tradition from the past. An abundant literature was also formed around the sacred writings. In her Pleasure Garden, *Herrad*, the Abbess of Landsperg (about 1175), has contrived to weave into the scriptural history a general summary of all secular knowledge. (*a*) All kinds of literature are full of allusions to something in the Bible. But although the Jews were induced by their Arabic learning to investigate the Hebrew text, the Scriptures were interpreted by ecclesiastical writers without any important aid from a knowledge of other languages. The various manuscripts of the Vulgate differed widely from each other. The glosses of *Walafrid Strabo* (849) and *Anselm* of *Laon* (d. 1117), were generally used, although they were nothing but verbal definitions and paraphrases derived from the ecclesiastical fathers. (*b*) In the more extended commentaries, four different senses were presupposed in every scriptural passage; the historical meaning was regarded only as the vestibule to the sanctuary, and whatever life appeared was expended in the play of allegorical interpretations. *Rupert*, Abbot of *Deutz* (d. 1135), endeavored to re-establish all theology upon the basis of the Holy Scriptures, as the great Book through which God has intelligently presented the way of salvation to all nations. (*c*) When the Slaves endeavored to retain the use of their own national language in their religious worship, they were opposed by *Gregory VII.* (1080), who was the first that ventured to censure the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and justified this opposition by a reference to the mysteries of the primitive Church. (*d*)

§ 222. *Commencement of a National Literature in the Twelfth Century.*

A faint reflection of the ancient national glory long remained, almost entirely unaffected by the influence of Christianity, in the hearts of the people, and was exhibited in the German epic poetry. This finally received a permanent written form during the thirteenth century, in the composition called *The Nibelungen*. (*a*) The popular fable of the Court of the Beasts was a pleasant representation of human society among a people conversant with the simple life of the forest. As this story had already been to some extent similarly applied by some of his predecessors, it was formed by a monk of Chigny about the middle of the twelfth century into the fable of *Reinardus*,

a) Hortus deliciarum, a manuscript with miniatures in the Lib. at Strasburg. *Engelhardt*, Herrad v. L. u. ihr H. delic. Stuttg. 1818.

b) *Walagridi* Glossa ordinaria in Biblia. (Opp. Par. 1852. 2 vols. In the Patrol. ed. *Migne*, vol. CXIII.) *Anselmi* Glossa interlinearis. Bas. 1502. f. and often.

c) *Ruperti Tuitiensis*, Opp. Mog. 1631. 2 Th. f. *d*) *Greg.* l. VII. Ep. 11.

a) [The Fall of the Niebelungers, &c. transl. by *W. N. Lettsom*, Lond. 1850.]

which contained an ironical satire upon the gluttony of the monks, and the avarice of the popes. (*b*) Independent of the clergy, and yet in the midst of the enthusiasm of the first Crusades, sprung up the joyous art of the *Troubadours*. With passionate zeal it entered into all the discussions of the age, and though its inspirations were sometimes employed in singing the exploits of the Church, it was at other times equally fearless in opposing the bad practices of the hierarchy, and was always independent of ecclesiastical control. (*c*) The Suabian *minnesingers*, the nightingales of the middle ages, near the close of the first half of the twelfth century began to sing of earthly love, joy, and sorrow. The ordinary feelings with which men regarded the Blessed Virgin were transferred by these minstrels to the whole female sex. (*d*) *Walter* of the *Vogelweide* penetrated far into the mysterious emotions of genuine Christianity, and yet confessed with childlike candor that he found in his heart nothing like love toward his enemies. On the other hand, with the spirit of a real German, he set himself in opposition to all priestly dissimulation and the unrighteous ban which the pope had imposed upon his country. A vivid picture of the Crusades is presented in the legends and songs relating to the expedition of Charles the Great into Spain. In these poems that monarch, who is called pre-eminently the servant of God, with his twelve paladins, are described as exposing their bodies to the most imminent perils for the benefit of their souls. Instead of the treasures of the Niebelungenlied with its heathenish spirit, we now have the story of the San Graal. The knightly epic, however, when it became fully developed, was not much pervaded by the ecclesiastical spirit. The meditative *Wolfram* of *Eschenbach*, in his poem of the Parzival, enters indeed into the proper ideas of the Church, distinguishes between the ideal and the actual, and describes the expiations and the external holiness which are necessary to the enjoyment of a higher life, but what he describes is not an ecclesiastical expiation, and the guardians of his sanctuary are not priests, but holy knights and a divinely consecrated king. The luminous *Godfrey* of *Strasburg* in his Tristan described the sumptuous life of the court, in which, totally regardless of the decisions of the Church, the eternal rights of the heart were treated as inviolable, even when opposed to what was then called the sacrament of marriage. (*e*) As early as the time of the Othos, laymen generally scorned the cultivation of every kind of science, and towards the close of the twelfth century the clergy entirely renounced the study of all literature in the language of the people. The general result of all the influence of this age was, that the clergy entirely lost the monopoly they had previously possessed in the mental cultivation of the people. (*f*) Hence, at the same time with the ecclesiastical sciences, a species of poetry was formed, dictated solely by those feelings which exist in every human bosom. It was not, however, a poetry altogether popular in its character, for it was highly

b) *Gervinus*, Gesch. d. poet. Nation. Literatur. vol. I. p. 102ss.

c) The particulars in *Millot*, Raynouard u. unserm Dietz.

d) *C. Barthel*, Oppos. gegen die Hierarchie. Walther v. d. V. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1845. H. 3.)

e) The particulars in Görres, Lachmann, Grimm, Gervinus, and Hagen.

f) Comp. *H. Leo*, v. d. sieben Vrumicheiten. (Hal.) 1839.

artificial, and adapted only to the chivalrous tastes of the knights. The most brilliant exhibitions of its power were presented at the court of the Hohenstaufens.

CHAP. V.—EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Adam. Brem. (§ 170.) *Einsd.* de situ Daniae et reliquarum, quae trans Daniam sunt, regionum natura, morib. et rel. ed. *Fabric.* Hamb. 1706. f.

§ 223. *The Holy Ansgar.* 801–865.

I. A letter of Ansgar and the Life of St. Willehad. (*Pertz* Th. II. p. 378.) Vita *Anskarii* by his follower *Rimbert.* (Ed. *Dehlmann.* in *Pertz* Th. II. p. 683.) Life of S. Willehad and S. Ansgar. uebers. m. Anm. v. *Carsten Misegaes*, Brm. 1826. S. Anskarii Pigmenta. Written with the assistance of *Lappenberg*, Hamb. 1844.

II. *E. C. Kruse*, S. Ansgar. Alton. 1823. *F. A. Krummacher*, S. Ansgar. alte u. neue Zeit. Brem. 1828. *H. Reuterdahl*, Ansg. o. d. Anfangspunkt d. Chr. in Schwed. from the Swedish by *Mangelsdorff.* Bd. 1837. *F. C. Krafft.* Narr. de Ansg. apostolarium gentium Apost. Hamb. 1840. 4. *G. H. Klippel*, Lebensbeschr. d. Erzb. Ansg. Brem. 1845. [Diplomatarium Norvegicum, ed. by *C. Lange* and *C. R. Unger*, to be in 10 vols., but only the 1st part in 1849, and the 2d in 1852, are yet publ. Christiania. 4to.]

The Danish prince *Harald* having obtained the throne of his ancestors by the assistance of Louis the Pious, after a long contest with his competitors, became a willing instrument by which the policy of the Frankish monarch might be carried out in his own country. He was baptized in the city of Mentz (826), and his followers were delighted with the splendid gifts conferred on them by the sponsors. On his return to Jutland, he was accompanied by *Ansgar*, a monk of Corvey, who had been induced by his religious feelings and a vision of Christ, to consecrate himself to the work of converting the heathen. The archbishopric of *Hamburg* was founded for him by Louis the Pious with the papal consent (831), for the propagation of Christianity in the Northern countries. As this city was soon after pillaged by pirates, from whose ravages nothing was saved by Ansgar but some relics, his archbishopric was attached by the German king and the pope to the bishopric of *Bremen* (849). Having been appointed the papal legate and the imperial ambassador for the northern nations, Ansgar resided in this latter city, and possessed an influence among those people which prepared the way for his subsequent efforts in Jutland and Sleswic. He was not, indeed, very seriously opposed in his labors, except by the indifference of the people. This he endeavored to overcome by obtaining possession of heathen children, and by ransoming those persons who had been carried into captivity, and training them to be future missionaries. On his first mission to Sweden (829), he found some germs of Christianity already existing there, and by the favor of the court he was permitted to plant some further seeds of the gospel among the people. These, however, were soon after entirely destroyed in a popular insurrection. His second visit to that country (855) was more successful, since the proclamation of the new faith was then tolerated by the people and their gods, on account of the protection afforded by the God of the Christians to those who went to sea. He was often discovered

by Reimbert in tears, because he was not regarded by his Lord worthy of the martyrdom which he supposed had been promised him.

§ 224. *German Nations of the North.*

The foundation which had been laid by Ansgar in *Denmark* was protected and enlarged by the influence of the Saxon emperors, although it was viewed with great dislike by many as the religion of their national enemies. The cause of Christianity, however, gained new strength by the continuance of their connection with the Normans. This people, ever since the commencement of the tenth century, had obtained possessions by conquest in England and France, and had adopted the faith as well as the higher civilization of the conquered nations. The triumph of the new religion was finally secured through the conquest of England by the Danish kings. *Canute* the Great secured the union of Denmark with England, and the reconciliation of the two nations by the establishment of the Church among the Danes; and while he was on his pilgrimage to Rome (1027), in accordance with his previous stipulations, it was connected with the Roman Church. (*a*) By means of persons sent forth from Bremen, Christianity continued to extend itself in *Sweden*, and though at first its progress was slow, it was without opposition, and connected with many harmless heathen customs. Alms and fasts were vowed to the Lord Christ by a city in time of distress, though it was still in a state of heathenism. The drinking horns of heathen chiefs were not unfrequently emptied to the health of Christ and of the archangel Michael. The series of Christian kings commenced with *Olaf Schoosskonig* (1008), but the temple of Odin at Upsala was not destroyed, until, after a sanguinary contest, it was levelled with the ground by King *Inge* (1075). (*b*) The gospel was conveyed to *Norway* in the ninth century by some seafaring youth, but the white Christ was generally regarded by the people as the god of a foreign nation. *Harald Harfagar*, in a public assembly, took an oath that he would never again present an offering to deities whose sway extended merely to his own country, but only to one who was Lord of the whole earth, and by whose help he hoped to extend his authority over all Norway. And yet when his son *Hacon* the *Good* (936–950), who had been educated and baptized in England, thereupon proposed that all the people should be baptized, not only was the proposal rejected, but the prince was compelled to feign that a cross which he had formed upon Odin's cup was intended for the sign of Thor's hammer. At his funeral the Skald proclaimed that he had been admitted to the Valhalla, because he had mildly forborne to destroy the sacred things belonging to the ancient gods. The cause of Christianity, however, had now become identified with that of the supreme monarchs of the coun-

a) *Saxo Grammaticus*, (died about 1204.) Hist. Danicae l. XVI. ed. *Stephanius*, Sor. 1644. 2 Th. f. *Klotz*, Lps. 1771. 4.—*Pantoppidan*, Annal. Ecc. Dan. diplomatici. Hanv. 1741ss. Th. I. *Münter*, KGesch. v. Dänem. u. Norw. Lpz. 1823. vol. I. *F. C. Dahlmann*, Gesch. v. Dännem Hamb. 1840. vol. I. p. 288.

b) *Claudii Oernhjâlm*, Hist. Sueonum Gothorumque ecc. l. IV. Stockh. 1689. 4. Statuta synodalia vet. Ecc. Suevogothicae, ed. *Reuterdahl*, Lond. 1841. 4.—*Geijer*, Gesch. Schwed. A. d. schwed. Handschr. v. *Leffler*. Hamb. 1833. vol. I. [*F. C. Geijer*, H. of the Swedes. Transl. from the Swedish, by *J. H. Turner*, Lond. 1847. 8.]

try, and the former kings of the particular tribes were as tenacious of their ancient gods, as they were of the private rights sanctioned by those deities. The wild and intriguing influence of *Olaf Trygvesen* (995–1000) was expended in accomplishing the triumph of the Church, to effect which he was supplied with priests from England and Bremen. *Olaf* the *Thick*, who became king of Norway in the year 1019, in an expedition he made at the head of his army throughout his kingdom, arranged the affairs of the Church on a permanent basis. Dissatisfied, however, with his policy, the heathen portion of the nation delivered up his kingdom into the hands of Canute the Great. In defence of the cause of the cross, Olaf appealed to the religious enthusiasm of his subjects, and finally perished in a disastrous battle (1033). But even in the succeeding year, when hatred began to be awakened in the bosoms of the Normans against the dominion of foreigners, a strong feeling of attachment for Olaf was revived, and his body being taken from its grave, was found free from decay. From that time, under the name of *St. Olaf*, he has been invoked as the patron saint of Norway, and after a single century he was honored by all the Northern nations. (*c*) In *Iceland*, Christianity having been proclaimed by several transient messengers, Olaf Trygvesen at last found a permanent lodgment, and after a severe conflict it was for the sake of peace accepted at a general assembly of the people (1000), though with the condition that men might worship the ancient gods in private, and that children might be publicly exposed without molestation. (*d*) About this time, also, a flourishing bishopric was erected by some emigrants from Iceland on the eastern shore of *Greenland*, whose tithes were paid at Rome in the teeth of walruses. (*e*) In all these Northern countries the moral and social spirit of Christianity had to contend with the custom of private revenge for blood shed by enemies, the right of a freeman to commit suicide, the exposure of children, and the eating of the flesh of horses and of vultures. When the images of the gods were destroyed by bold and powerful men with no divine judgments following the action, the people generally acknowledged that Christ was the superior Deity. The ancient world of the gods was not, however, entirely renounced, but only thrown back into a mysterious abyss, and converted into a gloomy kingdom of magic, peopled by trolds, nixies, and elves. There was indeed a legend current among the more indulgent portion of the people, which held out a hope that even the spirits of nature would in some future period be redeemed from their state of banishment. (*f*)

c) I. *Snorro Sturleson*, (died 1241.) Heimskringla, ed. *Schoening*, Hafn. 1777ss. 5 Th. f. [Transl. into Engl. by *S. Laing*, 3 vols. Lond. 1844.] II. *Münter*, KGesch. v. D. u. Norw. vol. I. p. 431ss. [I. *Crichton*, Scandinavia. Anc. and Mod. &c. Edinb. 1839. 2 vols. 8. *H. Wheaton*, Hist. of the Northmen, &c. New ed. New York. 1847. 2 vols.]

d) I. *Islendingabok* (by priest *Are* the Wise, died 1148.) c. 7ss. Uebers. in Dahlmann's Forsch. Alton. 1822. vol. I. p. 472ss. *Hungurvaka* s. Hist. primorum VSkalholtensium in Isl. Episc. (13th cent.) Hafn. 1778. *Kristni-Saga* s. Hist. rel. chr. in Isl. introd. (14th cent.) Hafn. 1774.—II. *Finni Johannei*, Hist. ecc. Isl. Hafn. 1772ss. 4 Th. 4. *Stäudlin*, ü. kirchl. Gesch. u. Gregor. v. Isl. (KHist. Arch. vol. II. pt. 1.) *Münter*, vol. I. p. 519ss. [An Hist. and Descrip. Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands, &c. (Ed. Cab. Lib.) Edinb. and New York. 1840.]

e) *Torfaei* Groenl. antiqua. Hafn. 1706. *Münter*, vol. I. p. 555ss. Comp. Antiquitates Americanae s. Scrr. septentr. rerum ante Columbianar. Hafn. 1837. 4.

f) *Grimm*, Mythol. p. 279.

One result at least of the conversion of these Northern nations, was that those countries of Europe which bordered on the sea were no longer exposed to the ravages of pirates. (*g*) The ecclesiastical supervision of them which had previously been vested in the see of Bremen was now (1104) transferred to the archbishopric of Lund.

§ 225. *The Slavic Nations.*

The Slavic nations acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, whom they regarded as the original Creator of all things, but they also paid divine honors to a race of gods which they believed to have sprung from him. These were divided into two classes, called the white and the black deities. Although the latter represented the destructive powers of nature, they were not viewed as absolutely evil, since they allowed the germ of life to remain even in the things which they decomposed. These divinities were represented by uncouth symbolical forms, and in the several tribes there were found sacred cities and a hierarchy. (*a*) Some conversions effected among the Slaves by Charles the Great were as transitory as his conquests. The conversion and spiritual superintendence of the people who resided near the Danube were intrusted to their neighbors, the Archbishops of Salzburg and Lorch, whose rights were subsequently possessed by the Bishop of Passau. The Slavic nations, however, were too much opposed to any connection with Germany, and too little acquainted with the German or Latin languages, to be influenced by a Christianity coming to them from that quarter. The Holy Scriptures, the preaching of the gospel, and the services of religion, were introduced to the *Moravians* in the Slavonian language by two Greek monks (863), *Cyrillus* (Constantine) and *Methodius*, who became connected with Rome, but did not relinquish their peculiar Greek forms of worship. Methodius was consecrated at Rome Archbishop of Moravia, and the Slavish forms of worship received the papal sanction (880), on the ground that God understood all languages and should be worshipped by all nations. His efforts, however, to erect a distinct national Church met with continual opposition on the part of the German bishops, and finally (908) the Moravian kingdom was divided by the swords of the Hungarians and Bohemians. The Slavish ritual was kept up under these new rulers in only a few churches, principally in Illyria. (*b*) Towards the close of the ninth century, Borziwoi, Duke of Bohemia, was induced by the flattering promises of Methodius to receive baptism. His last days were spent with his sainted wife *Ludmilla* in retirement from the world. *Wenceslaus* (928–938), his grandson, urged forward the

g) *Adam Brem.* De situ Dan. c. 96.

a) *Frencel.* de diis Sorabor. et al. Slavor. (*Hoffmann*, Scrr. rer. Lusat. Th. II.) *Mone*, Gesch. d. Heidenth. im nördl. Eur. vol. I. p. 111ss. *Gieseler*, ü. d Verbreitung christl. dual. Lehrbegr. unter d. Slaven. (Stud. u. Krit. 1837. H. 2. p. 357ss.) *Hanusch*, d. Wiss. d. slav. Mythus. Lemb. 1842. *P. J. Schafarik*, slaw. Alterthümer, edit. by *Wuttke*, Lpz. 1843. 2 vols.

b) I. Vita Constantini, by a contemporary writer. (Acta SS. Mart. Th. II. p. 19.) *Presbyteri Diocleatis* (about 1161), Regnum Slavor. c. 8ss. (*Schlözer's* Nestor. vol. III. p. 153ss.) *Mansi* Th. XVIII. p. 132ss.—II. *Assemani* Kalendaria Ecc. univ. Rom. 1755. 4. Th. III. *Pilarz* et *Moravetz*, Moraviae Hist. eccl. et pol. Brunni. 1785ss. 3 Th.—*J. Dobrowsky:* Cyrill. u. Meth. der Slaven Apostel. Prag. 1823. Mähr. Legende v. Cyr. u. Meth. Prag. 1826.—Glagolitica, Ueber den Urspr. d. r. m. slav. Liturgie. 2 ed. Prag. 1832.

progress of Christianity more by his influence as a monk than as a temporal prince. Dissensions were produced among the people by the hostility some felt against the Christian faith, and finally entered even the ducal palace. According to popular tradition, Ludmilla was put to death by her own daughter-in-law, and Wenceslaus by his brother. Christianity, however, having passed through severe persecutions, obtained a sanguinary triumph under *Boleslaus* the *Mild* (after 967), and with the establishment of the archbishopric of Prague (973), a permanent ecclesiastical constitution was adopted. As the only condition on which that see could be procured from the pope, the Roman ritual was also then introduced. (*c*) The *Wends*, who resided in the country between the Saale and the Oder, and were divided into many tribes under as many princes, being assailed by the Germans, defended themselves with extreme difficulty. Otho I. was anxious to render the dominion he had acquired over them by the sword more secure by the baptism of the people, and hence the bishopries which he established among them were intended to be quite as much the citadels of his own power as the castles of the Church. Hence, by the same act in which the Wends under *Mistewoi* threw off from their necks (983) the yoke of the German civil power, Christianity was also cast away. *Gottschalk*, his grandson, succeeded in uniting the several Wendic tribes into a single kingdom (1047), and was successfully endeavoring to establish a national Christian Church, when he was assassinated in the midst of his efforts (1066). The people then consecrated anew the altars of their ancestors with the blood of Christian priests, and every trace of Christianity among them was obliterated. Pomerania having been conquered by *Boleslaus III.*, Duke of Poland, *Otho*, Bishop of *Bamburg*, was invited by him to baptize the inhabitants. This work was finally effected by that prelate (1124, 1128). (*d*) and other tribes were likewise overcome and converted by the Saxon princes, especially by *Henry* the *Lion* (1142–62). The desolated country became settled by various German colonies, until finally only a few miserable remnants of the ancient people preserved the Wendic language and customs, and the whole country became German and Christian. (*e*) The last refuge which the gods and the liberty of the Wends had found in *Rugen*, was burned by *Absalon* (Axel), Bishop of Roeskilde, the statesman and the hero of the seas (1168). (*f*) The gospel was carried into *Poland* by certain persons who took refuge there on the overthrow of the Moravian kingdom, and on the marriage of *Miecislaus*, Duke of Poland,

c) *Cosmas. Prag.* (died 1125.) Chron. Bohemor. (Scriptt. rer. Bohem. Prag. 1784. Th. I.) Vita S. Ludmillae. (*Dobner*, Abhandl. d. Böhm. Gesch. d. Wiss. 1786. p. 417ss.) Vita S. Ludm. et S. Wenceslai auct. *Christiano de Scala Mon.* (Acta SS. Sept. Th. V. p. 354. Th. VII. p. 825.) *F. Palacky*, Gesch. v. Böhm. Prag. 1836 vol. I. *Tornwaldt*, Adalb. v. Prag. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1853. II. 2.)

d) De vita b. Ottonis. l. III. (*Canisii* Lectt. ed. *Basnage*, Th. III. P. II.)—(*Sell*) Otto v. Bamb. Stettin. 1792. *Busch*, Memoria Othon. Pomerani Apostoli. Jen. 1824.

e) I. After Wittichind, Thietmar, Adam of Bremen (§ 170), and Saxo Gramm., consult *Helmold*, (pastor at Bosow near Lubeck), Chron. Slavorum (till 1170), ed. *Bangert*, Lub. 1659. 1702. 4. (*Liebnit.* Scrr. Brunsu. Th. II.)—II. *Kanngiesser*, Bekehrungsgesch. d. Pommern. Greifsw. 1824. *F. W. Barthold*, Gesch. v. Pommern. u. Rügen. Hamb. 1839. vol. I. *L. Giesebrecht*, wend. Gesch. v. 780–1182. Berl. 1843. 3 vols.

f) *Münter*, vol. II. Abth. I. p. 320. Abth. II. p. 781ss. *Estrup*, Absalon. from the Danish by *Mohnike*. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1832. vol. II. pt. 1.)

with a Bohemian princess, Christianity became the religion of the state (966). By his second marriage with the daughter of the Margrave Dietrich, and by its dependence upon the German empire, Poland was drawn into connections with the Roman Church. Such connections being cherished with special care, the Polish churches were induced to pay tribute to St. Peter, the Slavic ritual which had previously been used in them was gradually abandoned, and in the subsequent political commotions of the nation the papal power was sometimes very great. (*g*) Long after this period the people were accustomed to celebrate the drowning of their ancient gods with lamentations and partial sorrow. (*h*)

§ 226. *The Hungarians.*

Schwandtner, Scrr. rer. Hung. Vind. 1746. f. Th. I. *Fejér*, Codex diplomaticus Hung. eccl. et civ. Budae. 1829. Th. I.—*J. v. Mailath*, Gesch. der Magyaren. Wien. 1828. vol. I. [*Godkin*, Hist. of H. Lond. 1854.]

A few Hungarian princes, while on a visit to Constantinople, consented to be baptized, and their country was filled with Christian slaves captured during the inroads of their people in Germany. By these means Christianity had obtained a foothold in the country, until more peaceable relations with Germany were established by the victories of the Saxon emperors. The emperor then requested the bishops *Piligrin* of Passau and *Adalbert* of Prague to undertake the conversion of the Hungarians. Duke *Geysa* (972–997), being sufficiently wealthy and powerful, was in the habit not only of building Christian churches, but of offering sacrifices to the gods. (*a*) His son *Stephen* (997–1038) brought Hungary into the political community of civilized nations, gave to the Church a permanent form of government in subjection to Rome, and with the consent of the emperor and the sanction of the pope, assumed the royal crown. (*b*) Surrounded as he was by Christians and Germans, the new king ventured in various ways to curtail the ancient privileges of the people. In the political commotions which occurred during the ten years immediately following his death, the most violent efforts were put forth to re-establish idolatry, and were repelled with equal violence.

§ 227. *The Finns, Livonians, and Esthonians.*

Eric the *Saint*, King of Sweden, effected the conquest of the *Finns* (1157), and subjected them to the authority of his own crown and of the Church. For a long time, however, their magicians were much more honored than their clergy. (*a*) But an intercourse had already been commenced with Livonia by the German maritime cities. *Meinhard*, a canon of Bremen,

g) I. After Thietmar consult. *Martini Galli* (about 1130), Chron. Pol. ed. *Bandtkie*, Varsov. 1824. *Vincent de Kadlubek* (d. 1226), de gestis Pol. (*Długosz*, Hist. Pol. Lps. 1711. f. Th. I.)—II. *Ch. G. v. Friese*, KGesch. d. K. Pohl. Brsl. 1786. vol. I. *Röpell*, Gesch. Pol. Hamb. 1840. vol. I. Append. 4. *h*) *Grimm*, deutsche Mythol. p. 446s.

a) *Thietmar* l. VIII. (*Leibnit.* p. 420.)

b) *Chartvitius*, (13th cent.) Vita S. Stephani. (*Schwandtneri* Scrr. rer. Hung. Vind. 1746. f. p. 414.) Respecting the story of the Crown adorned with Greek characters, and the salutation as Rex Apostolicus and Legate, see *A. F. Kollar*, de origg. et usu perpetuo potestatis legisl. circa sacra app. Regum Hung. Vind. 1764. *Horányi*, de s. corona. Hung. Pesth. 1790.

a) *Oernhjálm* l. c. IV, 4. *Mone*, vol. I. p. 43ss.

made some attempts to convert its inhabitants (after 1186), for we find that he assisted them to build fortresses against their enemies, and was consecrated to the bishopric of Yxkull. Proceeding from that point, the bishops obtained their respective dioceses by military conquests, in the course of which they were often in danger of losing their lives, and they confirmed the results of their preaching by leading the Germans in miniature crusades against the people. The bishopric of *Riga* was founded by *Albert*, the second in succession after Meinhard, and the ecclesiastical subjugation of the country was finally completed by the weapons of an order of knights instituted by him (1202), called the *Brethren of the Sword*. With the aid of this order and of the Danes, the *Esthonians* were also subdued and converted to the faith after 1211). The ascendency of this order and of the bishops was afterwards undisputed. (*b*)

CHAP. VI.—PARTIES PROTESTING AGAINST THE CHURCH.

C. du Plessis d'Argentré, Col. judiciorum de novis error. ab initio XII. S. usque ad ann. 1632. Par. 1728. 3 Th. f. *Füsslein*, K. u. Ketzerhist. d. mittlern Zeit. Fr. u. Lpz. 1770ss. 3 vols. *Flathe*, Gesch. der Vorläufer d. Ref. Lpz. 1835s. 2 vols. *C. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Ketzer. im MA. Stuttg. 1845-50. 3 vols.

§ 228. *The Catharists.*

A feeling of dissatisfaction now began to manifest itself on the part of many persons on account of the extravagant worldly spirit of the priesthood, and the religious spirit of the people began to put forth a strong protest against the Church itself. Persons of this tendency were at first burned (1022) at Orleans, (*a*) and were found in various parts of Germany (*b*) and England, but the great body of them inhabited Lombardy and Provence. (*c*) In these latter countries the Troubadours had contributed much to the spirit of independence with which the hierarchy was spoken of in that country, while in Italy the Church was principally regarded as a political power. The emperor had no interest in destroying the enemies of the papacy, and the popes were obliged frequently to regard the friendship of the Lombards as of more importance than the extermination of heretics. Even the contest to which Gregory excited the laity against the married priests, either produced

b) *Henrici Letti* (about 1226). Origg. Livoniae sacrae et civ. s. Chron. c. notis *J. D. Gruberi*, Fr. et Lps. 1740. f.—*Parrot*, Entwickl. d. Sprache, Abstamm. Gesch. Mythol. d. Liwen, Letten, Eesten. Stuttg. 1828. 2 vols. *H. A. G. de Pott*, de Gladiferis s. fratrib. militiae Christi. Erl. 1806. Kurd v. *Schlözer*, Livl. u. d. Anfänge deutschen Lebens im baltischen Nord. Brl. 1850.

a) *Ademar*, a monk of Angoulême about 1200, Chron. (*Bouquet* Th. X. p. 154ss.) Gesta *Syn. Aurelian.* (*Mansi* Th. XIX. p. 376ss.) *Glaber Radulf.* III. 8.

b) 1146 on the Lower Rhine: *Evervini*, Praepos. Steinfeld. Ep. ad Bernard. (*Argentré* Th. I. p. 38ss.) 1163. *Eckberti* Sermm. XIII. adv. Catharorum errores. Col. 530. (Bibl. PP. max. Th. XXIII. p. 600.)

c) The documents are in Hist. générale de Languedoc par un Bénédictin de S. Maur. Par. 1787. vol. III. Polemical writers near the end of the 12th cent.: *Ebrardi Flandrensis* L. antihaeresis. (Bibl. PP. max. Th. XXIV. p. 1525.) *Ermengardi* Opsc. c. haereticos, qui dicunt omnia visibilia non esse a Deo facta, sed a diabolo. (*Th.* p. 1602.) *Alani de Insulis* l. IV. c. haereticos sui temp. (The two first vols. in *Alani* Opp. ed. *C. de Visch*, Antu. 1654. f. The two last in *C. de Visch* Bibl. Scrr. Cist. Col. 1656. 4.)—*C. Schmidt*, Hist. et doctrine des Cathares ou Albigeois. Par. 1849. 2 vols.

or absorbed elements hostile to every thing connected with the ecclesiastical authorities (Paterini). (*d*) The name of *Catharists*, by which this sect was usually designated, shows what were their ordinary pretensions. A similar opposition prepared the way for the influence exercised by the Paulicians who had been transferred into the western countries of Europe (hence called Publicani, Bugri). The accounts we have respecting them are almost exclusively from their enemies, or from apostates from them, and are consequently full of errors and calumnies. (*e*) All agree, however, in describing them as universally and absolutely opposed to the Catholic Church and all its pomp, in consequence of what they professed to be an immediate communication of the Holy Ghost, exalting them above all conscious necessity of ecclesiastical or civil laws. Their opposition to every thing of a sensuous nature made them practically renounce all carnal pleasures, and led them theoretically to ascribe the whole visible universe to an evil cause and to deny the real humanity of our Redeemer. This dualistic tendency, however, may have gone no further than the popular notion of a devil and his subordinate spirits, and in a portion of the Catharistic Church it appears to have been modified in various ways, to have been full of moral seriousness and religious sincerity, and yet to have laid great stress upon fastings, genuflexions, and Latin forms of prayer. (*f*) Scriptural preaching and the gospels were held in much esteem, but various opinions prevailed among them respecting the prophets. The baptism of the Spirit (consolamentum) was substituted for baptism by water, and was administered by the imposition of the hands of all persons present who had themselves received it. In this ordinance only perfect Christians (bos homes, boni homines) received their consecration, for the duties which it imposed were so rigid that most persons remained catechumens (credentes, of two different degrees), and did not receive the consolamentum, which they regarded as necessary to salvation, until their dying hour. The dualistic view, however, could consistently forbid nothing but marriage and the eating of flesh. In the midst of a people thus professing to be filled with the Spirit, and whose pope was the Holy Ghost himself, none of the existing officers of the Church could exercise any of their hierarchical prerogatives. The prohibitions contained in the Sermon on the Mount were accepted in their most literal and painful sense, and those who went to a dualistic extreme resolved the ordinary doctrines of the Church, and even all historical Christianity, into mere allegories illustrative of the Christian's inner life. On the other hand, the *Pasagii* of Lombardy maintained the absolute authority of the Old Testament in opposition to the Manicheans who rejected

d) *Sigebert. Gemblac.* ad ann. 1074.

e) *Bonacorsi*, one of those teachers who returned to the Cath. Church, about 1190, Vita haereticor. s. manifestatio haeresis Catharor. (*D'Achery*, Spicil. Th. I. p. 208. Supplements in *Baluzii* Miscell. ed. *Mansi* Th. II. p. 581.) *J. Moneta*, Dominican, about 1240, adv. Cath. et Waldenses, ed. *Ricchini*, Rom. 1743. f. *Rainerius Sacchoni*, once a chief of the sect, but afterwards a Dominican and Inquisitor, 1250. Summa de Catharis et Leonistis. (*Martene*, Thes. nov. Anecd. Th. V. p. 1759. and *Argentré* Th. I. p. 48. (The edit. by *Gretser* is no further the actual work of Rainerius, but a later collection made by some German. *Gieseler*, de Rainerii Sacch. Summa. Gott. 1834. 4.) [*C. Schmidt*, Hist. et doct. de la secte des Cathares, etc. Par. 1849. 2 vols. Stud. u. Krit. 1850. H. 4.]

f) Thus according to an orig. doc.: Ein Katharisches Rituale, ed. by *E. Kunitz*, Jen. 1852.

it, and the Ebionite and Arian doctrines concerning Christ in opposition to the views of the Docetae. (*g*) The name of this sect, as well as the time in which it sprung up, suggests that this revival of Jewish Christianity may have been occasioned by the conquest of Jerusalem. (*h*) The ecclesiastical rulers were at first very lenient toward these various sects, but they were soon compelled to resort to the severest punishments. Even then they could not prevent multitudes from embracing these doctrines in secret, and barely succeeded in escaping from a general and public defeat. Some who urged that, according to the teaching of Christ and the example of St. Martin, such unfortunate persons ought to receive instruction rather than hanging, could gain no attention. (*i*)

§ 229. *Peter of Bruys and Henry. Tanchelm and Eon.*

In the course of the opposition which sprung up against the Church in the twelfth century, a few individuals became prominent either as advocates or leaders of sects. *Peter de Bruys*, who had been deposed from the priesthood, but preached (after 1104) in the south of France, was one of these. He declaimed against the baptism of infants, the mass, and celibacy, burned the cross which had been the instrument of our Lord's passion, and called upon his hearers to destroy the churches, since God was as willing to hear prayer offered to him in an inn or a stable as from before an altar. Many disturbances of a violent nature were created by him, but he was finally burned by a mob at St. Gilles (1124). (*a*) *Henry*, a monk who had withdrawn from his order, and was sometimes thought to be a pupil of Peter de Bruys, labored in the same region of country (1116–48), and was at first highly honored even by the clergy. He was a strenuous preacher of repentance, and though not opposed to ecclesiastical authority, held up the corruptions of the clergy to the derision of the people. He was finally overcome by his powerful opponent, and ended his days in prison. (*b*) *Tanchelm* (about 1115), who resided on the sea-coast of the Netherlands, preached zealously against ecclesiastical organizations, collected around himself an armed train of followers, claimed to be God equal to Christ on account of the Holy Ghost which he professed to have received, held public celebrations in honor of his espousal to the Virgin Mary, and was finally slain (about 1124) by a priest. (*c*) *Eon* (Eudo de Stella) proclaimed that he had been sent into the world to be the judge of the living and the dead. He made his appearance sometimes in one and sometimes in another place in different parts of France, attended by

g) *Bonacorsi* in *D'Achery*, p. 211ss. *G. Bergomensis* c. Cath. et Pasagios c. a. 1230. (*Muratori* Antiqq. Ital. Med. aevi. vol. V. p. 152ss.) [*C. U. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Ketzer im MA. bes. im 11. 12. u. 13. Jahrh. Stuttg. 1850. 3 vols.]

h) Comp. *Loscher*, Ref. Acta. vol. I. p. 357. On the other hand: *Baumg. Crusius*, Comp. d. DGesch. p. 302.

i) *Hermanni Contr.* Chron. ad. ann. 1052. Gesta Episcc. Leodiens. c. 50. 60s. (*Martene*, ampliss. Col. Th. IV.)

a) *Petri Vener.* Ep. adv. Petrobrussianos haer. (Bibl. PP. max. Th. XXII. p. 1023ss.

b) Acta Episc. Cenomanensium c. 35s. (*Mabillon* vett. Analecta. Th. III.) *Bernardi* Vita ser. *Gaufrid.* III, 6.

c) Ep. Trajectensis Ecc. ad Frid. Archiep. Colon. (*Argentré* Th. I. p. 11ss.) *Abaelardi* Intr. ad Theol. (Opp. p. 1066.) Vita *Norberti*, § 36. (Acta SS. Jun. Th. I. p. 843.)

a bold retinue, and living in so sumptuous a style on the wealth of the churches and monasteries, that the people generally believed him to be a magician. He was at last taken by surprise, arraigned before a Synod at Rheims (1148), and without despairing of the success of his cause, died in the prison of St. Denys. (*d*)

§ 230. *The Waldenses.*

I. Memorials of the Wald. Manuscripts in Geneva and Dublin, generally affected by later Protestant influences (comp. Dieckhoff, modified by Herzog), especially with respect to times before Huss: Cantica, described by *Herzog*, p. 72ss. and *la nobla Leyczon* in *Raynouard*, Choix des poésies orig. des Troubad. Par. 1818. vol. II. p. 73ss. According to the Geneva and Dublin text in *Herzog*, p. 444ss. Kath. Verdicts and Protocols of the Inquisition in *Argentré*, (Col. jud. vol. I. p. 71ss.) and *Ph. a Limborch*, Hist. Inquisit. in the conclusion mentioned as L. sententt. Inquis. Tolosanae. Catharistic accounts and polem. writings: *Bernardus*, Abbas Fontis calidi (d. before 1200) adv. Valdensium sectam. (Bibl. PP. max. vol. XXIV. p. 1585.) *Alanus de Insulis* (d. 1202). c. Haeretic. l. II. (Opp. ed. *K. v. Visch*, Antu. 1654.) *Walther Mapes* in *Hahn*, vol. II. p. 257s. *Stephanus de Borbone* (about 1250), de septem donis Sp. S. VII, 31. (*Argentré* vol. I. p. 85ss.) *Rainerius. Moneta* (§ 228. n. *c*.)

II. *Gilles.* Hist. ecc. des égl. reformées en quelques vallées de Piémont. Gen. 1644. *J. Leger*, Hist. gén. des égl. evang. des vallées de Piém. ou Vaudoises. Leid. 1669. 2 vols. f. Uebers. v. *Schweinitz*, Lpz. 1750. 2 vols. 4. (*J. Brez*) Hist. des Vaud. Laus. 1796. 2 vols. Lpz. 1798. *A. Monastier*, Hist. d'égl. Vaudoise. Gen. 1847. 2 vols. *A. Muston*, l'Israel des Alpes, prem. Hist. complète des Vaud. Par. 1851. 4 vols.—*Hahn* (see before § 228.) vol. II. comp. Preface to vol. III. p. X. *F. Bender*, Gesch. d. W. Ulm. 1850.—*A. W. Dieckhoff*, d. W. im MAlter. Gott. 1851. *Herzog*, d. roman. W. ihre vorref. Zustande u. Lehren, ihre Ref. im 16. Jhh. u. d. Rückwirk. drs. Hal. 1853. [*Peyran*, Hist. Defence of the Wald. Lond. 8vo. *E. Henderson*, Origin, &c. of the Vaudois. *W. S. Gilly*, The Albigenses in Littell's Rel. Mag. vol. I. p. 6. *A. Monastier*, Hist. of the Vaudois Church from its Origin. New York. 1849. 12mo. *Robt. Baird*, Waldenses, Albig. and Vaud. Philad. 1848. 8vo. *C. U. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Ketzer im Mittelalter, bes. im 11. 12. und 13. Jahrh. Stuttg. 1847. *C. U. Hahn*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1851. H. 4. p. 862. *Herzog*, d. Waldenser, vor u. nach d. Ref. Lps. 1853. 12.]

The dissatisfaction and ferments which prevailed during the twelfth century, gave occasion during the last half of it to the appearance of the Waldenses. As they were generally conversant with the Scriptures, they maintained in opposition to unworthy priests, that all who truly imitated Christ in his life of poverty, had a right freely to preach the gospel. As the natural result of their demand that Christians should live in complete poverty and virginity, a distinction was formed soon after the excitement of their origin had subsided, between the Perfect, who forsook all and went forth two by two in their sandals preaching repentance, and the mere Believers, who forsook the pleasures of the world, but who continued in the enjoyments of conjugal and social life. Witnesses whose testimony is beyond suspicion, though they belonged to the Catholic Church, inform us that their name and origin is to be traced to (Peter) *Waldus*, an opulent citizen of Lyons, who was transported by his own ideal of evangelical perfection, had the gospels and many sentiments of the ecclesiastical fathers which harmonized with them translated into the Romanic vernacular language, gave all his possessions to the poor, and from a desire to attain a state like that found in the apostolic Church, went forth (about 1160) as a preacher of repentance. The tradition more recently entertained among the Waldenses themselves, according to which their origin is to be traced to primitive and even to apostolic

d) *Wilhelm Neubrigens* de reb. Angl. I, 19. (*Argentré* Th. I. p. 36ss.) *Otto Fris.* de gest. Frid. I, 54s. *Alberici* Chron. ad ann. 1148. 1149.

times, is true only so far as the same spirit has always been sustained among them by the sacred Scriptures, and has always protested against the corruptions of the Church. It is also probable that in some of their Alpine valleys a spirit has been maintained ever since the time of Claudius of Turin, which harmonized with and was best defined by the preaching of the Waldenses. These *Poor People of Lyons* (Leonistae, Humiliati, Sabatati) had no idea of breaking away from the Church, and when their archbishop commanded them to be silent, they turned with the utmost confidence to Alexander III. (1179), who treated them with scorn. Their doctrine that laymen might teach the people necessarily brought them into collision with the clergy, and they were soon (1184) excommunicated by Lucius III. But obeying God rather than men, they established congregations in France, Italy, and Germany, and had their principal residences in Provence and in the lofty valleys of Piedmont. Although they differed from the Catholic Church not so much in their doctrines as in their manner of life, which was strictly conformed to the letter of Christ's sermon on the mount, they were constrained to deny that the Church of the pope was the Church of Christ, even when they allowed that many had been saved who had never forsaken it. Their moral convictions were strongly against the doctrine of a purgatory, with all its auxiliary additions; they required a confession of all sins, but expected forgiveness from God alone, and they honored the saints as models of piety, but not as intercessors before God. Wherever their congregations were properly organized, their Masters or Barbs, chosen from among the Perfect, preached, heard confessions, and in cases of necessity administered the sacraments. Innocent III. at one time indulged the hope that he could bring their evangelical poverty under the control of monastic vows (pauperes catholici), but the fortunes of this sect soon became involved with those of the Catharists, and it was said that even if the faces of these heretics were different, their tails were all twisted together. They frequently lived concealed in the midst of the Catholic Church, recognizing each other by secret signs, and wherever they were they always formed a light amidst surrounding darkness, were active in promoting evangelical virtues and familiarity with the Scriptures, and always stood ready to aid with the power of a Scriptural Christianity every higher development of man's moral nature.

§ 231. *The Albigensian War.*

I. *Petri Monachi* (de Vaux Cernay) Hist. Albigensium. *Guil. de Podio Laurentii* (Chaplain to Raymund VII.) super Hist negotii Francor. adv. Albig. (Both found in *Bouquet-Brial* Th. XIX.) Hist. de la croisade contre les hérétiques Albigeois, écrite en vers provençaux, publ. par *M. C. Fauriel*. Par. 1837. 4. Hist. de la guerre des Albig. (Together with other documents in the Hist. de Langued. Th. III. Preuves.) *J. du Tillet*, Hist. belli c. Alb. initi comp. ex Bibl. Vat. ed. *A. Dressel*. 1845.

II. *Simonde di Sismondi*, les croisades contre les Albig. Par. 1828. [transl. into Engl. Lond. 1826. svo.] *J. J. Barrau* et *A. B. Darragon*, Hist. des crois c. les Alb. Par. 1843. *C. Schmidt*, (§ 228, note *c.*)

The Catharists and Waldenses having become in some parts of Provence more powerful than the Church itself, their example was exceedingly dangerous. Complete authority was therefore bestowed by *Innocent III.* for the suppression of these heretics. His legates travelled about barefoot in the

manner of the apostles, sometimes preaching and disputing, and sometimes getting up judicial proceedings and popular acts of violence. *Peter* of *Castelnau*, one of these legates, in order to accomplish his object, seized upon those powers which belonged exclusively to the civil magistrate, and thus became embroiled in a quarrel with Count *Raymond VI.* of Toulouse, one of the most powerful princes of the country. The result was that the legate was assassinated, and the guilt of the deed was imputed to the Count himself. Innocent then proclaimed a crusade against him and all other heretics, under the conduct of *Arnold*, Abbot of Citeaux, as legate, and of *Simon de Montfort*. Raymond endeavored to escape the danger by humbling himself and taking the cross against his own people. The arms of the crusaders were now turned against *Raymond Roger*, Viscount of Beziers and Albi, and hence the heretics, and especially the Catharists, against whom this crusade was principally directed, were generally called *Albigenses*. (*a*) *Beziers* was taken by storm, and the legate boasted, that as a messenger of divine wrath, he had utterly destroyed the city. (*b*) Montfort now turned the fury of his excited followers against the territories of the Count of Toulouse, and when he had conquered them he was recognized at the Synods of Montpellier and the Lateran (1215) as the lawful lord of all that he had thus acquired. (*c*) Innocent perceived the impolicy of this proceeding, but lest he should lose the great object at which he was aiming, he did not venture to rend the prey from the possession of the tigers whom he had let loose. (*d*)

CHAP. VII.—THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.

§ 232. *Extension of the Church.*

The Bulgarians, originally of Turkish extraction, but after their settlement in Moesia very extensively blended with the Slaves, were for a long time the most formidable of all the neighbors with whom the Greek empire was obliged to contend. For a considerable period they scornfully rejected a system of faith proposed to them by their enemies. Christianity, however, was gradually introduced among them at various epochs (845–865); once when the daughter of their prince returned from captivity among the Greeks, then when in time of famine they made supplication to the God of Christians and were delivered, and finally, under the influence of *Methodius*, who is reported to have exerted his talents among them not only as an apostle but as a painter. (*a*) That portion of the Bulgarians who resided on the *Volga* were converted to Mohammedanism, and the kindred tribe of the *Chazars*, who resided in the Chersonese, was divided between Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity. (*b*) The *Mainots*, who inhabited the rocky caverns of the Tay-

a) *P. Jas*, de Valdensium secta ab Albigens. bene distinguenda. L. B. 1834. 4.

b) *Caesar Heisterbac.* V, 21. *Innoc.* l. XII. Ep. 108.

c) *Mansi* Th. XXII. p. 1069.

d) *Hurter*, Innoc. vol. II. p. 657ss.

a) *Constantini Porphyr. Continuator IV*, 13ss. *Nicetas David*, Ignat. (*Mansi* Th. XVI. p. 245.) Comp. § 225.

b) *Frähn*, Ibn-Fosslan's und andrer Araber Berichte ü. d. Russen ält. Zeit. Petersb. 1823. 4. Pre-

getus, continued to resist the efforts of the Church until the latter half of the ninth century, when they also yielded subjection to it. About the same time the *Slaves*, who at different periods had broken into the territory of ancient Greece, became Christians, and were connected with the Greek Church. (*c*) The *Russians* became acquainted with Christianity on the battle-field. Traditionary accounts tell us of the extraordinary success of some efforts to convert them during the ninth century, but no traces of the results appear in subsequent ages. Photius proclaimed that they were enthusiastic in their desires for the gospel, but the event proved that his announcement was premature. *Olga*, their excellent dowager princess, procured baptism for herself in Constantinople (955), but even to the close of her life she could enjoy the services of a Christian priest only in secret. Her grandson *Vladimir*, after a careful investigation of the different forms of religion then prevalent, received baptism from the Greeks (988). The people beheld with tears the abuse which was heaped upon their ancient gods, and submitted themselves silently to baptism in the river Dnieper. A metropolitanate under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch was established in *Kiew*, then the capital of the empire. A convent (Petschera) established in a cave near Kiew, became, after the middle of the eleventh century, the seminary from which the whole country was supplied not only with bishops and saints, whose bodies never decayed, but with a Russian literature. (*d*)

§ 233. *The Roman Empire and the Church.*

The Roman Empire in the East, continually pressed more and more by the power of the Turks, the Normans, and the Crusaders, maintained its courage by the proud recollections of its former greatness, and its existence merely in consequence of the fortunate position of its capital. The mechanism which prevailed in the secular and spiritual administrations then united in the head of the imperial government, generally continued unaffected by the revolutions which so frequently took place in the palace. The spirit of the Church sympathized with the universal torpidity, and orthodoxy took the place which belonged to morality and religion. The patriarchs of Constantinople perpetrated and endured all those acts of violence which the highest civil officers are accustomed to inflict and receive where feeble despotisms prevail. A party of the clergy was kept under restraint by another party in the army. The enthusiasm of the crusaders met with no response here except ridicule and suspicion. The number and power of these sacred warriors was such that Constantinople finally became a mere colony of the

face. *J. v. Klaproth*, Beschr. d. russ. Prov. zw. d. kasp. u. Schwarz Meere. Berl. 1814. p. 119ss. 262ss.

c) *Le Quien*, Oriens chr. Th. II. p. 103ss. *Fallmerayer*, Gesch. d. Halbins. Morea wahrend des Mittelalt. Stuttg. u. Tub. 1830. vol. I. p. 173ss. 216. 227ss. The statements and spirit of this work should be corrected by a perusal of *Zinkeisen*, Gesch. Griechenl. Lpz. 1832. vol. I. p. 704ss. 767s. 850ss.

d) *Nestor* (died about 1113), Annals (till 1110. Petersb. 1767ss. 5 Th. 4.) m. Uebers. u. Anm. (till Vladimir) by *Schlözer*, Gott. 1802ss. 5 vols.—*Karamsin*, Gesch. d. russ. Reichs. Uebers. by *Hauenschild*, Rig. 1820ss. vol. I. II. *Strahl*, Gesch. d. russ. Kirche. Hal. 1830. vol. I.

Western nations, and what remained of the Grecian Empire, with all on which its hopes could rest, was transferred to Trebizond.

§ 234. *Photius.*

Photii Epp. ed. *Montacutius*, Lond. 1651. f. Original documents in *Mansi* Th. XV. XVI. Vita s. certamen S. Ignatii, by *Nicetas David.* (*Mansi* Th. XVI. p. 209.) *Anastasii* Bibl. Praef. ad Conc. VIII. oec. (*Mansi* Th. XVI. p. 1ss.) *Ejusd.* Vita Nicholai I. Vita Hadriani II.—*E. B. Swalve*, de dissidio Ecc. chr. in gr. et lat. Photii auct maturato. L. B. 1830. [*G. Finlay*, H. of the Byzantine Empire. Lond. 1853. 8.]

The real ruler of the emperor and the empire was *Bardas*, the uncle of Michael III. The Patriarch *Ignatius*, a eunuch of the dethroned imperial family, zealously protested against the arbitrary conduct of Bardas and the immoralities of the emperor, in whose drinking revels the sacred rites of the Church were caricatured. To get rid of him, *Photius*, through the influence of the court, was elevated to the patriarchal office (858). This man had passed through the highest offices of the state, and was possessed of much diversified learning. By his promotion to that office a schism was created in the Church, which the court attempted to heal by means of the Roman bishop. Legates were sent to Constantinople by *Nicholas I.*, but they were soon won over to the party of Bardas, and gave sentence against Ignatius (861). Nicholas, however, annulled their decisions, and rejected Photius as an intruding layman (863). This disagreement became still more serious when the Bulgarians were drawn into ecclesiastical connection with the Church of Rome. (*a*) A circular was then sent forth by Photius, severely censuring as heresies all those usages in which the Roman differed from the Greek Church. Among the heresies enumerated were the observation of fasts on Saturday, the curtailment of the great fasts, the contempt of confirmation when performed by the hand of a presbyter, and the prohibition of the lawful marriage of priests. To these charges was added the bitter reproach that the Roman Church had sinned against the Holy Ghost by corrupting the Apostles' Creed. (*b*) For, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost (§ 105) from the Son as well as from the Father, though it had been maintained as truth by Leo III., had been disapproved as an addition to the Creed, (*c*) and yet had finally found admission into the Latin version of that symbol. At a synod convened by Photius in Constantinople (867), the pope was excommunicated and deposed. During the same year, however, Basil became sole ruler in the empire by the murder of Michael, with whom he had before been associated in authority, and for this bloody crime the imperial murderer was debarred by Photius from the communion of the Church. With calm, lofty dignity, the Patriarch stood before his judges, and was condemned in the Synod of Constantinople (869), which claimed to be œcumenical. (*d*) By the same assembly Ignatius was restored to the patriarchal office, and sought to regain his former friendship with Rome, but

a) Comp. *Gfrörer*, Carolinger. vol. I. p. 439. 449ss.

b) Ep. 2. Montacut. p. 47ss.

c) *Mansi* Th. XIV. p. 17ss. *Anast.* Vita Leon. III, (*Muratori* Th. III. P. I. p. 208.)

d) *Mansi* Th. XVI. p. 122ss. 371ss.

the dispute respecting the Bulgarians, whom one in his position could not honorably surrender, soon produced a renewed occasion for strife. On the death of Ignatius (878), the emperor became reconciled to Photius, and *John VIII.*, hoping to effect a favorable compromise of his difficulties, recognized the claims of the restored patriarch. At the Synod of *Constantinople* (879), which is regarded by the Greek Church as the eighth œcumenical council, and was attended by Roman deputies, all decrees which had been issued against Photius were annulled. (*c*) The pope, however, soon found that he had been deceived in his expectations, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against the patriarch and his synod. Photius was also hated by the heir-apparent to the throne, who had no sooner assumed the imperial crown under the name of Leo the Wise (886), than he was sent to a convent, where he found his grave (about 891).

§ 235. *The Division of the Church.*

Leo Allatius, de Ecc. occ. et or. perpetua consens. Col. 1648. 4. *Maimbourg*, Hist. du schisme des Grecs. Par. 1677. 4. and others. *C. A. v. Reichlin-Meldegg*, d. Ursachen d. Trennung. (Theol. Abhh. Greiz. 1829.)

The previous relations of the Oriental to the Roman Church were never again re-established in a definite form. The Circular which had been issued by Photius has ever since continued a perpetual monument, in which the actual differences between the two churches are exhibited in their most obnoxious form. The political separation of Italy from the Grecian Empire necessarily involved also its ecclesiastical. The more the power of the pope increased in the West, the more decidedly was it needful to repel his claims in the East. A full declaration of the schism was delayed by nothing but the hope which the emperor entertained, that he might obtain some assistance against the Infidels from the warlike nations of the West. But in an epistle of the Patriarch *Michael Cerularius* (1053), the usual reproaches which had been heaped upon the Romish Church were increased by another, which accused it of the Jewish heresy of using unleavened bread in the Eucharist. (*a*) A violent epistolary controversy ensued. Roman legates in Constantinople demanded satisfaction for the offence, and the patriarch sought support against the policy of the emperor in the passions of the people. On the 16th July, 1054, the Roman legates deposited on the great altar of the Church of St. Sophia the sentence of excommunication which had been issued against the patriarch, and shook off the dust from their feet. (*b*) A Greek Synod hurled back a sentence of excommunication against the Roman Church, and the other Catholic patriarchs became connected with Constantinople. (*c*) Both Churches, the Eastern and the Western, each in like manner claiming to be Catholic to the exclusion of the other, became henceforth permanently separated. In consequence of the crusades, this division of the Church be-

c) *Mansi* Th. XVII. p. 373ss.

a) To be found only in a Latin transl. in *Baronius* ad ann. 1053. N. 22.

b) Brevis commemoratio eorum, quae gesserunt Apocrisiarii S. Rom. Sedis in regia urbe, by Cardinal *Humbert*, in *Baron.* ad ann. 1054. N. 19.

c) *Mich. Cerularii* Ep. II. ad Petrum Patr. Antioch. (*Cotelerii* Ecc. gr. Monum. Th. II. p. 135ss. 162ss.)

came gradually ripened into a national hatred. While they were in progress, several efforts were made by those engaged in them to unite with the other ecclesiastical parties of the East, without success on account of national differences. The *Maronites*, at that time a warlike tribe, were the only class which honestly and sincerely submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Latin patriarch of Antioch (1182). (*d*) The *Armenians* endeavored to present the appearance of a reconciliation whenever they wished for assistance from the West, but only a few individual congregations under the control of the Western governments maintained any connection with the Romish Church, and were permitted to retain their own sacred language and the usages of their ancestors.

§ 236. *State of Science.*

The science of this period corresponded with the rigid lifelessness which characterized all departments of society. But the study of the classical writers and the ecclesiastical fathers, which had never been entirely discontinued, served to transmit from generation to generation the inheritance of such an education as they were capable of imparting. When Bardas commenced his administration, it began to be perceived that the proud spirit of the nation could not long maintain itself by the side of the vigorous cultivation of the Mohammedans and the Western nations, without keeping up a superiority to them in learning. He therefore became the patron of science, and Constantinople was for a considerable time the seat of an eminent literary activity. Histories of the world, the empire, and the Church were written by authors of various conditions in life and with different degrees of merit, but all of them pervaded by the spirit peculiar to a resident of Constantinople. The kind of studies pursued was to some extent philological and rhetorical, or connected with natural sciences, without any predominance of an ecclesiastical element. *Photius*, who was even in scientific matters a model for his Church, has in his *Bibliotheca* (*a*) preserved for subsequent ages brief extracts and notices of many Christian and heathen writers, who would otherwise have been unknown. His *Nomocanon*, by the common consent of the Greek Church, has been adopted as its authoritative code of ecclesiastical law. The first part embraced the canons of those synods which were then regarded as authoritative, together with some canonical epistles. These canons and epistles had been collected together some time in the seventh century, and merely received some additions in number from the hands of Photius. The second part contains the civil laws relating to the Church, systematically arranged and abridged in fourteen sections, with figures referring to the corresponding canons of the first part. (*b*) *Simeon Metaphrastes*

d) *Wilh. Tyr.* XXII, 8. *Kunstmann*, die Maron. u. ihr Verh. z. lat. K. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1845. H. 1.)

a) Μυριόβιβλον s. Bibl. ed. *Im. Bekker*, Ber. 1824s. 2 Th. 4.

b) The first Part, together with the Scholiae of *Zonaras* (about 1120), and *Balsamon* (1170). *Beveregii* Συνοδικον s. Pandectae canonum, Ox. 1672. 2 Th. f. The Second Part is in *Justelli* Bibl. Th. II. p. 785. and the text of the canons which was written out at some time in the 10th cent. in *A. Majo* Spicil. Roman. Rom. 1842. Th. VII. Comp. *Biener*, z. Revis. d. Just. Codex. Berl. 1833. p. 34ss. *Bickell* in d. Jen. L. Z. 1844. N. 282.

(10th cent.) has recorded in a lively manner the old legends of the ancient saints. (*c*) *Oecumenius*, Bishop of Tricca (about 990), (*d*) *Theophylact*, Archbishop of the Bulgarians (1107), (*e*) and *Euthymius Zigabenus*, a monk of Constantinople (d. about 1118), (*f*) formed collections for the interpretation of the Scriptures out of the writings of the fathers, which are valuable because they are the only medium through which we have received a large part of the treasure from which they were drawn. The Creed of the Church had become firmly established on the basis of ecclesiastical tradition, and was now decked off with a few cautious Aristotelian formulas. It had also been somewhat tinctured with the peculiarities of Platonism through the influence of the Areopagite and the fathers of the fourth century. It was obliged to maintain a perpetual conflict with the philosophy and heretical opinions of past times. A peculiar spirit is very perceptible in the controversial writings of *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Methone* (died after 1166), (*g*) and in the Treasure of Orthodoxy (*h*) which *Nicetas Choniates* found consolation in composing in the midst of the misfortunes of his native land. But the special character of the age is most distinctly seen in the *Panoplia*, collected from the writings of the fathers by *Euthymius Zigabenus* by order of the theological emperor Alexius Comnenus, for the refutation and condemnation of all heretics. (*i*) Among the Oriental parties, the Jacobites were distinguished for having preserved a lively current of the old Syriac learning through several successive generations.

§ 237. *Paulicians. Section* 2. *Continued from* § 146.

Constantini Porphyr. Basilius Macedo. c. 37ss. *Anna Comnena*, Alexias. Par. 1651. f. l. XIV. p. 450ss.—*Mich. Pselli.* περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων διάλ. ed. *Hasenmüller*, Kil. 1688. 12. *Anna Comn.* Alex. XV. p. 486ss. *Euthymii Zygadeni* Narratio de Bogom. seu Panopliae tit. 23. gr. recogn. Zini interpret. add. *Gieseler*, Goett. 1842. 4. (Also in Wolf.)

Sergius (after 800), under the name of Tychicus, induced the Paulicians to return to the simplicity of morals which prevailed in the ancient Church. After his death (835) no single individual was elected to preside over them, but they were governed by a council of their teachers. The most intolerable oppressions were patiently endured by them, and it was not till the Empress *Theodora* had commenced a process by which they were to

c) Never printed as a separate work, some 122 biographies in the histories of the saints of the Greek and Roman Churches, and the Codices, seldom by themselves. *Leo Allatius*, de variis Simeonib. et Simeonum scriptis. Par. 1664. 4.

d) Comm. in Acta App. Epp. Paulinas et cath. ed. *F. Morellus*, Par. 1631. 2 Th. f.

e) Comm. in XII. Proph. min. IV. Evv. Acta App. Epp. Paul. (Opp. ed. *J. F. B. M. de Rubeis*, Ven. 1755s. 4 Th. f.)

f) Comm. in Psalm. (*Theophyl.* Opp.) in IV. Evv. ed. *C. F. Matthaei*, Lps. 1792. 3 Th. f.

g) Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου Πλατωνικοῦ, ed. *Voemel*, Frcf. 1825.

h) Θησαυρὸς ὀρθοδοξίας l. XXVII., only the five first books in the transl. by *Pet. Morellus*, Par. 1569. (Bibl. PP. max. Th. XXV.)

i) Πανοπλία δογματικὴ τῆς ὀρθοδ. πίστεως, Tergov. 1711. f. (The extravagant Tit. 24. against Islam in *Sylburgi* Saracenica, ed. *Beurer*. Heidelb. 1595.) Lat. ed. *Zino*, Ven. 1555. f. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. Th. XIX. Tit. 12 and 13 against the Roman Church is suppressed.) Comp. *Annae Comn.* Supplementa Historiam eccl. Graec. p. XI. et XII. spectantia, ed. *T. L. F. Tafel*, Tub. 1832.—*Ullmann*, Nic. v. Methone, Euth. Zig. and Nic. Chon. o. d. dogm. Entwickl. d. Griech. K. im 12 Jahrh. (Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 3.)

be utterly exterminated by a general massacre, that they flew to arms. An imperial general whose name was *Carbeas* (844), actuated by a desire of revenge for the wrongs which his father had sustained from the government, became their leader, formed an alliance with the Arabians, and strongly fortified *Tephrica*, a mountain-hold on the eastern confines of the empire. He and his successor *Chrysocheres*, with all the cruelty which fanaticism inspires, made excursions from this fortress, and laid waste the provinces of Asia Minor. Although the Emperor *Basil* finally succeeded in destroying Tephrica (871), many Paulicians maintained their existence as a people in the mountainous regions, and kept the extreme portions of the empire in continual agitation. That he might break up their connections with the Saracens, *John Zimisces* formed a treaty with them (970), in accordance with which they were for the most part removed to Thrace, where a colony of them had been formed even in the eighth century. Here they acknowledged a certain kind of allegiance to the empire, but in the independent possession of *Philippopolis* they served with great bravery as border sentinels. *Alexius Comnenus* having been abandoned by a large band of them in the Norman war, effected their subjugation by stratagem and violence (after 1085). During his residence in his winter quarters in Thrace (1115) he sought the honor of their conversion, and in fact many of them yielded to the arts of the imperial apostle. But the Paulicians, under the name of *Euchites*, with Manichean doctrines and fanatical forms of prayer, and under Elders who were regarded as apostles of Thrace, had before this become numerous among the Bulgarians. (*a*) The affinities of these people for the Slavonic Dualism gave them acceptance in that nation among which they were commonly called *Bogomiles*. According to their system of faith, the original Source of all Being had two sons, called Satanael and Logos. In his attempts to attain equality with the Father the former became evil in his nature, seduced the angels from their allegiance, and formed the visible universe. Through the divine powers which he still retained he created man, and by Eve he became the father of Cain. All ecclesiastical organizations were established under the influence of Satanael, and had their principal seat formerly at Jerusalem, but then at the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. The holy Virgin conceived in consequence of an influence through the ear, and Christ in the body of an angel succeeded in overcoming his elder brother. The Bogomiles acknowledged the authority of the Psalms and of sixteen prophets in the Old Testament, and received many apocryphal books, (*b*) but they gave an allegorical interpretation to the sacred history, and to the usages of the Church. In the garb of monasticism they concealed themselves even in Constantinople until Alexius extorted a confession from them, and burned Basilius their leader at the stake (1118). (*c*) Small communities of Bogomiles were found among the Bulgarians through the whole period of the middle ages, and Paulicians have continued to exist under many changes in and around Philippopolis and in the valleys of the Haemus until the present day.

a) *Schnitzer*, d. Euch. im 11. Jahrh. (*Stirm's* Stud. d. Geistl. Würt. vol. II. H. 1.)

b) Liber S. Joannis. (*Thilo* Cod. apocr. Th. I. p. 884.) Visio Isa. (§ 89, note *d*.)

c) *J. C. Wolf*, Hist. Bogom. Vit. 1712. 4. *L. Oeder*, Prodr. H. Bog. crit. Goett. 1743. 4. *Engelhardt*, d. Bog. (KGesch. Abhh. Erl. 1832. N. 2.)

FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM INNOCENT III. TO LUTHER.

§ 238. *General View and Historical Writers.*

1) § 170. Fontes rerum Germ. Geschichtsquellen Deutschl. (14. & 13. Jhh.) ed. by *J. F. Boehmer*, Stuttg. 1843. 5. 2 vols. *Albertus Stadensis*, Benedictine Abbot, Franciscan, died after 1260. Chron. till 1256. ed. *Reinecc.* 1587. Vit. 1608. 4. (*Schilteri* Scrr. rer. germ. vol. II. p. 123.) Continuation 1264–1324. ed. *A. Hofer*, Hafn. 1720. *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, Dominic. in Royemont, died about 1264, Speculum historiale, till 1250. Argent. 1473. 4 vols. f. Aug. 1474. 3 vols. f. (*Schlosser*, Vinc. v. Beauvais ü. Erzieh. m. 3 Abh. Frkf. 1819. 2 vols.) *Matthaeus Paris*, Benedict. in S. Albans, Hist. major till 1259. (1066–1235. from the Chron. of *Roger de Wendover*, Lond. 1840.) contin. by *W. Rishanger*, till 1273, ed. *Wats*, Lond. 1644. 1684. [publ. by the Camden Soc. edited by *Halliwell*. Lond. 1840.] f. & often. *Joannes de Winterthur*, Francisc., Chron. 1215—1348. (Thesaur. Hist. Helv. Tig. 1735. f.) *Albertus Argentinensis*, Chron. 1273–1378. (*Urstis* vol. II. p. 95.) The Strasburg Chronicle by *Closener* (died 1304.) closes at 1362. ed. by a Lit. Assoc. in Stuttgard. 1843. Jac. Twinger of *Königshofen*, a priest of Strasburg, died 1420. Elsafs. Chron. till 1386, ed. by *Schilter*. Strasb. 1698. 4. (*Kunisch, Königsh.* & his Chron. In *W. Müller's* Ascania. *Ibid.* 1820. P. II. *Strobel* de F. Closneri Chron. germ. Arg. 1829.) *Gobelinus Persona*, Dean of Bielefeld, died 1420, Cosmodromium, independently 1340–1418. (*Meibom.* vol. I. p. 53.) *Antoninus*, Dominic. Archbish. of Florence, Summa historialis till 1459. Nor. 1484. 3 vols. f. & often. (Opp. Flor. 1741ss. vol. I.) *Werner Rolfink*, Carthusian in Cologne, d. 1500, Fasc. temporum till 1476. Col. 1474. f. & often. Cont. by *Jo. Linturius* till 1514. (*Pistor. Struve* vol. II. p. 347.)—2) *Albertinus Mussatus*, of Padua, d. 1830. Hist. Augusta Henr. VII. De gestis Italor. post mortem Henr. till 1317. Ludov. Bavarus. Fragment. (*Murat.* vol. X.) *Giov. Villani*, of Florence, Storie Fiorentine till 1348, cont. by *Matteo* & *Filippo Villani* till 1364. (*Murat.* vol. XIIIs.) Mil. 1729. f. & often. *Jean Froissart*, of Valenciennes, d. 1441, Chron. de France, d'Angl. etc. 1326–1400. Par. 1503. 1504. 4 vols. f. revue p. *Sauvage*, Lyon. 1559ss. 4 vols. f. In the Coll. des Chroniques par *Buchon*, Par. 1824. 10–25 vols. of the 13th cent. (*Praetorius* ü. Froiss In Schlosser's Arch. f. Gesch. 1833. vol. V.) [Chronicles of Engl. France, Spain, &c., transl. new ed. Lond. 1845. 2 vols. 8.] *Phil. de Commines*, d. 1509, Chron. et Histoire 1464–98. Par. 1528. f. & often. rev. p. *L. du Fresnoy*, Lond. 1747. 4 vols. 4. *Fr. Guicciardini*, d. 1540. Storia d'Italia, 1493–1532. Ven. 1567. 4. & often. [Hist. of Italy from 1493–1532, transl. by *A. P. Goddard*, 2 ed. 1775, Lond. 9 vols. 8. Froissart, Commines & Guicciardini have been transl. into Eng. & published together. New York & Lond. 1848.] The portions of Guic. suppressed by public authority are in *Heidegger*, Hist. Papatus, ed. 2. Amst. 1698. *Goldasti* Monarchia vol. III. p. 17ss.—3) *Coccius Sabellicus*, Historiogr. of Venice, d. 1506, Enneades s. rhapsodia Historiarum till 1504, Ven. 1498ss. 2 vols. f. & often. (Opp. Bas. 1560. 4 vols. f.)—4) *Ptolemaeus de Fiadonibus, Lucensis*. Domin. Bish. of Torcello, d. 1327, Hist. ecc. till 1312. (*Murat.* vol. XI. p. 741.) *Trithemius*, d. 1516. *Annales Hirsaugienses* 830–1514. S. Galli 1690. 2 vols. f.—5) Astronomical Hist. of the Empire by *Georg. Acropolita*, 1204–61. ed. *Leo Allatius*, Par. 1651. f. *Georg. Pachymeres* 1258–1308. ed. *Possinus*, Rom. 1661ss. 2 vols. f. *Im. Bekker*, Bonn. 1835. *Niceph. Gregoras*, 1204–1359. ed. *Boivinus*, Par. 1702. 2 vols. f. *Joan. Cantacuzenos* 1320–54. ed. *Pontanus*, Par. 1645. 3 vols. f. *Joan. Ducas* 1341–1462, ed. *Bullialdus*, Par. 1649 f. *Chalcondylas* 1298–1462, ed. *Fabrot*, Par. 1650. f. *Georg. Phranzes* 1401–77, Lat. ed. *Pontanus*, Ingoldst. 1604. 4.

For a considerable time the hierarchy apparently preserved its position at the zenith of its power. But in consequence of those abuses to which unlimited authority always leads when intrusted to human hands, public favor, on which it entirely rested, soon became alienated from it. The claims which

it set up were as exorbitant as ever, and even more so, but as they were generally repelled, they were productive only of injury to itself. The power of the Papacy and of the empire were so conducted as mutually to destroy one another. The kings always found support against the encroachments of the popes in the sense of justice and in the strong love of independence which existed in the hearts of their people. Under the uniform improvement in the dispositions and habits of the people, which the Church had fostered in every European country, peculiar nationalities now began to be prominently developed. An intellectual education was extended among the people without the aid of the Church, by means of which the popular mind became more mature, and lost its peculiar ecclesiastical character. In these circumstances the hierarchy attempted to maintain its ascendency by intrigues and direct force, and while it was struggling for its own existence it could no longer afford protection against political despotism. A reformation extending not only to the members but to the very head of the Church was generally regarded as indispensable, and was in various quarters actually attempted. Catholicism itself appeared to have become for many nations an antiquated system, and not adapted to the existing condition of things. And yet, as it may often be remarked in history, that great spiritual principles sometimes produce their sublimest forms just as they are about to be subverted, so Catholicism accomplished its noblest achievements during this period. The papacy was still the most prominent of all actors in history, although its sphere was frequently limited to the circle of French and Italian politics. The life of a few princes sometimes becomes the leading object in the picture of events, and new powers are raised up for the deliverance of the Church. General history was still written in the same ecclesiastical style in which it had formerly been composed. *Vincent* of *Beauvais*, in his Encyclopædia of all the knowledge and movements of his times, has given us a clear and true picture of his age. *Matthew Paris*, in his English history, containing also many sagacious observations respecting all the countries of Western Europe, has not hesitated to disclose, with some bitterness, the crimes of the ecclesiastical rulers, for this rigid monk was animated by a supreme love to the Church itself. *Albert* of *Strasburg*, a candid and faithful writer, presents lively views of individual characters. The *Alsatian Chronicle* presents a history of the people whose name it bears in their own language. *Antoninus* of *Florence* composed a general history, in which the future saint has displayed the most undoubting faith and much modest criticism. Several statesmen have also given us histories, in which are presented the views of men in secular life. Among these were: *Albertinus Mussatus*, who wrote a history of his own times and of neighboring countries, in a manner somewhat harsh but accurate; *Villani*, who, with his brother and nephew, composed a history of Florence, with which also is connected many notices of the Middle Ages generally, in a style of old Roman simplicity; *Froissart*, in whose Chronicles the wars and royal courts of Western Europe are described with an extreme relish for the glories of the declining orders of knighthood; and *Commines*, in whose work we have the memorials of an age in which he sat at the helm of affairs, and knew all the secrets of its history. The extreme character of

this class of writers may be best seen in *Guicciardini*, in whose history of Italy we have a true and lively picture of events, in which he was too intimately concerned always to be impartial. Finally, we have the brilliancy of classic learning displayed in the General History written by *Sabellicus*. In immediate connection with the subject of Church History, *Ptolemaeus* of *Lucca* compiled a work which is of considerable critical value, on account of the great number of authorities which he has carefully quoted, with respect to the times immediately preceding his own. In a Chronicle of the old Benedictine Abbey of *Trittenheim*, is also interwoven the history of the general Church, especially so far as relates to Germany, with much learning, but with an extreme bias for orthodoxy. The *Byzantine historians*, in the lofty style of writing peculiar to their ancient authors, have described the solemnities, the afflictions, and the commotions of the Eastern Roman Empire, in which they generally bore so important a part. But in the opinions which they express respecting western affairs, allowance must be made for the asperity of feeling produced by the dominion of the Latins and the abortive attempts frequently made at reconciliation.

CHAP. I.—RELATION OF THE PAPACY TO GENERAL AFFAIRS.

Mart. Polonus. (at the head of § 171.) *Bernardus Guido*, Dominic. Bishop of Lodeve, d. 1331. & *Amalricus Augerii*, Augustinian, about 1365, both until John XXII. (*Murat.* vol. III. P. I, II.) *Platina* (*Barthol. Sacchi*), Abbreviator, d. 1481, Vitae Pontificum Rom. Ven. 1479. f. Later editt. altered; the Dutch editt. without the name of the place of pub. are correct according to the ed. princeps. 1479. 1645 & 1664. 12. *Theodoricus de Niem*, abbreviator, d. about 1417, named as the author of Vitae Pontiff. Rom. 1288–1418. additis Imperatt. gestis. (*Eccard* vol. I. p. 1461.) *Leon. Aretinus*, papal Secretary, d. 1444, rerum suo temp. in Ital. gestar. Commtr. 1378–1440. (*Muratori* vol. XIX. p. 909.) Vitae Paparum Avenionensium, ed. *Steph. Baluzius*, Par. 1693. 2 vols. 4. to be corrected by reference to: Hist. des souverains Pontifes dans Avignon, Avign. 1777. 4. Lives of particular Popes in *Murat.* vol. III. P. I, II. Orig. Docc. in *Raynald. J. Voigt*, Stimmen a. Rom. ü. d. papstl. Hof im 15. Jahrh. (*Raumer's* hist. Taschenb. 1832. N. 2.)—*Boehmer*, Regesta Imperii. 1198–1254. Lately revised. Stuttg. 1849. 4. Regesta Imp. 1246–1313. Lately revised. Stuttg. 1844. 4.

§ 239. *Frederic II.* (1194–*Dec.* 13, 1250.

I. *Petri de Vineis*, (d. 1249.) Epp. l. VI. ed. *Iselin*. Basil. 1740. 2 vols. *Boehmer*, Reg. Imp. p. 66ss. *Pertz* vol. IV. p. 228ss Extracts from the Regestis *Honor. III.* et *Greg. IX.* in *Raynald* & *Raumer*. *Riccardi de S. Germano* Chron. 1189–1243. (*Murat.* vol. VII. p. 963.) Contin. by *Nic. de Jamsilla* till 1258. (*Ib.* vol. VIII. p. 489.)

II. (*Funk*) Geschichte Friedr. II. Züll. 1792. Raumer, vols. III–IV. p. 211. *W. Zimmermann*, die Hohenst. o. Kampf d. Monarchie gegen Papst u. republ. Freih. Stuttg. 1838. 2 vols.—*C. Höfler*, K. Friedr. II. Munich 1844.

The most enlarged mental endowments and the highest earthly powers were possessed by *Frederic II.* for the accomplishment of the destiny of the house of Hohenstaufen. By means of the Saracen population of Sicily, a part of whom he had induced to settle in Apulia, he always had an army ready with which to terrify the states of the Church. Hence the mild disposition of *Honorius III.* (after 1216) was satisfied when the inheritance bequeathed by the Countess Matilda was secured to him, and he made no resistance when the emperor's oldest son, already heir apparent to the throne

of Sicily, was elected to be the next successor in the empire, and when all the privileges of the Sicilian monarchy were re-established. On his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frederic had taken the vow of the cross, and had subsequently renewed it at Rome. By his marriage with Iolante, the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the obligation to perform this vow seemed to have become more imperious. But the emperor, occupied with the care of establishing his power in Italy, always pleaded for a longer delay. The last period fixed upon expired just as Honorius died (March 18, 1227), and was succeeded by *Gregory IX.* This pope was a nephew of Innocent III., and like that prince possessed much skill in law, and an inflexible resolution. In his obstinate old age he was even less restrained by a regard to the consequences of what he regarded as right. (*a*) On the 15th August, 1227, the emperor set sail from Brundusium, but in three days returned, on account of a pretended or at least a very convenient sickness. Gregory then issued against him a sentence of excommunication, and was consequently driven from Rome by the emperor's adherents. Frederic now appealed to the Christian world with severe accusations against the pope, and without troubling himself to obtain a release from a papal ban which he regarded as unjust and invalid, he again embarked for Palestine, August, 1228. But the anathema preceded him, and induced his natural allies in the East to arm themselves against him. At the same time a great host of ecclesiastical emissaries fell upon his Italian inheritance. In this extremity, from the personal favor of his opponent, Camel, Sultan of Egypt, a truce of ten years was obtained, during which it was agreed that he should retain possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He entered the holy city in triumph (March 17, 1229), placed upon his head the crown of Jerusalem, hastened back to Italy, and drove the papal soldiers before him. Many disapproved of the violent measures of the pope against a crusader, and after vainly using his utmost efforts in every place, to stir up enemies against the greatest hero of that century, Gregory obtained from his policy or piety an honorable peace at St. Germano (Aug. 28, 1230). The pope was obliged to submit to the overwhelming power of the emperor, and to accept of the code of laws edited by Peter of Vinea (1231), by which the law of the two Sicilies was firmly established, and though heretics were surrendered to the hands of the Church, the secular power of the Church was made strictly subordinate to the State. (*b*) But when Frederic again prosecuted the struggle his family were always obliged to maintain with the Lombards, the pope once more formed an alliance with the friends of popular freedom, and in a sentence of excommunication pronounced against him on Palm Sunday, 1239, released all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and surrendered his body to the devil for the salvation of his soul. Each party now sought by written manifestoes to gain over to its side the favorable judgment of the people, and the two great heads of Christendom confronted each other with charges of heresy. In their controversial writings the specifications against each other are clothed sometimes in the

a) Vita Greg. by persons near him. (*Murat.* vol. III. p. 575.)

b) Constitutiones Regum Siciliae. Neap. 1786. f. *Raumer*, vol. III p. 316ss.

most common language of ordinary life, and at other times with the poetic imagery of the apocalypse. Frederic interpreted the favor which the pope showed toward the Lombards as an evidence of his partiality for the Catharists living in their midst. Gregory accused the emperor of being the author of the profane remark respecting the three impostors who had deceived the world, and justified the imputation by a reference to the impartial justice with which he had treated the Saracens, the relish with which he had entered into oriental pleasures, and several insolent expressions with regard to the miracles of the Church. (*c*) Frederic, who certainly had more faith in astrology than in priests, not only proved his orthodoxy but conquered the territories of the Church until he sat down under the very walls of Rome. The pope called a general council of the Church. The emperor gave orders that the fleet which conveyed the bishops to Rome should be captured. Gregory died unavenged (Aug. 21, 1241), and after many tedious dissensions among the cardinals, *Innocent IV.* (Fiesco of Lavagna) was chosen in his stead (June 24, 1243). The new pope had been the friend of the emperor, but after various ineffectual efforts to conclude a peace he became a mortal enemy. By the aid of his countrymen the Genoese, he escaped from Italy, and at the general council of Lyons (1245), (*d*) he once more hurled forth all the curses of the Church against the emperor, as a heretic and a sacrilegious robber. The contest was waged not only with spiritual but with carnal weapons, for the pope endeavored to secure assistance by exciting insurrections in Germany and in Sicily. Frederic died without yielding to the papal claims, (*e*) but among the people many believed that his body would see no corruption, and at the proper time that he would return and overthrow the exorbitant power of the priesthood.

§ 240. *Overthrow of the House of Hohenstaufen.*

I. *Boehmer*, Reg. p. 255ss. *Jamsilla*, cont. by an unknown hand till 1265. (*Murat.* vol. VIII. p. 586.) and by the Guelph *Saba Malaspina*, rer. Sicul. l. VI. 1250–76. (*Ib.* p. 781.)

II. *W. Jäger*, Gesch. Conrads II. Nuremb. 1787. *Pfister*, Gesch. v. Schwaben. Heilb. 1803. vol. II. *Raumer*, vol. IV. p. 528ss.

Innocent IV. now proclaimed that the sacrilegious house of Hohenstaufen had for ever forfeited all title to sovereignty, and he hastened to take possession of Sicily as a vacant fief of the Church. But *Conrad IV.* abandoned Germany to its own dissensions and conquered his Italian patrimony. Italy, however, was fatal to him, and at his early death (1254) he left nothing for his son Conradin but the remnant of his paternal inheritance in Suabia. The German crown was purchased by foreigners from the imperial princes, who were controlled by papal influence. The Two Sicilies were seized upon by *Manfred*, a natural son of Frederic, and in them he established a popular government, against which Innocent preached a crusade in vain. The popes,

c) The remark was first made by *Simon de Tournay*, 1201, & the treatise de tribus impostoribus (ed. pr. 589. 8.) belongs to the 16th cent. *Rosenkranz*, d. Zweifel am glauben. Kritik d. Serr. de trib. impost. Hal. u. L. 1830. De impostura rel. breve compend. s. L. de trib. impost. edit. with lit. Introd. by *Genthe*. Lps. 1833.

d) Vita Inn. by his Confessor, *Nic. de Curbio*. (*Murat.* vol. III. p. 592.) *Boehmer*, Reg. p. 312ss.

e) His Will *Muratori* Th. IX. p. 661s. *Boehmer*, p. 310.

perceiving that their power was insufficient to keep possession of the two Sicilies, sold their title, first to England and then to France. Finally *Charles* of *Anjou*, by the aid of Clement IV. (1265–68), became king of the Two Sicilies after the death of *Manfred* in the battle of Benevento (1266). But *Conradin* felt called upon by the spirits of his ancestors to leave the circle of his youthful associates in Suabia, and attempt the conquest of his patrimonial possessions beyond the Alps. He no sooner made his appearance there than he was hailed as a deliverer by all disaffected persons. But being defeated at the battle of Tagliacozzo, he was taken prisoner while flying from his pursuers, and having passed through the miserable farce of a legal trial, the last of the Hohenstaufens closed his life on the scaffold on the 29th October, 1268. The popes now had the satisfaction of having utterly destroyed the family of their most powerful enemy, and their triumph was purchased by the complete distraction of Germany, the dismemberment of Italy, and the ascendency of France.

§ 241. *St. Louis.* (1215.) 1226.—*Aug.* 25, 1270.

I. *Joinville*, (Seneschal to Louis) Hist. de S. Louis, p. *Ch. du Fresne*, Par. 1668. f. 1761. f. *Ludovici*, Vita et Conversatio per *Gaufredum de Belloloco*, Confessorem, et *Guil. Carnotensem*, Capellanum ejus. (*Du Chesne* vol. V. p. 444.) *Ludovici* Ep. de captione et liberatione sua. (*Ib.* p. 395ss.)

II. *Wilken*, 7th vol.: Die Kreuzzüge Lud. des Heil. u. der Verlust. des h. Landes. Lps. 1832.

Louis IX. was, in his pious conscientiousness, a sincere Christian; in his scrupulous austerities and saintly humility, a rigid monk; and in the energy and equity of his transactions, even with the hierarchy, a noble prince. On his recovery from a dangerous illness he assumed the vow of the cross, and maintained his resolution against all France with such success that by his policy and enthusiasm the whole nation was induced to co-operate in the sacred struggle. The Holy Land had been devastated by the incursions of the wild tribe of the Chowaresmians, and had once more fallen into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt (1247). Palestine could be conquered only in Egypt. Damietta was taken by Louis in the spring of the year 1249, but when the crusaders advanced into the interior of the country, between the dykes of the Nile which had been cut through, they were attacked by famine and pestilence. Louis was at last obliged to purchase a return to his own land with the wealth of his kingdom. But in the midst of his misfortunes he was still unsubdued in spirit and unseduced to evil. By the encouragement which he showed to the third estate, and by the record which he made of the established usages of the nation he gave a firm legal basis to the state, and by the *pragmatic sanction* (1269) gave stability to the national church.* In heart he was not unmindful of his vow, and even when advanced in age, with Christ's crown of thorns in his hand he called upon the nobility of France by their love and honor to prosecute the crusades. When the expedition accordingly set out, it was induced, by the hope either of an easier conquest or of the conversion of their enemies, or by the influence of Charles of An-

* *Leibnitii* Mantissa. P. I. p. 157. Comp. *Raumer*, vol. VI. p. 119s.

jou, to turn aside for the invasion of Tunis. The plan of establishing a French colony there was frustrated by the carelessness of the king, and the unfavorable character of the climate. Louis died of the plague before Tunis, and with him as with the Emperor Frederic, perished the work to which he had dedicated his life. Louis belonged rather to a former age, while Frederic labored for results which could be attained only in the distant future. Hence both of them seemed to toil in vain, but both were illustrious in their lives.

§ 242. *The Termination of the Crusades.*

The Latin empire in Constantinople continued still, but it was perpetually torn by internal divisions, and regarded by the people as a foreign yoke. Its capital therefore fell an easy prey even to the feeble arms of the Greeks under *Michael Palaeologus* (1261). Palestine and Syria, though frequently reconquered, were always again lost in consequence of the divisions in the Christian host. God seemed to have forsaken his own cause. (*a*) The romantic enthusiasm which had exhibited so many interesting forms had now given place to a more sober, but more selfish spirit, and Mount Calvaries were constructed nearer home. *Gregory X.* (1271–76) exerted all the influence which a pope possessed, to obtain possession of the East by a new crusade, and thus preserve it for Christianity, but his efforts were entirely vain. (*b*) Ptolemais (Acre), the last fortress of the crusaders, was stormed by the Egyptian host on the 18th May, 1291. (*c*) The only benefit which the crusades could accomplish was for the spiritual and commercial interests of the Western nations, and this office they had now fulfilled. (*d*)

§ 243. *Rudolph of Hapsburg.* 1273–91. *The Sicilian Vespers.*

The German throne had been for a long time vacant when the Count of Hapsburg became king by the choice of the more powerful princes of the empire. He now endeavored to obtain the papal acknowledgment, and took the oath which had been customary ever since the time of Otho IV., because Alphonso of Castile, a rival king, whom *Gregory X.* had persuaded to renounce all claims upon the crown, was yet living. With the moderation of a mind powerful in its proper sphere, Rudolph abandoned all the rights of the empire to its Italian dependencies, and confined his attention to the establishment of a legal government in Germany, and to the attainment of the power which his family needed for its maintenance. He therefore succeeded in living on terms of honorable peace with the pope, who needed a powerful support against the influence of France in Lower Italy, and he had opportunity to pave the way for the future independence of the empire. (*a*)

a) Comp. Sirventes des Templers in *Dietz*, Leben u. Werke d. Troubad. Zwick. 1829. p. 589.

b) *Humbertus de Romanis* (in the service of the pope,) de his, quae tractanda videbantur in Conc. gen. Lugd. (*Mansi* vol. XXIV. p. 109ss.)

c) *Marinus Sanutus.* Secretorum fidelium crucis l. III. P. XII. c. 21ss. (*Bongars* vol. II.) *Abulfeda* (himself present.) Annal. Moslem. vol. V. p. 95ss.

d) Heeren, Entwickl. d. Folgen d. Kreuzz. f. Europa. Gött. 1808. (Hist. W. vol. II.) *Regenbogen*, de fructibus quos humanitas, libertas, mercatura etc. perceperint e bello sacro. Amst. 1809.

a) Codex epistolaris Rud. I. ed. *Gerbert*, S. Blasii. 1772. f. aux. *Bodmann*, Lps 1806. *Boehmer*,

Clement IV. had reason to doubt the wisdom of his policy with respect to the Sicilies, for instead of deriving any pecuniary aid from Charles of Anjou, that prince was continually exacting money from him. (*b*) So intolerable were the oppressions of the French in Sicily that even Gregory X. predicted that a day of vengeance would soon arrive against his royal vassal. (*c*) But when *Martin IV.* (1281–85) a Frenchman, and subservient to French interests, was seated in the papal chair, (*d*) at the ringing of the vesper bells on the third day in Easter, 1282, an insurrection broke forth, and every Frenchman on the island was slain. Peter of Aragon, on account of his marriage with Constantia, the daughter of Manfred, was proclaimed King of Sicily, and was immediately excommunicated by the pope. Charles of Anjou retained possession only of Naples, and the popes lost all influence in Sicily until new relations were formed with France in the beginning of the next century, when a reconciliation was effected. (*e*)

§ 224. *The Hermit in the Papal Chair. July* 5.—*Dec.* 13, 1294.

Boehmer, Regest. p. 338. *Ptolemaei Luc.* (an eye-witness) H. ecc. XXIV, 29ss. Raynald. ad ann. 1294. *Jacobi Cardinalis* Carmen de vita, and de canonisatione Coel. (*Murat.* vol. III. P. I. p. 613ss. 655ss.) *Petrus de Alliaco*, Vita Coel. (Acta SS. Maj. vol. IV. p. 485.)—*Coelestini* Opp. (ascetic) ed. *Telera*, Neap. 1640. 4. (Bibl. PP. Lugd. vol. XXV.)

The French influence in Naples had gained over a party among the cardinals, which was opposed by another, embracing various shades of distinction, called the papal, the Italian, and the German. But when neither of these parties was found strong enough to elect one of its own number to the papal chair, at the suggestion of the name of *Peter de Murrhone*, a hermit and a popular saint, residing at Abruzzo, all agreed to bestow their votes on him, each party hoping to find in him an instrument for its own purposes. He assumed the name of *Celestine V.*, and never renounced his saintly poverty and his former simplicity of life. But with the exception of the King of Naples, to whose influence he surrendered himself, and whose favorites he appointed cardinals, all parties soon perceived his utter unfitness for the office of government. Hence, when he had confirmed the rigid regulations of Gregory X. with respect to the limitation and seclusion of the conclave, (*a*) he was induced by Cardinal *Cajetanus*, who acted in behalf of the older cardinals, although with the view of himself becoming pope, voluntarily to resign his office. Instead of the solitude of the mountain for which he had longed, his successor consigned him to the solitude of a prison, in which he died (1296). By his third successor he had assigned to him (1313) a place among the saints, and by Dante a place in hell. (*b*)

Reg. p. 51ss. *Pertz* vol. IV. p. 382ss.—*Le Bret*, de prud. Rud. in rebus cum Curia peractis. Tub. 1783. 4.

b) *Martene*, Thes. nov. vol. II. p. 174. 179. *c*) *Saba Malaspina* VI. 4. *d*) *Boehmer*, Reg. 335ss.

e) *Mich. Amari*, la guerra del Vespro Siciliano. Palermo. 1842. ed. 4. Fir. 1851.

a) Proclaimed at Lyons, 1274. *Mansi* vol. XXIV. p. 81ss. *b*) Inferno III, 58ss.

§ 245. *Boniface VIII.* *Dec.* 24, 1294.—*Oct.* 11, 1303.

Ptol. Luc. H. ecc. XXIV, 36. (Comp. Cod. Patav. in *Murat.* vol. XI. p. 1218ss.) For Hist. & orig. documents, (*P. du Puy*) Hist. du différend entre le Pape Boniface et Phil. le Bel. Par. 1655. f. *Baillet*, Hist. des démêlez du P. Bonif. avec Phil. ed. 2. Par. 1718. 12.—*Rubeus*, Bonif. et familia Cajetanorum. Rom. 1651. *Tosti*, Storia di Bon. VIII. e de' suoi tempi. Rom. 1846.— *W. Drumann*, Gesch. Bon. d. VIII. Königsb. 1852. 2 Th.

Cajetanus of Anagni, a jurist and a priest, who had grown old while employed in the affairs of the Roman court, ascended the papal chair under the name of *Boniface VIII.* This distinction he attained through the recommendation of his enemy the King of Naples. Actuated by a frantic hatred to the Ghibelline party he sent into banishment the powerful family of the Colonna who now declared Celestine's resignation invalid, and drove the plough over Palestrina the town in which they resided. He reproved *Philip* of France for having seized upon the property of the Church, and for an adulteration of the coin, and according to a right then conceded to the hierarchy, he proposed to act as a mediator (1295) in the sanguinary war between that prince and Edward I. of England. Philip the Fair forbade his interference, and when Boniface forbade all taxation of Church property, (*a*) the king prohibited any exportation of the precious metals. That he might not lose all his revenues from France, and as he was already forsaken by a portion of the French clergy, the pope sought to become reconciled to Philip by giving the mildest construction to his own prohibition. Both kings now consented that he should decide their difficulties, not, however, as the pope, but as one selected by the parties for that special purpose. No sooner, however, was his decision made known in a Bull (June 30, 1298), than Philip refused to comply with its requisitions, because it did not properly respect the right of prior possession against that of recent conquest. Reproaches of royal oppression, and papal treachery to the Church, were exchanged between them, and the legate in France, as a French bishop, was thrown into prison for high treason. Angry edicts were proclaimed by Boniface on the 5th of December, 1301, summoning the French prelates to Rome for the purpose of reforming the king and the empire. The king, whose ordinary government was eminently despotic, now appealed to his people, and convened a general Diet of his kingdom. The three estates were unanimous in maintaining the independence of the French kingdom (1302). An extract from the papal decrees which had been so falsified as to make it in the highest degree offensive to the royal feelings, declared every one a *heretic* who did not believe that the king in temporal as well as in spiritual matters was subject to the pope. To this the king replied by declaring every one a *fool* who did not believe that the King of France was in temporal things subject to no one. (*b*) Boniface now commenced a contest with the whole French nation, and although he denied that he had ever claimed France as a papal fief, he nevertheless maintained that every creature, under peril of his final perdition, was

a) Clericis laicos: *Sext. Decretal.* lib. 3. tit. 23. c. 3.

b) The genuine: Ausculta fili. The spurious: Deum time. *Baillet*, p. 103, 111s. *Drumann*, vol. II. p. 19.

bound to obey the Roman bishop. (*c*) He then proceeded to excommunicate the king, who appealed once more to a general Diet of his empire (June, 1303). Before that body he had the pope accused of the most monstrous crimes, and demanded that a general council should be summoned to adjudicate upon them. The pope pronounced an interdict upon the whole of France, abrogated the privileges of the universities, and bestowed the French crown upon the Emperor of Germany. Philip's chancellor, *William of Nogaret*, and *Sciarra Colonna*, the expelled cardinal, surprised and imprisoned the pope (Sept. 7) in his own city of Anagni. In the hands of his enemies he now resolved to die like Him, whose earthly vicar he professed to be. After a confinement of three days he was liberated by his own countrymen, but grief for the dishonor he had suffered had broken his heart. It is possible that Boniface thought more of himself and of his treasures than of the general welfare, but he was impelled forward by his idea of the pontificate, his conduct was in the very spirit of Gregory, he only mistook in some cases the proper hour for action, and in general had not observed the great changes which had taken place since the time of his predecessor. Subsequent ages have held him responsible for his misfortunes. But kings had learned the secret of repelling papal assumptions, the universal dominion of the hierarchy had been broken, and public opinion, expressed in powerful tones, had pronounced its disapproval of all attempts to blend the spiritual with the secular authority. (*d*)

§ 246. *Commencement of the Babylonian Exile.*

Although *Benedict XI.* (Oct. 22, 1303—June 7, 1304), was a steadfast friend of his predecessor, he was compelled to yield to adverse circumstances. Accordingly he availed himself of an honorable embassy from Philip to obtain a reconciliation with that monarch, in which all decrees against France were revoked, so far as appeared consistent with the honor of the papacy. (*a*) When the conclave was assembled for the election of his successor, it was found that the party of Boniface was a complete match for that of France, but the superior policy of the latter prevailed, and Bertrand d'Agoust, Archbishop of Bordeaux, a creature of Boniface, but secretly pledged to act with the French party, was unanimously elected. (*b*) *Clement V.* (June 5, 1305—April 20, 1314) never crossed the Alps, but in the year 1309 fixed upon Avignon as his residence. By the appointment of numerous French cardinals he secured the election of a successor of the same political character with himself. These were generally French court bishops who directed the usurpations of the hierarchy only against other nations. Although Clement subjected the French Church to the payment of tithes to the king, repealed some parts of Boniface's bulls, and made others inapplicable to France, avoided with difficulty a formal condemnation of Boniface himself, and ven-

c) Unam sanctam: *Extrav. comm.* lib. I. tit. 8. c. 1. *Drumann*, vol. II. p. 57ss.

d) *Dante*, Purgator. XVI, 97ss. XXVII, 70ss. *Aegidius de Columna*, (Archbish. of Bourges, d. 1316) de potestate regia et pontificia. (*Goldasti* Monarchia S. R. Imp. Fref. 1614. f. vol. II. p. 96.) *Joannes de Parrhisiis*, (Dominic, d. 1304.) Tr. de pot. regia et papali. (*Ib.* p. 108.)

a) *Raynald* ad. ann. 1304. *Du Puy*, p. 207ss. *b*) *Villani*, VIII, 80.

tured only in secret to recall a compulsory public recommendation of the French prince for election to the imperial dignity, he hurled the most terrible anathemas (1309) against the republic of *Venice* for its attempt to gain forcible possession of Ferrara, and when Henry VII. of Luxemburg went on a military expedition to Rome he renewed all the exorbitant demands of his predecessors. Henry died in the midst of his victories (1313), and it was then proclaimed in the papal bulls that the pope was the emperor's lord paramount, and consequently that when the imperial throne was vacant the pope was the imperial regent in Italy. (*c*)

§ 247. *Louis of Bavaria.* 1314–47. *Joanna of Naples.*

I. Orig. Docc. in *Olenschlager*, Staats-gesch. des röm. Kaiserth. 1. Halfte des 14 Jhh. Frkf. 1755. 4. *Boehmer*, Regesta Imp. 1314-47. Frkf. 1839. 4. & Additam I. Frkf. 1841. 4. Vita Lud. IV. *Albert. Mussati* Lud. Bavarus. *Jo. Victoriensis* and others in Buchner, Fontes rer. Germ. vol. I. *Herwart ab Hohenburg*, Lud. IV. defensus. Mon. 1618. 3 vols. 4. *Gewold*, Defensio Lud. IV. Ingolst. 1618. 4.—*Mannert*, Ludw. IV. Landsh. 1812. *Schlett*, Biogr. v. K. Ludw. Sulz. 1822.

After a long and violent assembly of the French and Italian cardinals, *John XXII.* was presented to the people as their pope (1316–34). While yet in Lyons he gave his oath to the Italians that he would never mount a beast except on his journey to Rome, and accordingly embarked by ship for Avignon, and never left his palace there. In Germany, *Louis* of Bavaria and *Frederic* of Austria were contending for the imperial crown, and at that time it appeared to be the interest of France to allow the power of the empire to expend itself in these civil dissensions. Hence, when Louis had made his opponent a prisoner (1322), and in opposition to the summons that he should submit to the decision of the pope, pleaded that his title to the crown was already complete by the choice of the princes of the empire, John simply replied by a ban of excommunication and an interdict (1324). But even the papal sanction of a breach of faith was ineffectual to make it tolerable to the loyal spirit of the Germans. Louis came to an agreement with his opponent, and after a formal appeal to a general council caused himself to be crowned emperor at Rome, and a pious mendicant monk to be placed in the papal chair (1328). No sooner, however, was his army withdrawn from Italy than his power in that country ceased, the pope whom he had set up was sent to Avignon, and a papal decree announced that Italy was for ever separated from Germany. On the one side of the Alps the emperor's, and on the other side the pope's extreme pretensions to a universal dominion were advocated by influential writers. (*a*) By his passionate interference in all kinds of theological controversy John XXII. gave occasion for the imputation that he was himself infected with heresy. (*b*) In his proud theocratic pretensions the Germans could perceive nothing higher than the instigations of France. The interdict, however, though but partially carried into effect, was not without

c) *F. W. Ew. Roehl*, Römerzug Heinr. v. Lützelburg. Königsb. 1830. 2 vols.

a) On the imperial side: *Marsilius* of *Padua* and *John* of *Jandun* in their principal joint production, about 1328, Defensor pacis. (*Goldasti* Monarchia, vol. II. p. 154.) On the papal side: *Augustinus Triumphus*, Summa de potest. eccl. ad. Jo. Aug. Vind. 1473. and often. *Alvarus Pelagius*, de planctu ecclesiae. l. II. Ulm. 1474. Ven. 1560. f.

b) *Guil. Occam*, Comp. errorum Joannis P. (*Goldasti* l. c. vol. II. p. 957.)

its influence in disturbing the popular tranquillity. A reconciliation with the Church was sought for by Louis, and although it was desired by *Benedict XII.* (1334–42) no less than by the emperor, it was prevented by French influence. This dependence of the popes induced the imperial princes to form the First Electoral Alliance at *Rense* (July 16, 1338), and Louis announced that the imperial dignity came directly from God alone. (*c*) But as the emperor had done violence to the feelings of his people, sometimes by arbitrary invasions of the prerogatives of the Church, and sometimes by pusillanimous concessions, *Clement VI.* (1342–52) succeeded in obtaining five electoral votes in favor of *Charles IV.* the son of the King of Bohemia (1346). But this parson-king was obliged immediately to take refuge in France, and did not reach the ignominy of a new election and coronation until after the death of Louis, and at the expense of the most ruinous sacrifices (1349). In Naples the Hungarian prince, Andreas, the husband of the young royal heiress, *Joanna*, was murdered (1345). His widow, who was soon after married to her cousin, the Prince of Tarento, was compelled to fly before the vengeance of the Hungarians to Avignon. Clement VI., her liege lord and her judge in the place of God, solemnly pronounced the beautiful queen innocent of the murder of her husband, and confirmed her recent marriage. She, on the other hand, that she might obtain funds to carry on a war with the Hungarians, sold Avignon to the papal see (1348), and after various vicissitudes of war, obtained permanent possession of her patrimonial estates through the mediation of the pope.

§ 248. *Close of the Babylonian Exile.*

In consequence of the absence of the pope and the weakness of the emperor, in Italy, every city there made efforts to attain independence, and whenever this was secured, innumerable factions and tyrants commenced a struggle with each other. The result was that all considerate persons began to long for some powerful head who could rule over the whole. These desires, however, were not satisfied by *Charles IV.*, whose expedition to Rome (1354) was welcomed with great enthusiasm by the people, for the only object of that monarch was to obtain the pageant of a coronation. *Innocent VI.* (1352–62), a prince well versed in legal science and of strict integrity, recognized the necessity of a reformation, and he even entered upon it himself by reducing the splendor of his court, and attempting to appropriate to the actual service of the Church the treasures accumulated from various benefices. The estates of the Church had been divided into many independent cities and principalities, or had been taken possession of by neighboring governments. In vain the popes resorted to terrible excommunications to frighten these ecclesiastical robbers; the papal government was not restored until *Albornoz*, the cardinal legate (1353–67), succeeded in raising a bold crusade on a small scale, and brought into action all the arts of a skilful diplomacy. The Romans had been for a brief period intoxicated with the idea of freedom and universal dominion, excited by their tribune *Cola di Rienzo*,* but

c) *Olenschlager*, N. 63. *Boehmer*, Reg. p. 120.

* *F. Papencordt*, Cola di Rienzo u. s. Zeit. Hamb. 1841.

when they saw the eternal city becoming almost desolate in consequence of the absence of the pope, all, especially those to whom the higher object of the papacy was dear, became anxious for his return. *Urban V.* (1362–70), in opposition to the wishes of his cardinals and the king of France, at last returned to Rome (1367). He was soon, however, compelled to return to Avignon by the unsettled condition of affairs in Italy. *Gregory XI.* (1370–78) once more yielded to the solicitations of his Italian subjects, and was carried back by the Romans in triumph (1377). Yet the cities of the Ecclesiastical States were not unmindful of their independence, for they were careful to intimate that all regard for religion must be laid aside when it becomes hostile to freedom, and that nothing but death could render the residence of the pope in Italy absolutely certain.

§ 249. *The Schism.*

I. Orig. Docc. in *Raynald.* *Baluz.* and in *Balaei* Hist. Univ. Paris. vol. IV. *Theodoricus de Niem*, de schismate inter Papas et Antipapas (till 1410.) l. III. et nemus unionis. Bas. 1560. f. Arg. 1609.

II. *Du Puy*, Hist. du schisme 1378-1428. Par. 1654. and often. *Maimbourg*, Hist. du grand schisme d'occident. Par. 1678. Uebers. 1792.

The election of an Italian pope was at last obtained by the persevering obstinacy of the Roman people. The Archbishop of Bari, *Urban VI.* (1378–89), a Neapolitan, was favorably inclined toward the people, though toward the cardinals, whose opposition to himself he well knew, he evinced the natural severity of his character. The twelve cardinals from beyond the Alps therefore fled to Anagni, hired a band of condottieri, declared the election of Urban invalid because under constraint, drew three Italian cardinals by artful promises into their conclave at Fondi, and chose Cardinal Robert of Geneva for their pope, under the name of *Clement VII.* (1378–94). He took up his residence at Avignon, and through the influence of France he was gradually acknowledged in the Spanish peninsula, in Scotland, Savoy and Lorraine, and was regarded as the proper successor of the French popes. In opposition to *Joanna* of Naples, who had likewise declared in favor of Clement, Urban stirred up Charles of Durazzo, the heir-apparent to her throne, and recalled the memory of her deed of blood. The queen then adopted the French prince Louis of Anjou, whom Clement invested with the kingdom of Naples, and sustained in the expenses of his war. Charles having seized upon the person of Joanna, had her put to death in prison, and maintained possession of Naples. But Urban soon after became displeased with him because he refused to bestow Capua on a nephew of the pope, in consideration of the assistance he had received, excommunicated him, was besieged by him in Nocera, and was finally compelled to take refuge in Genoa. In his flight through the midst of his enemies he had five cardinals bound and conveyed with him to Genoa, where they were put to death. Both popes were surrounded by a train of cardinals, so that the decease of both would have no effect in diminishing the schism. To sustain the expenses of the war between two popes and of two distinct papal courts, it was necessary to devise new methods of extortion by which every thing on earth and in heaven was put up for sale. Each pope was under the other's ban, the people were

necessarily the only arbitrators of this controversy, and the organs of the popular will were those who represented the interests of science. The first actual movement for the attainment of peace was made by the University of *Paris*. The only practicable method by which this strife could be composed seemed to be the simultaneous abdication of both competitors. Peter de Luna, under the name of *Benedict XIII.*, was then reigning (after 1394) in Avignon, and Angelo Corrario, under that of *Gregory XII.*, in Rome (after 1406). On their election both had promised to make the sacrifice which the interests of the Church required, but both, on various pretexts, refused to abide by their engagements. Benedict was then abandoned by the French, and fled into Spain. Both popes were finally forsaken by their cardinals, who, appealing to Christ himself, a general council and a future pope, assembled at Leghorn (1408).

§ 250. *The Council of Pisa. March 25–Aug. 7, 1409.*

I. Acts of Council, in *Mansi* vol. XXVIs. *Theod. de Niem*, de schism. III, 38ss. [*Landon*, pp. 488–492.]

II. *Lenfant*, Hist. du Conc. de Pise. Amst. 1724. 1727. 2 vols. 4. *J. H. v. Wessenberg*, die grossen KVersamml. des 15. u. 16. Jahrh. (Const. 1840. 4 vols.) vol. II. p. 48ss. Comp. *Hefele*, krit. Beleucht. Tüb. 1841.

There appeared to be no way in which this struggle between the rival claimants of the papal dignity could be legally terminated, but by the representatives of the whole Church, in whom the highest degree of power could be combined. The cardinals now laid aside their divisions, and by the advice of the Universities, convoked a general Council at *Pisa*. The priesthood was represented by twenty-four cardinals and two hundred bishops, present either in person or by proctors; the monastic orders by three hundred abbots; scientific bodies by deputies from the universities, one hundred and twenty masters in theology, and three hundred graduates of the Roman and canonical law; and the state especially by the envoys of France and England. In opposition to the protests of the two popes, Rupert, Emperor of Germany, and Ladislaus, King of Naples, the council confirmed the principle* defended by *Gerson*, Chancellor of Paris, affirming that the power with which Christ invested the Church was independent of the pope. Both Benedict and Gregory were then summoned before the council, and after a formal trial were deposed for contumacy and the violation of their engagements. The representatives of the Church, however, well knew that they could hope for no influence or success unless they removed the innumerable abuses then prevalent. The cardinals therefore bound themselves by an oath, that whoever should be elected from their number, should never dissolve the council until it had completed the work of reformation in the head and members of the Church. Peter of Candia, an aged and quiet man who afterwards bore the name of *Alexander V.*, was made choice of, and that he might make those preparations which he alleged to be necessary, he immediately postponed the work of reformation to a council which he promised to convene in three years from that date. By his unrestrained liberality the

* Tr. de unitate Ecc. and Libellus de auferibilitate papae ab Ecc. (Opp. vol. II. P. I.)

resources of the Church were in a short time squandered. Benedict still maintained his claims in Spain and Scotland, and Gregory was acknowledged by Rupert and Ladislaus. Christendom beheld with amazement three popes within its bounds, and all its abuses continued without restraint.

§ 251. *The Council of Constance. Nov.* 5, 1414–*April* 22, 1418.

I. Respecting John XXIII., after Platina his secretary, consult *Theod. de Niem*, Vita Jo. (*Hardt*, Conc. Const. vol. II. P. XV. p. 335.) Invectiva in diffugientem a Const. Conc. Jo. (*Ib.* P. XIV. p. 296.) and *L. Aretinus*, Commentar. (*Murat.* vol. XIX. p. 927ss.)—Magnum oecum. Constantiense Conc. ed. *Herm. von der Hardt*, Frcf. et Lps. 697ss. 7 vols. f. *Theod. Vrie*, an Augustinian of Osnabruck, de consolatione Ecc. (also Hist. du Conc. Const. in *Hardt*, vol. I. p. 1.)

II. *Lenfant*, Hist. du Conc. de Const. Amst. (1714.) 1727. 2 vols. 4. *Bourgeois du Chastenet*, nouvelle Hist. du Conc. de Const. Par. 1718. 4. *Royko*, Gesch. d. KVers. zu Kostnitz. Vien. & Prague. 1782ss. 4 vols. (1st & 2d vols. 2d ed. 1796.) *Aschbach*, Leben K. Sigism. (according to Windeck.) Frkf. (1838ss.) vol. II. *Wessenberg* vol. II. p. 69ss. [Landon, pp. 150–162. *L. Bonnechose*. (§ 300.) on Gerson, John Huss, and the Council of Constance, republ. in 1853. Par.]

Cossa, the cardinal legate, who displayed great talents in the management of secular affairs, but was totally destitute of all spiritual character, had Alexander V. brought to Bologna, that he might close his days in that city (1410). Having expelled the Visconti from Bologna, Cossa ruled without restraint as the tyrant of that city, and the cardinals were obliged to make choice of him as the successor in the papal chair. He assumed the name of *John XXIII.*, and was soon driven from the Ecclesiastical States in a war with Ladislaus. The emperor *Sigismund* refused to afford him any assistance unless he would appoint some place beyond the Alps in which a council should be assembled for the removal of the schism, and the accomplishment of the ecclesiastical reformation demanded by the people. The place agreed upon by the pope and the emperor was Constance, and the council was summoned to convene on the first of November. Full of anxiety and perplexed with conflicting views, John XXIII. repaired to Constance on the 29th Oct., 1414. Besides the representatives of the clergy, a great multitude of secular lords came together there, presenting an array of all the glory of Europe. At the head of the civil powers stood the emperor with the sincere intention of effecting the reformation of the Church. *Gerson* and the Cardinal *Peter d'Ailly* were the principal leaders of the reforming party. Their superior power in the assembly was evinced and increased by the arrangement that the voting should take place by nations. This rule was adopted on account of the numerical majority of Italian prelates, and even in the preliminary meetings business had been transacted in separate sections under the name of the German, the Italian, the French, the English, and, after the abandonment of Benedict, the Spanish nations. (*a*) The cardinals constituted a college by themselves, with no defined prerogatives. Within their respective nations, the prelates, it is true, maintained that their votes were decisive of all questions which came before them, but they were generally swayed by the influence of the princes and doctors. There were only a few public sessions in which all these nations were united in one body, and even in these there were seldom any debates, but simply solemn communications and pro-

a) *Hardt*, vol. II. p. 224ss.

clamations of decisions elsewhere formed. The majority finally announced, that in their opinion the schism could never be effectually healed but by the simultaneous abdication of each of the three popes, and the general voice became more and more decided in its demands for the impeachment of John XXIII., on account of his dissolute course of life. John then appeared willing to resign the tiara, but soon after, in spite of his oath to the contrary, with the aid of Frederic of Austria, he made his escape (March 20, 1415) to Schaffhausen. He afterwards removed still farther down the Rhine, and revoked all his promises on the ground that they were given under constraint. After a brief suspense the council declared itself independent of all popes, and superior to them. (*b*) The trial of John XXIII. was regularly carried forward, he was proved guilty of a long catalogue of crimes, suspended from his dignities, after the submission of Austria imprisoned, and on the 29th of May finally deposed. Gregory also resigned, but on honorable terms (d. 1417). After long and fruitless negotiations, Benedict was generally deserted by his friends, and deposed by the council as a heretic with respect to the article asserting that there is only one Catholic Church (July 26, 1417). With as much expedition as possible a new papal election was now held. In vain did the German nation urge that the reformation of the head and members of the Church should first be completed; they were overruled by those who dreaded the predominance of an ultra-liberal party, if the Church should continue without a head. Six deputies from each nation were added to the twenty-three cardinals in the conclave, and on Nov. 11, Otho Colonna was elected pope, under the name of *Martin V.* He had previously been regarded as a courteous, skilful, and moderate man, and he now knew well how to thwart the general demands for a reformation by separate treaties, conceding some privileges as to ecclesiastical offices to particular nations, and some claims of the papal chancery. The patience of the council was completely exhausted. With great pomp, on the 16th May, 1418, the pope took his departure, and the baffled hopes of such as longed for reformation were now turned to a future general council promised in five years from that time.

§ 252. *Martin V. Nov.* 11, 1417–*Feb.* 20, 1431.

The Concordat which *Martin* proposed to the French nation was rejected by the Parliament (1418), and all remittances of money to Rome for criminal trials and ecclesiastical benefices were once more forbidden. But in spite of the protests of the Parliament, the king was induced by court intrigues to effect an acceptance and a partial introduction of the Concordat (1424). The activity and caution of the pope was also sometimes successful in renewing all the ecclesiastical claims and pecuniary extortions which had formerly prevailed. Cossa, who had beguiled his imprisonment in Heidelberg by writing verses on the fickleness of fortune, met his successor at Florence, sued for clemency, and obtained peace and honor for the remainder of his life. In consequence of a misunderstanding between Martin and the King

b) *Hardt*, vol. II. p. 265ss. 985s.

of Aragon, Peter of Luna appeared once more on the public stage (d. 1424), and it was not until his second successor that this papacy at Peniscola was brought to an end. Martin was obliged to tarry for a long time among the proud merchants of Florence, before he could obtain possession of the cities of the Ecclesiastical States from the hands of freemen, and from tyrants. He finally became master of Rome (Sept. 20, 1420), and re-established the government and the churches which had so long been suffered to decay. The synods he convened at Pavia and Siena found a reasonable excuse in the small number of prelates assembled to postpone the reformation to a still later period. But public sentiment was so powerful, and the necessity of some assistance against the Hussites had become so urgent, that he was finally compelled to summon the promised general council at the imperial city of Basle, in March, 1431.

§ 253. *The Council of Basle.* 1431–1443. (1449.)

I. Acts of Council in *Mansi* vol. XXIX.–XXXI. and *Würdtwein*, Subsidia diplom. Heidelb. 1774s. vol. VIII. IX. [*Landon's* Manual of Councils, p. 56–74.] *Aeneae Sylv.* Commtr. de gestis Bas. Conc. (1439.) l. II. (*Orthuini Gratii* Fascic. rerum expetend. ac fugiend. Col. 1535. f.) and often. (Comp. *Hase* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1843. H. 3.) *Augustini Patricii* Summa Concilior. Basil., Florentini, etc. (*Harzhem.* Conc. germ. vol. V. p. 774.) Vita Eugenii. (*Baluz.* Miscell. l. VII.)

II. *Richerii* Hist. Conc. gen. Col. 1681. 4. l. III. p. 20ss. *Wessenberg*, vol. II. p. 271ss.

Eugenius VI. (1431–47), in compliance with a promise made at his election, confirmed the call which his predecessor had issued for a general ecclesiastical council. This assembly gradually convened in Basle, and immediately announced that the extermination of heretics and the purification of the Lord's vineyard, which in the call had been proposed as the object of the council, had reference to the reconciliation of the Hussites and the removal of abuses from the Church. This announcement was scarcely made before the pope perceived the designs of the council, and began to dread the influence of its independent spirit among a free people, and on the confines of three great nations. He therefore hastened to give directions that it should adjourn to meet in his own city of Bologna. In this, however, he was opposed with the earnest remonstrances of his own legate, the Cardinal *Julian*. (*a*) The council solemnly re-affirmed the decrees of its predecessor at Constance respecting the independence and supremacy of a general council of the Church while engaged in matters of faith, schism, and reformation. The pope himself was cited before it to answer for his conduct. Pressed as he then was by disturbances among the Roman people, Eugenius sought to become reconciled with the synod, and after acknowledging its independence, his legates were allowed to preside over it (April 26, 1434). (*b*) The assembly having been increased by the presence of many deputies of chapters and persons belonging to the lower clergy, now proceeded to set forth a strict order of business. To prepare all its decrees, it resolved itself into four deputations, each of which was composed of persons from all the Ecclesias-

a) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1431. N. 22. Given in full in the Fascic. rer. expetend. et fugiend. Col. 1535. f. 27ss.

b) *Mansi* vol. XXIX. p. 90. comp. 409. [*Waddington* Ecc. Hist. Chap. XXIV.]

tical states. (*c*) Every thing which could be censured as an abuse in the Church by the clergy and prelates was brought forward. The papal court was in many respects reduced, significant references were made to the customs of the primitive Church, the revenues of the pope from countries beyond the Alps, and his power of bestowing benefices there, were considerably reduced, the illegal transfer of ecclesiastical trials to Rome was forbidden, the pope was solemnly admonished for his disregard of these decrees, and in a great variety of ways even the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was interfered with. When Eugenius heard of this, he adjourned the council after its twenty-sixth session to Ferrara (Sept. 18, 1437), and subsequently to *Florence*. At the council which he convened at the latter place he excommunicated the rebellious assembly at Basle. But this latter body instituted legal proceedings against him, the issue of which was that Eugenius was deposed (June 25, 1439) for simony, heresy, and disturbance of the public peace. But the greater part of the prelates had by this time either withdrawn, or had gone over to the council at Florence. *Allemand*, Archbishop of Arles, a man of eminent piety but devoted to the principles of liberty, being the only cardinal now left, presided over the assembly, and the places of the bishops were occupied by doctors and the pastors of churches. That they might have a powerful protector near, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who after a long and glorious reign had transferred his territories to his son, and was then peaceably living as a pious hermit by the lake of Geneva, was elected pope by a committee appointed for that purpose by the council (Oct. 30, 1439). He assumed the name of *Felix V.*, but his authority was acknowledged only by his former subjects, the Kings of Aragon and Hungary, a few German princes, the Swiss confederacy, and the greater part of the universities. But the voice of the people, which had hitherto been the principal support of the council, disapproved of the rashness of a proceeding which had no means provided for its support, and threatened the Church with a new schism. The council was now placed in the position of a violent faction, compelled to make concessions inconsistent with its principles to increase or confirm its party. (*d*) The imperial states observed a careful neutrality between the pope and the council, but at a Diet convened at *Mentz* (March 26, 1439), they accepted the decrees of reformation which had been passed at Basle. Yet when *Frederic III.* of Austria, a well-disposed man, but possessed of neither inclination nor ability to carry forward the principles of liberty, or any thing else of an elevated character, was raised to the imperial throne, and *Aeneas Sylvius* of Piccolomini, the shrewd and enthusiastic secretary and historian of the council, found it for his interest to enter first into the service of the emperor, and then of the pope, Eugenius was induced, in consideration of his recognition as pope, to withdraw his decree of deposition against the Electors of Treves and Cologne, and conditionally to concede that the decrees of the Council of Basle might be enforced in Germany (Feb. 5, 7, 1447). (*e*) But the same Aeneas Sylvius who had obtained these

c) *Mansi* vol. XXIX. p. 377.
d) *Mansi* vol. XXXI. p. 202.
e) Concordata Principum. Decrees at Mentz, in *Horix*, Concordata Nat. Germ. Frcf. et Lps. ed.

concessions, subsequently induced Nicholas V., by a separate agreement with the emperor at Vienna (Feb. 17, 1448), craftily to steal away from the German Church nearly all the privileges thus secured. This agreement finally became possessed of imperial authority by distinct contracts with individual princes and bishops, under the name of the *Concordat of Aschaffenburg*. (*f*) On the other hand, France had on the whole faithfully adhered to Eugenius, but in the Pragmatic Sanction passed at *Bourges* (1438), it had received the decrees of Basle as far as they were subservient to the independence of the Gallican Church. (*g*) This ecclesiastical assembly at Basle having been gradually abandoned by the Church, by its own pope, and finally by its own members, closed its sessions after 1443 without a formal adjournment. Felix resigned his precarious dignities (1449), in an honorable compact with Nicholas.

§ 254. *The Popes until the End of the Fifteenth Century.*

Platina, from Sixtus IV. till Pius V., continued generally according to good authorities by the Augustinian *Onofrio Panvini* (d. 1568.) Ven. 1562. 4. and often, especially Ven. 1703. *Stephanus Infessura*, Chancellor of the city of Rome about 1494, Diarium Romanae Urbis 1294–1494. (*Eccard* vol. II. p. 1863. *Muratori*, with omissions. vol. III. P. II. p. 1109.)

Nicholas V. (1447–55, Thomas of Sarzana), notwithstanding his hasty temper, by the mildness and equity of his government restored once more the glory of the papacy. Himself a man of extensive erudition, he was always liberal to literary men, and to the poor. His last years were embittered by his grief respecting Constantinople. (*a*) *Calixtus III.* (1455–58, Borgia) armed on his own account a victorious army against the Turks, and spared no pains to secure the throne of Naples to his nepotes. (*b*) *Aeneas Sylvius* was in natural talents and in learning among the very first men of his age, and at the expense of his character succeeded in attaining the object of his ambition. Under the name of *Pius II.* (1458–64) he vainly endeavored to cast obloquy on the liberal tendencies and efforts of his earlier years, to wrest the Pragmatic Sanction from the hands of the French, and to place himself when old and sick at the head of a crusade against the Turks. He was not a general apostate from his principles; his youthful sins were committed in his youthful dreams, but his whole career as a Roman pontiff has left us no trace of its influence. (*c*) *Paul II.* (1464–71, Barbo), though an

2. 1772s. vol. I. The four bulls of Eugenius are in *C. W. Koch*, Sanctio pragm. Germ. ill. Argent. 1789. 4. Syll. docum. p. 183ss. Comp. *Raynald.* ad ann. 1447. N. 7.

f) All the Archives of the Diet of Mentz are in *Würdtwein*, Subsid. diplom. vol. IX. N. 9. p. 78ss. All the Archives of the Diet of Vienna are in *Koch*, l. c. p. 201ss. On the question whether the decrees of Basle were abrogated with respect to Germany, see *Spittler*, Gesch. d. Fundamentalges. d. deutschkath. K. (Gött. hist. Mag. vol. I. pt. 2s. vol. IV. pt. 1.) On the other side, see *Koch*, p. 386ss. Ueber d. Fundamentalges. d. deutschkath. K. Frkf. u. Lps. 1790.

g) Hist. de la pragm. sanction. (Traitez de droits et libertez de l'Egl. Gall. Par. 1731. f. As an appendix to the 1st vol. of *P. Pithou* or *Du Puis*.)

a) I. Vita Nic. by his Secretary, *Gianezzo Manetti* (*Muratori* vol. III. P. II. p. 905.)—II. *Dom. Georgii* Vita Nic. Rom. 1742. 4. *Jagemann*, Gesch. d. fr. Künste u. Wiss. in Ital. vol. III. P. 3.

b) *Muratori* vol. III. P. II. p. 961ss.

c) I. Opp. (hist., geogr., rhet.) Bas. 1551. f. and often. Epp. Nor. 1481. and often. Oratt. ed. *Mansi*, Luc. 1755. 4. His life by his admirers, *Platina*, *Campani* (*Murat.* vol. III. P. II. p. 967.) and by himself in the name of his Secretary, *Gobellini* Commentr. rerum. memor. quae temp. Pii

enemy to all the partisans and policy of his predecessor, did not disturb the tranquillity of Italy. He was avaricious, but it was that he might spend what he amassed in pomp and prodigality, a persecutor of science on account of what he regarded as its heathenish tendencies, tender-hearted and easily moved to tears, a fortunate rather than a holy father, and one who regarded his own arbitrary purposes as his supreme law. (*d*) *Sixtus IV.* (1471–84, della Rovera), a learned Franciscan general, who had been implicated in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, ventured to issue sentence of banishment against Lorenzo Medici for escaping the daggers of the conspirators. His interdicts were disregarded by the Florentines and Venetians. Rome was much embellished by him, but the Church was sold and Italy filled with blood that he might acquire principalities for his nepotes or sons. (*e*) *Innocent VIII.* (1484–92, Cybo) commenced his reign with the violation of the stipulations he had made at his election. To obtain the rents which he claimed from Naples, then in league with his seditious barons, he prosecuted against it a disgraceful war, which both parties were finally willing to conclude with an honorable peace, from a common fear of the French. In the very act of calling upon Christendom to embark in a war with its hereditary enemies, he sold himself to the Sultan Bajazet to become a jailer for that monarch. While Rome was distracted by the factious struggles of the Colonna and the Orsini, he acquired for disgraceful crimes the ambiguous title of father of his country. (*f*)

§ 255. *Alexander VI. Aug.* 2, 1492–*Aug.* 18, 1503.

I. *Burchardi* Diarium Curiae Rom. 1484–1506. (Specimen Hist. Arcanae de Vita Alex. ed. *Leibnit.* Han. 1696. 4. more fully in *Eccard* vol. II. p. 2017. Comp. *Paulus*, Sophronizon. vol. IV. H. 1. vol. VIII. H. 6.) Infessura. (p. 281.) In the higher sense of history, *Guicciardini*, l. I.–VI.

II. Mr. D. B. (Dubos?) la vie d'Alex. Append. to the Hist. du. droit publ. eccl. franc. Lond. 1737. *Tommasi*, la vita di Cesare Borgia. Montechiaro. 1670. 4. published in French as anonymous Memoirs. Amst. 1739. 2 vols. 12. Brl. 1782. *Gordon*, la vie du P. Alex. et César B. trad. de l'Anglois. Amst. 1732. 2 vols. 12. Epigr. in *Flacius*, l. c. p. 403.

Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia) made use of the whole power with which the Church supplied him to establish an independent kingdom for his own family. At one time he appealed to all the powers of Europe to assist him in a struggle against France, when Charles VIII. overran Italy to obtain possession of Naples, as an inheritance from the house of Anjou. At another he formed an alliance with France, that he might overthrow some of the principal families of Rome, and spoil the Italian princes of their lawful possessions. His son, the fratricide *Caesar Borgia*, renounced the Cardinal's

II. contiguerunt. Rom. 1584. 4. Fref. 1614. f.—II. *H. C. Helwing*, de Pii II. rebus gestis et morib. Ber. 1825. 4. *Nic. Beets*, de Aen. Sylvii morum mentisque mutationis rationib. Harlem. 1839. *K. R. Hagenbach*, Erinnerungen an Aen. Sylv. Bas. 1840.

d) *Platina*, who suffered too much on his account to be impartial toward him, and hence should be comp. with *Cannesius*, edit. by Cardinal *Quirini*, Pauli Veneti Vita, praemissis vindiciis adv. Platinam aliosque. Rom. 1740. 4.

e) His scholastic Treatises, Rom. 1470. Nor. 1473. Life, probably by Platina in *Murat.* vol. III. P. II. p. 1052. Epigrams in *Flacius*, varia de corrupto Ecc. statu poemata. p. 401ss.—*Walchner*, polit. Gesch. d. 1478. zu Flor. geh. Synode u. des Zwistes der Republ. mit Sixt. Rotw. 1824.

f) *Infessura* in *Eccard.* p. 1947ss.—*Vialardi*, Vita d'Innocenzo VIII. Ven. 1613. f. Epigrams in *Flacius*, p. 403.

hat to become a duke over the principality to be formed from the possessions of the Church, and of the princes of Central Italy. The Italians were encouraged with the precious hope that the great object of his despotism was the ultimate union of the whole peninsula. As a political sovereign, Alexander gave great offence to the Church by his intimate alliance with the Sultan against France. (*a*) Although his sensuality was so disgusting, that he was accused by public rumor of even incest and every disgraceful crime, his talents were yet so great and his activity was so untiring in the pursuit of his objects, and either he or the papacy was so much respected, that when kings contended for the possession of the newly discovered Western world, it was finally divided between Spain and Portugal according to his arbitration. He was unscrupulous with regard to the means by which he accomplished his plans. While yet only a cardinal he paid some deference to public sentiment, but when he had attained the papacy he thought it necessary to put it down by a censorship of books. This practice, originated by him, (*b*) was regarded as amply sufficient to control the evil. Though he had moments of painful contrition, he was sometimes false and hypocritical merely for his own amusement. He was never guilty of weakness except with respect to Rosa Vanozza and her children. Though his vices could not escape the general hatred, he was always kind to the people. The rich and the powerful were often the victims of his policy, and he did not shrink even from assassination when he thought it needful for his purposes. In the midst of his career he fell a victim to poison, prepared by his son for a cardinal then his guest. His government was so conducted that every vestige of an independent aristocracy was effaced from the papal states.

§ 256. *Julius II.* *Nov.* 1, 1503–*Feb.* 21, 1513.

I. *Guicciardini* l. VI. XI. *Paris de Grassis*, Diarium Curiae Rom. 1504–22. never printed but used by *Raynald* and *Roscoe* (p. 285.) *Hadrianus Castellensis*, Itinerarium Julii. (*Ciaconii* vita Rom. Pontiff. Lugd. 1668. vol. II.) *Spalatin*, Leben Julii. (*Tenzel*, Ber. v. d. Ref. Lpz. 1718. vol. II. p. 14ss.)

II. *Dubos*, Hist. de la ligue faite à Cambray. Haye. 1710. 2 vols. From the time of Julius *Bower's* Hist. of the Popes has been independently revised by *Rambach*.

On the sudden death of Alexander, the republic of Venice, Caesar Borgia, and the various inferior tyrants endeavored to obtain possession of and divide among themselves the papal states, while the Roman emperor, the Catholic sovereign of France, and the Most Christian King had the same design with respect to Italy in general. Under these circumstances, no one but the Cardinal Julian della Rovera appeared capable of meeting the coming storm. His election was decided upon even before the conclave met, by the large promises he was able to hold forth. *Julius II.* was by necessity as well as by choice a military prince, but all the arts of peace were in the highest sense fostered and honored during his reign. Considering his Genoese extraction, he was remarkably frank and sincere in his disposition, and though sometimes swayed by an irascible temper and by wine, he could not

a) *Eccard* vol. II. p. 2053ss. Fundgruben d. Orients. vol. V. p. 183ss.
b) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1501. N. 36.

be influenced by fear, or by a love of gold or of relatives. Private passions were indeed foreign to his nature. His sword and his political efforts were entirely devoted to the liberation of Italy and the enlargement of the papal states. So effectually, by stratagem and by violence, was Caesar Borgia expelled from Italy, that the very name of Caesar became contemptible. Bologna and other cities belonging to Borgia's patrimony, which had been kept back by petty tyrants, were now conquered by the mere terror of his military preparations. In opposition to the republic of Venice, which had refused to surrender several cities belonging to the eastern border of the states of St. Peter, he now entered into a combination with the Emperor Maximilian and Louis XII. to form the League of *Cambray* (1509). But when the French had brought nearly the whole of Lombardy into subjection, he listened to the entreaty of the Venetians as they besought him not to give up Italy to be plundered again by the barbarians. No sooner had his demands upon the Venetians been satisfied, than he directed all his civil and ecclesiastical weapons against Louis XII. Though now an old man and broken down by the gout, he hesitated not to throw himself into all the cares and dangers of a winter campaign, nor was he dismayed when his army was utterly destroyed, and nothing remained to him but the majesty of the papal name. Immediately by his exertions was formed the *Holy Alliance*, by which Venice, Spain, England, and the Swiss confederacy became united with him, and the French were soon driven beyond the Alps (1512). Louis met the sword of St. Peter with spiritual weapons, and by means of some disaffected cardinals he called a general council at Pisa for the reformation of the Church (Nov. 5, 1511). A few French prelates assembled there, who proceeded forthwith to suspend the pope as a modern Goliath; but they were soon compelled by the displeasure of the Italians to remove their sessions to Milan, and during the next year they entirely disappeared before the triumphant army of the pope. The people, however, still continued to hope that a reformation of the Church might be effected by a general council, and Julius had promised at his election that one should be called together for that purpose. Accordingly a general assembly of the Church was summoned to meet in the *Lateran*, in opposition to that which had convened at Pisa. In the first session (May 3, 1512), a discourse was pronounced by Aegidius of Viterbo, a general of the Augustinian order, in which it was maintained that the Church had become great only by the use of the weapons of the Spirit; that temporal possessions were of comparatively small importance, but that every thing depended upon its wealth in spiritual blessings. (*a*) On the other hand the peculiar spirit of the pope himself was predominant in the council, and nothing more was done than to summon France to answer for the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction and to anathematize all kinds of simony in the election of a pope. Just as this was done Julius II. died while meditating the most gigantic schemes. Upper Italy was apparently free, a full treasury had been prepared for his successor, and the papal states were extended to their utmost limits. There was indeed an evident inconsistency between his character and his office, which gave occasion to some bitter ani-

a) *Harduini* vol. IX. p. 1576ss. *Richerii* L. IV. P. II. p. 4ss.

madversions and pleasant satires (*b*) in countries beyond the Alps. France had announced its determination to destroy the great modern Babel, (*c*) but in Italy the primary objects of this heroic man were so popular, that his name has been invested there with a splendid posthumous renown. (*d*)

§ 257. *Leo X. March* 11, 1513–1517. (1521.)

I. *Paris de Grassis* (§ 256.) *Paulus Jovius* (Bishop of Nocera, d. 1552), Vitae viror. illustr. (Opp. hist. Bas. 1578. f. vol. I. Vita I.) *Guicciardini*, l. XI. XIV. *Spalatin* in *Tenzel*. l. c. p. 13.

II. *Roscoe*, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. [Lond. (Bohn.) 1846. 2 vols. 8. *Ranke*, Hist. of the Popes. Lond. 1845. (Bohn) 3 vols. 12. and Philad. 1843. 8.] *Ranke*, die Päpste, ihre K. u. ihr Staat im 16. u. 17. Jahrh. Brl. 1834. vol. I. p. 69ss. 79ss. *Audin*, Gesch. d. P. Leo X. from the French of *Brug*. Augsb. 1845s. 2 vols. [*Bower's* Hist. of the Popes to 1758. and from that time cont. by S. H. Cox. till 1846. New York. 8. v. 1843. *J. E. Riddle*, Hist. of the Papacy, 2 vols. Lond. 1854.]

Giovanni Medici was the successor of Julius, with whose fortunes he had been intimately and faithfully connected both in exile and on the throne. By the influence of his father Lorenzo, he had, even when a boy, attained some of the most exalted stations in the Church, and when he reached the papal chair he was yet in the vigor of his manhood. By his natural powers as well as by his uniform habits he was prepared to relish every pleasure which the world could offer, and he therefore collected in the Vatican every thing which could give splendor to the arts and sciences of his age. Well educated in the classics and in the liberal arts, he was qualified to do this with discrimination, and from his connections he was disposed to look upon these treasures as the appropriate patrimony of his house. Under the name of *Leo X.* he always showed himself a skilful and kind master, who could appear with dignity whenever his levity of disposition was not drawn forth. He was not indeed a great man either in action or in comprehensiveness of views. Even the arts were promoted only for his own gratification. Placed at the very summit of all human influence at a time in which God created as it were a new world by the hands of consummate artists, he allowed the most exalted talents in his service to exhaust themselves in trifling employments. Although he seemed regardless of even the outward semblance of apostolic or ecclesiastical propriety, he was far from regarding Christianity as a mere fable. His administration was characterized by earnestness, and when directed against criminals by a due degree of severity. His unbounded liberality, however, as well as his lavish profusion, required supplies of wealth which rendered all kinds of expedients indispensable. In the contest which both Spain and France were waging to obtain possession of Italy, it was his policy to hold each at a distance from the prey, and to betray each in turn to the other. A glorious victory was achieved for the papacy during his administration, in the removal of the Pragmatic Sanction (1516), which was yielded by Francis I., that by the friendship of the popo his conquest of Milan might be secured, and his hopes respecting Naples might be realized. The Council of Lateran continued in session until March 16, 1517, long enough to celebrate this victory and carry into effect a few papal edicts.

b) (Hutten? Erasmus?) Julius exclusis. (*Pasquill.* vol. II. Eleutheropoli i. e. Bas. 1544. p. 123ss.)

c) *Walch*, Vorbericht, to the 15th vol. of Luther's Werken, p. 42ss.

d) *Guicciardini* l. XI. p. 326.

CHAP. II.—SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

§ 258. *Corpus juris canonici.*

First complete edition by *Jo. Chappuis*, Par. 1449ss. 3 vols. ed. 2. 1503. The edit. of the Correctores Romani, and published by Gregory XIII. to be immutable: Rom. 1582. 3 vols. f. and often. Critical Editions: e rec. *Pithoeorum* ed. *Claud. le Pelletier*, Par. 1687. 2 vols. f. and often. *J. H. Boehmer*, Hal. 1747. 2 vols. 4. *A. C. Richter*, Lps. 1833ss. 2 vols. 4.

While the supreme power in the Church was still in the hands of the popes, by the side of the more ancient Decrees of Gratian, a new papal code was gradually formed in three Collections of Decretals, which were abridged, harmonized, sent to the universities, and thus introduced as the authoritative law of the Church. 1. *Decretalium Gregorii IX. compilatio*, systematically arranged in five books by *Raymund de Pennaforte*, in compliance with the orders of *Gregory IX.* from the rescripts of that pope, and a few older collections. It was intended to supply the same position in respect to ecclesiastical law which was occupied in civil law by the legislation of the great house of Hohenstaufen, and it was published in the year 1234, both in Paris and Bologna. (*a*) 2. *Sextus Decretalium Liber*, compiled in five books by order of *Boniface VIII.*, from Decretals of a later date, and sent to the universities in 1298. 3. *Clementinae*, compiled by Clement V. from Constitutions principally issued by the general synod held at Vienne, committed by himself to the Consistory of Cardinals (1313) and to his University of Orleans, and sent by his successor (1317) to Paris and Bologna. (*b*) Since this latter period, the power of the popes has not been sufficient to give the force of law to their enactments throughout Christendom, and hence the general code of the Church has been regarded as complete. But a few later laws have been added by various glossarists and editors as appendices to it (Extravagantes). In the first complete edition of the code, a collection of twenty Extravagantes of *John XXII.* which had been before compiled, was added, together with all the laws of a later date, so far as they could be obtained (Extrav. communes), until the time of Sixtus IV. Both these Appendices have been incorporated in the more recent editions, and have therefore obtained in judicial proceedings an indefinite but never a legal authority. (*c*) These decrees and decretals constituted the elements from which has been formed the *Corpus juris canonici*, whose constituent parts are characterized by the diversified peculiarities of the times in which they originated, but take cognizance of all relations in ecclesiastical, civil, and domestic life. It was freely accepted by the whole Western Church, and applied by them to all cases in which its provisions were consistent with ancestral usages and local legislation. On the one hand it often afforded the protection of law against the arbitrary conduct of the priesthood, and on the other it served to sustain the power of the hierarchy by the force of habit among the people,

a) *Steck*, de interpolationibus Raymundi de Pennaf. Lps. 1754. 4. *Aug. Theiner:* De Rom. Pontiff. epistolarum decr. antiquis collectt. et de Greg. IX. codice. Lps. 1829. 4. and Recherches sur plusieurs collections inédites de décrétales. Par. 1832.

b) *G. L. Boehmer*, de Clementinis. (Obss. jur. can. Goett. 1766.)

c) *Bickell*, ü. Entsteh. u. Gebr. d. Extravagantensamml. Marb. 1825.

and by the efforts of learned men, long after the real basis of priestly authority had been destroyed. Many commentaries (glossae, apparatus) upon individual collections were produced by the learned industry of this period. From the explanations written upon each of these Collections, a summary (glossa ordinaria) has been formed under the authority of the schools, which has obtained currency in the ordinary courts, and has the force of common legal usage. (*d*)

§ 259. *The State and the Church.*

The political institutions of all the great states of Europe were established near the close of the 15th century, just as the feudal system was giving place to the monarchial. Although *Germany* continued divided under various forms of government, some of which were free and others were arbitrary, the independence of the empire and permanent rules for the imperial elections had been secured by means of the Electoral Union at Rhense and the Golden Bull (1356). A definite legal condition had also been established (since 1495) by the *Landfriede*, or the Peace of the country, and the Imperial Chamber of Justice. *France*, by the despotism of some of its kings, the persecution of its great vassals, and the favor shown to the Third Estate, had finally become a consolidated kingdom, circumscribed by powerful subordinate corporations. For a while *England* had fought gloriously but unsuccessfully for a territory by nature assigned to France; it had then been distracted by civil wars, in which its principal nobility contended for the crown, until the leaders of the great parties were gradually struck down by a terrible judgment of heaven, and finally *Henry VII.* (1485–1509), by depressing the nobility and exalting the inferior classes, had established his throne upon a permanent basis. By the marriage of Ferdinand the Catholic with the hereditary Queen of Castile, *Spain* also had become united as a single kingdom, before whose power Grenada, the last Moorish city, after an heroic struggle, was compelled to yield (1492). In *Italy* the popes were themselves too feeble to obtain the sovereignty of the whole peninsula, and yet too proud to allow any other prince to do so. From the time of the Emperor Charles the Great, the people had invited various foreign rulers to enter it, whom they soon found themselves unable to endure. (*a*) The power of the priesthood was no longer needed or sufficient for the guardianship of the state. The prelates of the several countries were compelled to share in the various fortunes of the higher nobility. Whenever any see became vacant, the kings of France and England claimed its revenues as regalia until the new prelate had taken the oath of allegiance to them, and the crown of France claimed possession of all vacant benefices in any diocese until it was filled. By the Concordat with Francis I. the rights of the Gallican Church were shared between the king and the pope. (*b*) In Germany the king possessed a prerogative, according to which a prelate was bound to comply with the first request for an appointment to a benefice which the emperor made

d) *Sarti* l. c. p. 332ss. *Savigny*, Gesch. d. rom. R. vol. VI. p. 87ss.
a) *Machiavelli*, Storie Fior. (Opp. Italia, 1813.) vol. I. p. 13. 36.
b) *P. de Marca*, VIII, 22. § 6. *Ranke*, Päpste, vol. I. p. 82.

after his consecration. (*c*) The long contested right of requiring that all papal edicts should be subject to the approval of the civil authority before they were publicly acknowledged, was maintained by a few governments in a rather violent manner. (*d*) In spite of continual denials of their competency the civil courts asserted with increasing success their jurisdiction over private legal suits, in opposition to the exorbitant claims of the spiritual courts. The powers of the clergy were especially curtailed by governments and rulers of a republican character. In *France*, when the parliaments had once succeeded in attaining independent judicial and civil authority, their rights were guarded with extreme jealousy, and the bishops were made responsible for every encroachment upon them. The Lombardic cities, especially Venice, the Swiss Confederates (parson's letter, 1370), and the German imperial diet, demanded that the clergy should be subject to the ordinary penal laws of the country, should contribute their share of public taxes, and be restrained within certain limits in their acquisition of ecclesiastical property. (*e*) The Free Court of the Vehme in Westphalia went so far as to withhold their secrets from the confessional. (*f*)

§ 260. *The Ecclesiastical Power of the Papacy.*

The papacy now essentially diseased, and yet obliged to put before the world the most exorbitant claims, became henceforth a destructive power in the Church. By the authority conceded to the decretals the pope became the creator of his own prerogatives at pleasure. The bold announcement of the papal decision that nothing could hinder the execution of the pope's commands (non obstante quocunque), was in utter contempt of the acknowledged rights of every class. The power which each party in a suit possessed whenever it pleased to have its cause removed to Rome, was occasionally almost equivalent to a complete denial of justice. The influence of the pastors was also much impaired by the profitable papal usurpation of a general power to confer absolution, and grant dispensations. Then as the pope alone could confirm the elections of all bishops and abbots, no one, however deserving, could reach the office of a prelate without the friendship of influential persons at Rome, or some act of royal authority. Nearly all other lucrative offices in the Church were disposed of directly by the Roman see, under various legal forms (reservation, prevention, devolution, commendam, accident of death at the Roman court). Consequently, foreigners and mercenary tools gained admission to the Church, united several offices and the revenues derived from them in their single persons, frequently without ever seeing their congregations, and while living in extravagance at the papal court. This power of ecclesiastical patronage was an inexhaustible source of papal wealth,

c) *H. C. de Senkenberg*, de jure primarum precum, indulto papali haud indigente, Frcf. 1784. 4.

d) *Stockmans*, jus Belgarum circa bullarum receptionem. (Opp. Col. 1700. 4. cap. 2.)

e) *Raumer*, Hohenstauf. vol. III. p. 193s.—*Balthasar*, hist. Entwickl. d. Freiheiten u. d. Gerichtsbark. d. Eidgen. in geistl. Dingen. Zür. 1768. (*Fuchs*) Vers. e. pragm. Gesch. d. staatsrechtl. KVerf. d. Eidgen. Germanien. 1816.—*J. G. Reinhard*, Meditt. de jure principum Germ. cum primis Saxoniae circa sacra ante temp. reformationis. Hal. 1717. 4.

f) *C. G. v. Wächter*, Beitrr. z. deutschen Gesch. insb. d. Strafrechts. Tüb. 1845. p. 38.

partly on account of the money usually given at every confirmation and the annats, and partly on account of the open sale of offices. The protection of ecclesiastical property, which had formerly been confided to the pope, became gradually the occasion for a general assessment of tithes for carrying on the war with the Turks, and finally became recognized as affording a right of taxing the Church to sustain the popes in their various wars. (*a*) Even the better class of popes could accomplish very little in opposition to these abuses, during the short period of an ordinary papal reign. The reversions had indeed been prohibited after the time of Alexander III., but they had in some instances been bestowed for the whole period of a single generation, and the officers of the Roman Curia were exceedingly depr[illegible]. But other popes of an unworthy character were well acquainted with methods by which even this unhappy state of things might become more disgraceful and treacherous. Offices were sold to the highest bidder, and payment sometimes received from different persons for the same living. (*b*) It was in vain that individual protective laws and acts of authority were directed against these methods of impoverishing the people. When the evil had attained its utmost limit an effort was made by the great councils to restore security to ecclesiastical property, and to re-establish the Christian character of the offices of the Church. But France was the only country which succeeded in this attempt. The new pragmatic sanction, which gave to that country this distinction, had been abandoned, it is true, in consequence of the royal policy, but it never lost its authority as an expression of what was regarded by the French people as law, and it was always defended by the parliament and the universities. (*c*) Other nations were satisfied with a few unimportant concessions. The German people were contented with the Concordat of Vienna, by which appointments to ecclesiastical offices were withdrawn from the papal chair for one half of each year. But concessions obtained as a mere matter of grace (*d*) were soon rendered useless by new encroachments. Two theories had been put forth at Constance and at Basle—*Episcopalism*, according to which the pope was merely the first officer of the Church, and was subject to its laws and representatives; and *Curialism*, which carried the earlier doctrine of the plenary power of the pope so far as to assert his absolute infallibility, exaggerated his superiority to all law until it amounted to idolatrous honors, and finally made its flatteries absolutely ridiculous, by asserting that simony was impossible at Rome. (*e*) Both theories were founded upon positive laws, and both were defended by men of great learning. The first was the spontaneous assertion of the whole French nation, and the latter was maintained by the body of the clergy at Rome. The pious reverence which the people always entertained for the vicegerent of God on earth, had been essentially impaired. And yet they were generally far from denying the necessity of a pope to

a) The complaints and concessions in the acts of the Councils of Constance and Basle, and the *Gravamina* of the German nation at the Diets afford proofs in abundance.

b) E. G. *Theod. de Niem*, de schism. II, 7ss.

c) *Labbei et Cossartii* Conc. vol. XIV. p. 292ss. *Richerii* Hist. Concill. l. IV, 2. c. 4. *Münch*, Concordat, vol. I. p. 255ss.

d) *Aen. Sylvii* Ep. 385.

e) *August. Triumphi* l. c. Qu. IX. Art. 1–4. Qu. V. Art. 3.

maintain the unity and government of the Church. A prediction, ascribed to Malachias, Archbishop of Armagh, a friend of St. Bernard, but which probably had its origin in the time of the great councils, describes with more or less accuracy, in concise, obscure, and figurative language, the character of the popes from the time of Celestine II. (1143). The centuries which have since elapsed have developed nothing to bring discredit upon it, for according to it eleven popes yet remain before the last pope shall rule over the Church in great tribulation, and the city of the seven hills shall be destroyed. (*f*) On various occasions the *Cardinals* endeavored, by stipulations before a papal election, to secure their persons and revenues from violence, and to bind the successful candidate by their decisions. (*g*) But no sooner had any one actually reached the papal chair than he utterly disregarded all such illegal restraints, so that the privileges of the cardinals were founded only upon contradictory precedents, and were respected on personal rather than official grounds. In the season of extremity, when the Church was rent by divisions, they placed themselves at the head of the Church. The decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basle, by which the college of cardinals was declared to be the constitutional authority of the Church, and which required that it should be composed of pious, learned, and useful men, selected from all Christian nations, (*h*) were never carried into execution. With but few exceptions the cardinals were chosen from among the nepotes of the popes, the scions of a few great Roman families (familiæ papales), and certain royal favorites, for whom the kings of the different nations, according to their influence, were able to obtain the scarlet hat.

§ 261. *The Ecclesiastical Assemblies.*

In a few bishoprics regular diocesan synods were formed, that they might afford counsel to the bishops and be the depositaries of his will. Provincial synods from an indefinite extent of country were seldom held, and only on special occasions under the presidency of a legate. The national councils had been almost universally absorbed by the assemblies of the estates of the empire. The greater or less general councils which were convoked by the popes until some time in the fourteenth century, either in the Lateran or in the south of France, were composed of representatives of the states, assembled partly to ascertain the sentiments and wants of the Church throughout the country, and partly to carry into effect the papal decrees. In these assemblies very little regard was paid to the peculiar privileges of the several states either with respect to their position or to the order in which they voted, but every one had influence and precedence in proportion to his knowledge of the subject in hand, or to his official or personal authority. It was for this reason that we find so much indefiniteness with regard to the right of voting and the order of business which produced such want of precision in the mode of conducting the assemblies of the fifteenth century. As the

f) The literature in *Fabric.* Bibl. med. et inf. Latin. T. V. v. Malachias.

g) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1431. N. 5ss. ad ann. 1458. N. 5.

h) Germ. nationis Concordata c. 1. (*Hardt* vol. I. p. 1055.) Conc. Bas. S. XXIII. decr. 4. (*Mansi* vol. XXIX. p. 116ss.)

Church could claim the essential prerogative of infallibility only when it spoke through an individual and supreme organ, the confidence of the people, so far as relates to this power, was gradually withdrawn from the dependent councils, and bestowed upon the independent pope. The liberal party, however, ever since the Council of Constance, were obliged to maintain that this infallibility belonged only to the councils, for otherwise the supreme authority of such assemblies must have been renounced. (*a*) When the three great assemblies of the Church grasped after the supreme power, they certainly could have appealed to the example of ecclesiastical antiquity, but in the state in which legal matters had stood for centuries before their time, such an assumption had all the effect of a revolution. It had, however, been called for by the force of circumstances without arbitrary violence on the part of any one. These general councils formed the design of becoming regular periodical assemblies for the administration of the legislative, executive, and supreme judicial affairs of the Church. At Basle it was also perceived that this representation of the whole Church would require the revival of a Synodal Constitution, according to which there must be a regular series of assemblies, beginning with the lowest. But from various local obstacles it was found difficult to secure an actual assembly of the representatives of the whole Church, or perfect freedom to their decisions. Only in times of great extremity, or of universally acknowledged necessity, could these difficulties be overcome, and hence the pope did not ordinarily find it hard to elude the action of these dangerous assemblies, or by convening them in the Lateran to reduce them to their former insignificance. Appeals to a future general council were forbidden under penalty of excommunication by Martin V., Pius, and Julius II., (*b*) since every papal enactment would thereby have become nugatory on account of the indefinite period in which it would remain in suspense. Still from the sense of justice which existed in the Church, these appeals were recognized, and were sometimes made with greater or less success as legal forms of opposition to the papal decrees. The legality of the Council of Pisa was questioned by the liberal party. (*c*) The decrees of the Council of Constance were generally acknowledged by the Roman court. The validity of the Council of Basle was altogether denied by those who favored Rome, but according to the principles of canonical law it was certainly a legal assembly, at least until its twenty-sixth session. The popes were careful to observe a prudent silence respecting the supremacy of the general councils, but in practice they entirely disregarded it. They were thus, unfortunately for themselves, victorious over a revolution which might otherwise have preserved the unity and the peaceful development of the Church.

a) (*Blanc*) Krit. Gesch. d. kirchl. Unfehlbark. Frankf. 1790. p. 240ss.

b) *Gerson*, Opp. vol. II. P. 2. p. 390s. *Gobellini* Cmmtr. l. III. p. 91.—*Gerson*, quomodo et an liceat in causis fidei a Summo Pontif. appellare. (vol. II. P. 2. p. 303ss.) *Goldasti* Monarchia, vol. II. p. 1576ss. 1592ss. *Richerii*, Hist. Concill. l. II. p. 142.

c) *Hardt*, Conc. Constant. vol. IV. P. 2. p. 24. comp. vol. II. p. 194.

§ 262. *The National Churches.*

The Churches connected with those nations which had been developed out of the Roman empire through the various Germanic races, had long since become organized into distinct communities, in consequence of their intimate connection with the people and the civil government of each country. And yet the influence of a common origin, and of a central point of intercourse was so great, that they all felt themselves as parts of one vast empire receiving its laws from Rome. Although the popes were frequently requested to fill all ecclesiastical offices with persons who were natives of the country in which they were to officiate, even such a demand was rejected sometimes to maintain the grand doctrine of the unity of the Church, and sometimes that special favor might be conferred upon the Italians.* But in proportion as the central power became enfeebled, these nationalities became more decidedly prominent first in France, in opposition to the papal as well as to the imperial universal monarchy, and secured the peculiar privileges of their respective national Church by concordats with Rome. Accordingly we have seen that they presented themselves at Constance and acted there as legal corporations. It was more especially by means of the separate compacts then concluded, and the ground assumed by the synod at Basle, that the great fundamental principle of law was settled, that no decree either of a pope or a council possessed legal authority in any country until it had been accepted by the national Church there.

§ 263. *The Bishops and their Jurisdiction.*

As the appointment of nearly all ecclesiastical officers had been usurped by Rome, and ecclesiastical acts of all kinds could be purchased by the Exemptions, especially during the time of the schism, the result was that the episcopal power had been very much impaired. This induced the *bishops* at Constance and at Basle to assume a threatening attitude, and to demand the restoration of all that they had lost. But every bishop had something to fear or hope for from Rome, and nearly every one dreaded to fall into the hands of a body which, after it had shaken the papacy, had power also to overthrow the prelatic sees. The prelates were therefore generally satisfied with their secular honors, and abandoned the great struggle to look after inferior advantages. The *Chapters* became, especially in Germany, desirable places in which the younger sons of the nobility were provided for, and consequently their position was entirely secular and without interest to the body of the people. On the other hand, the decrees of Rome and Basle met with very trifling success when they required that half the vacancies in the chapters should be filled by men of distinction in science and in the Church. The archdeacons were also circumscribed on the side of the bishops, by a college composed almost exclusively of secular *officials*, (*a*) and a kind of *penitentials*, who were appointed for the purpose of preaching and having

* *Honorii* regesta, a. V. N. 17. (*Raumer*, vol. VI. p. 15.) Comp. *Mat. Paris* ad ann. 1240. p. 360. ad ann. 1245. p. 445. 450.

a) *Sext.* I, 13. De officio vicarii.—*Pertsch*, v. d. Archidiak., bisch. Officialen u. Vicarien. Hildesh. 1743.

the charge of souls. (*b*) Those bishops who preferred to live as princes associated with themselves, for the performance of their episcopal and priestly duties, a class of persons who were called *Chorepiscopi* and *Suffragan Bishops*. These were bishops who had been expelled from their dioceses in the Oriental Church, and were afterwards appointed by the pope as an expression of a perpetual hope, and a protestation with respect to those ancient episcopal sees (Episcopi in partibus infidelium). (*c*) In consequence of the contest maintained by the University of Paris against the encroachments of the mendicant friars, and as the result of the position assumed by the Synod of Basle, the assertion was put forth in France, that the *pastors* had been instituted by Christ to be an essential element of his Church, with a limited but a peculiar sphere of action. (*d*)

§ 264. *The Inquisition.*

Nic. Eymericus (d. 1399), Directorium Inquisitorum, Barcin. 1503, c. Comm. *Fr. Pegnæ*, Rom. 1578. f. and oft. *Lud. de Paramo*, de orig., officio et progressu S. Inquis. Matr. 1598. f. Antw. 1619. f. *Wolf. a Limborch.* Hist. Inq. Amst. 1692. f. Samml. d. Instruct. d. Span. Inquisitionsger. wchers. v. *Reuss*, with *Spittler's* Entw. d. Gesch. d. Span. Inq. Han. 1788. *Llorente*, Hist. critique de l'Inq. d'Espagne. Trad. de l'Espgn. p. *A. Pellier*. Par. 1817. 4 vols. [Limborch's (abridged) and Llorente's Histories have been translated and publ. in London and the latter in Philad. See also: Records of the Inq. from the orig. MSS. taken at Barcelona. Boston. 1828.]

When the general massacre which took place in the war against the Albigenses (§ 231) was closed by their public subjugation, the work of exterminating those remnants who were known to exist in secret was intrusted by Innocent III. to the synodal courts. The method in which this was to be accomplished was determined upon at the Synod of Toulouse (1229), and was as follows: (*e*) "Any prince, lord, bishop, or judge, who shall spare a heretic, shall forfeit his lands, property, or office; and every house in which a heretic is found shall be destroyed. Heretics or persons suspected of heresy shall not be allowed the assistance of a physician, or of any of their associates in crime, even though they may be suffering under a mortal disease. Sincere penitents shall be removed from the neighborhood in which they reside if it is suspected of heresy, they shall wear a peculiar dress, and forfeit all public privileges until they receive a papal dispensation. Penitents who have recanted through fear shall be placed in confinement." But lest bishops should be tempted to show some favor to those who were dependent on them, Gregory IX. devolved the holy office upon foreign monks (1232). The Dominicans gradually became possessed of this office, and it was looked upon as their peculiar inheritance. Louis IX., from a regard to religion, and Raymond VII. of Toulouse and Frederic II., from a regard to their own reputation, enacted certain laws which required that the sentences passed by the inquisition should be carried into execution by the civil authorities. (*f*) These

b) *Conc. Later.* IV. c. 10. (*Greg.* I, 31. c. 15.)

c) *Dürr*, de Suffraganeis s. vicariis generalibus in pontificalibus Episcoporum Germ. Moz. 1782. 4.

d) *Gerson*, Opp. vol. II. p. 250. 1067.

e) *Conc. Later.* IV. c. 3 (*Mansi* vol. XXII. p. 986ss.) *Conc. Tolosan.* c. 1–28. (*Ib.* vol. XXIII. p. 194ss.) [*Landon's* Manual of Councils, p. 594.]

f) Ordonances des Roys de France, p. *M. de Laurière*. Par. 1723. f. vol. I. p. 58s. Statuta

holy fathers were responsible to no one but the pope himself, and it was their duty to search for heretics in every quarter. They had the right to imprison any one who was suspected, and instead of furnishing him with a list of the charges alleged against him, they required of him a general confession. Torture was used in their examinations, and witnesses whose names were concealed were sometimes taken from among convicted criminals, the most worthless of men, and accomplices in guilt. (*c*) The punishments inflicted were, public penance, confiscation of property, perpetual imprisonment, and death by burning, from which even a recantation was not always sufficient to deliver the victim. The inquisition now became, in the hands of the hierarchy, a desperate means of sustaining by violence and terror that influence whose true foundation had begun to crumble. In vain did the people in the *south of France* rise in rebellion, and take sanguinary vengeance upon some of their inquisitors. In *Italy*, where the spiritual power was more limited by peculiar circumstances, the inquisition found it impossible to carry out its murderous spirit. In *Germany* the people combined with the bishops against this attempt to force upon them this tribunal for heretics, and *Conrad* of *Marburg*, then acting as its president, fell a victim to their violence (1233). (*d*) In *Spain*, where the Jews and Moors had recently been baptized (after 1391), notwithstanding a strong remaining attachment to their ancestral faith, the holy court was introduced to take cognizance of all public or secret relapses which might take place among them; for, although ecclesiastical ethics would allow of no force in the conversion of men to Christianity, the violation of Christian vows was punished not only by force, but by death itself. (*e*) It was in this country that the inquisition, under its General *Torquemada* (after 1483), developed its fearful power. It was there established by the royal authority (1478), but it soon became in his hands a government of terror which dictated terms to the king himself, trampled upon the opposition not only of the imperial diet, but of every other power, and finally crushed all freedom of thought in Church or State. The popes with some reluctance yielded their consent to these proceedings. Even *Ximenes*, with a character truly heroic, and worthy of Spain in its ancient and best days, who, on account of his rigid monastic sanctity, had been appointed Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal of Spain, and finally Regent of Castile (d. 1517), and was a munificent patron of science, regarded it as not beneath his dignity to accept of the office of Grand Inquisitor, that he might secure power enough to correct injustice, defend the Christian faith, and rescue the monarchy from the feudalism of the middle ages. (*f*) Such an inquisition could be introduced and sustained only among a people which for centuries, and during long protracted wars for their country and for their religion, had been accustomed

Raimundi super haeresi Albigensi a. 1233. (*Mansi* vol. XXIII. p. 265ss.) *Petri de Vineis* l. i. Epp. 25–27.

c) *Martene*, Thes. anecdot. vol. V. p. 1786ss. 1795ss.—*F. A. Biener*, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Inquisitions-Processes. Lpz. 1827. p. 60ss.

d) *Albericus* ad ann. 1233. p. 544ss. *Trithem.* Chron. Hirs. vol. I. p. 523.

e) *Thomas*, Summa, P. II. P. 2. Qu. 10.

f) *C. J. Hefele*, d. Card. Ximenes u. d. kirchl. Zustände Span. Insbes. z. Würdigung d. Inquis. Tüb. 1844. [*Michel Baudier*, Hist. de la vie et de l'administration du Card. Ximenes. Par. 1658. 8.]

to regard the purity and antiquity of their faith as superior to all other considerations. It has, however, reduced this noble nation to the lowest state of morals, and defrauded it of its natural course of development.

CHAP. III.—ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE.

§ 265. *The Two Great Mendicant Orders.*

I. Vita S. Francisci by *Thomas de Celano*, 1229. (Acta SS. Oct. vol. II. p. 683.) completed in 1246. by *Leo*, *Angelus* et *Ruffinus* (Tres Socii, *Ib.* p. 723.) as the holy book of the Order by Bonaventura. (*Ib.* p. 742.) The First Rule in *Holsten. Brockie*, vol. III. p. 30ss. *Luc. Wadding*, Annales Minorum (till 1540.) Lugd. 1625ss. 8 vols. f. (till 1564.) Rom. 1731ss. 19 vols. f.—Vita S. Dominici by his first follower *Jordanus*, (Acta SS. Aug. vol. I. p. 545.) by *Humbertus de Romanis*, the fifth general of the Order. 1254. (*Ib.* p. 358.) Others in *Holsten. Brockie*, vol. IV. p. 10.—*Ripoli* et *Bremond*, Bullarium O. Praed. Rom. 1739ss. 6 vols. f. *Mamachii* aliorumq. Annales O. Praedicatorum. Rom. 1746. 4. *Quétif* et *Echard*, Scrr. O. Praed. Par. 1719ss. 2 vols. f.

II. Legende dorée, ou sommaire de l'Hist. des frères mendians. Amst. 1734. 12. (*Alembert*) Hist. des Moines mend. Par. 1768. 12. Nuremb. 1769. *E. Vogt*, d. h. Fr. v. Ass. Tüb. 1840. *E. Chavin de Malan*. Hist. de S. Franç. d'Ass. Par. 1841. Munich, 1842. [A life of Francis of A. is given in *Bolevinger's* Church of Christ, &c. See § 192.]—*Lacordaire*, Vie de S. Dom. Par. 1840. Landsh. 1841. [*S. P. Day*, Monastic Institutions. Lond. 1846. 2 ed. 12. *Fox's* Monks and Monasteries. Lond. 1835. *Stephens*, (in Edinb. Rev. 1847. and Eclectic Mag. Sept. 1847.) Fr. of Ass. &c.]

The enthusiasm which properly belongs to the Church, and yet frequently endangered her existence, was finally attained and enlisted in her service, through the exertions of some very peculiar characters. When Francisco of Assisi (b. 1172) heard (1208), in the church dedicated to Mary at Portiuncula, the words in which our Lord sent forth his disciples to preach the gospel, an idea was revived which he had entertained among his indistinct youthful aspirations. This was the project of an association which should walk strictly in the footsteps of the apostles, preaching repentance in every part of the world, despising all kinds of private property or possessions, and obtaining the necessaries of life from the charities of their fellow-men. At first he was despised by his fellow-citizens, execrated by his wealthy father, and while travelling through Western Europe and Egypt ridiculed as a victim of insanity. It was not long, however, before his unflinching contempt of the world, his honest humility, his burning love to God, and his imitation of Jesus Christ in a remarkable style of living, (*a*) drew around him thousands of disciples. The law to which they vowed allegiance required love, humility, poverty, and joy in Christ. To a degree which had never before been witnessed on earth, it now became a luxury to share in the earthly sorrows and passion of our Lord. The brown capoch or frock, which, according to the fashion of the country, was fastened to the waist with a cord, formed all the clothing which they deemed necessary, and constituted the honorable badge of the order. Innocent III. was induced by the simplicity and humility of

a This view was carried to its ultimate point in the 40 Conformities of *Bartholomaei Albicii* (de Pisis) Liber Conformitatum, 1385, and acknowledged by the General Chapter at Assisi, 1399. Mediol. 1510. f. and often. Extracts by *Erasmus Alberus*, with a Preface by *Luther*: Der Barfüsser Mönche Eulenspiegel u. Alcoran. 1531. L'Alcoran des Cordeliers. Gen. 1556. in Lat. and French. Amst. 1734. 2 vols.

this strange saint to allow him to consummate his plans without interruption (1209). (*b*) Honorius III. solemnly confirmed the right of the Order of the Fratres Minores (1223) to preach and hear confessions in every place. A female order (Ordo S. Clarae) was also established (since 1212) by *Clara* of *Assisi*, whose disposition was similar to that of Francis, and for whose followers the latter was induced to prescribe a rule (1224). (*c*) A broad basis was finally formed (1221) for his order, when he established a fraternity composed of those who wished to be his disciples, and yet were under the necessity of remaining in the midst of worldly employments (tertius ordo de poenitentia, *Tertiarii*). (*d*) Whenever Francisco attempted to pronounce a studied discourse he was always confounded, but when he spoke from a sudden impulse, his spirit broke forth from the depths of his heart like a storm. Like some Minnesinger, he celebrated the delicious raptures of heavenly love and the devotion of all nature for its Creator. (*e*) He seems to have possessed a childlike spirit, which loved to commune with all forms of natural life, and made him salute all creatures as brethren and sisters. After many vain longings to die in proof of his love, he perceived that he was to become like the crucified Redeemer, not by a bodily martyrdom, but by the intensity of his devotion. He at last died lying naked on the ground in his favorite church (Oct. 4, 1226), with the five wounds of Christ imprinted on his body. (*f*) The biographies of *St. Francis* were at an early period highly adorned by the extravagant fancies of his followers. Even then among his immediate attendants many legends were received and sent forth to the world, and yet we are compelled to believe that this seraphic stranger upon earth really experienced many things out of the ordinary course of nature.—*Domingo* (b. 1170), a Castilian and a canon of Osma, was a man of a thoughtful spirit, which in its cultivation and profound emotions sympathized intensely with the welfare and miseries of his fellow-men. Deeply affected when he heard of the growth of heresy, he undertook a journey in the manner of the primitive apostles into different parts of the south of France (after 1206), that he might effect the conversion of the Albigenses. On him and his assistants in this enterprise, Innocent imposed (1215) the rule of Augustine, and Honorius (1216) conferred on them the privilege of exercising a general pastoral care in the character of preaching friars (Fratres praedicatores, in France Jacobins). Even nuns, principally, at first, such as had been converted from the Albigensian faith, placed themselves under his rule, and at a later period a class of Tertiarians (Fratres et sorores de militia Christi) became connected with his order. The leading principle of the order was, the sacrifice of the dearest objects for the promotion of the saving faith, and the means which its members used were a learned education, holy eloquence, and the restoration of the priesthood to its original all-subduing poverty.

b) *Mat. Paris* ad ann. 1227. p. 234. *c*) In *Holsten. Brockie* vol. III. p. 34ss.

d) *Holsten. Brockie* vol. III. p. 39ss.

e) Liebeskampfe des h. Franc. Der h. Fr. als Troubadour. (Der Katholik von Liebermann. 1826. II. 4. N. 1s.) In the Appendix in Vogt.

f) The fact of the sacra stigmata was proved by eye-witnesses: the Legend is very delicately hinted at by *Celano* (II, 1. § 24.) Comp. *Raynald.* ad ann. 1237. N. 60. *Wadding* ed. Rom. vol. II. p. 429.

No sooner had *Dominicus*, in the General Chapter at Bologna (1220), effected the passage of an act by which his order vowed to maintain perpetual and perfect poverty, than he died (Aug. 6, 1221), uttering anathemas upon any who should pollute his order by bestowing upon it earthly possessions.—The constitution of these two orders was developed, so far as related to essential matters, in a similar manner. A Guardian, who among the Dominicans was called a Prior, presided over a convent, a Provincial was placed over all the convents in a country, and a General (minister generalis) residing at Rome was over the whole order. Each of these officers had the counsel and inspection of certain Definatores, who represented the several congregations under their jurisdiction. The principal superintendence and legislation was vested in the provincial convents, and for the whole order in the General Chapter. Although these mendicant orders were freed from the ordinary cares of secular life, they were thrown into frequent contact with the people. They, in contrast with the cathedral chapters, presented to those possessed of eminent talents and merit a path by which the highest dignities of the Church might be attained. As they possessed the right to receive confessions wherever they might be, they soon became the spiritual advisers of the whole Church, for they were often intrusted with secrets which persons would not confide to their own pastors at home. In this way they easily found occasion to interfere in all the relations of families, cities, and states. (*g*) As their table was every where spread, they could admit vast multitudes to their order. Many convents indeed amassed by begging much wealth, the possession of which was reconciled with their vows of poverty by the fact that it was owned not by individuals, but by the general body. With the papal court they were united by the bonds of a reciprocal interest, and hence the mendicant friars were regarded by the pope as his standing army, and by various kinds of charters they were exalted above the episcopal clergy. (*h*) But this exaltation above the more ancient orders, their encroachments upon the spiritual duties of pastors and the jurisdiction of the universities, and the complete violation of all privileges previously possessed, provoked a permanent and often stormy opposition. *William* of *St. Amour* became the leader of their opponents, and pointed out the dangers to which the Church was exposed on account of this foolish system of sanctified beggary. Although such men as *Thomas* and *Bonaventura* defended the higher objects contemplated by their orders with consummate ability, even they were obliged to concede that such bodies were very likely to become worldly-minded, and to be perverted from their true design. (*i*) Hence, although the mendicant orders were at first regarded as instruments for restoring the Church to its primitive vigor, and were hailed as a new establishment of the

g) *Mat. Paris* ad ann. 1239. p. 359, ad ann. 1243. p. 414, ad ann. 1246. p. 465ss.

h) *Emm. Roderici* nova Col. privilegiorum apost. Regularium mendicantium et non mend. Antu. 1623. f.

i) *Guilelm.* de periculis novissimorum temp. 1256. (Opp. Constant. 1632. 4. *Brown*, Append. ad fasc. rer. expet. et fugiend. p. 18.) *Thomas:* contra retrahentes a religionis ingressu. Contra impugnantes Dei cultum. Opp. Par. vol. XX.) *Bonaventura:* L. apol. in eos, qui Ordini Min. adversantur. De paupertate Christi c. Guilelmum. Expositio in regulam Fratrum minor. (Opp. Lugd. 1678. vol. VII.) *Bulaei* l. c. vol. III. p. 260ss.

power of the Lateran, they really produced a great dissension among all the elements of ecclesiastical life. The two orders were themselves often brought into collision with each other in consequence of the identity of their worldly objects. Mutual jealousies were exhibited in attempts to disparage one another, and in doctrinal disputations, so that it was soon evident that their interests were in different directions. The Dominicans, in consequence of their control over the inquisition, and their possession of the confidence of the higher classes, obtained ascendency by inspiring a dread of their power and their political influence; but the Minorites possessed the affections of the people, and in consequence of their *Portiuncula-indulgences* and their legendary glory, their order was supposed to possess more than common power in conferring absolution for sins. (*k*) At an early period of their existence the Dominicans perceived that they could never attain their objects without a scientific character, and hence, in 1230, they secured for themselves a theological chair in the University of Paris. The Minorites soon followed their example.—St. Francis himself lived to see the origin and progress of a party under the guidance of *Elias* of *Cortona*, combining eminent scientific acquirements and wealth in the service of the holy cause. On the other hand, *Anthony* of *Padua* (d. 1231), in the true spirit of his master, thought salvation possible only to those who were simple-hearted and separated from the world, and when he could obtain no audience for such doctrines among his fellow-men, he sought consolation by preaching to the fishes. For many years the two parties contended for supremacy in the order. Elias was twice elected General, was twice deposed from that office, and finally, having fallen out with the pope (1244), he connected himself with the party of Frederic II. (*l*) Victory at last decided in favor of this milder party (Fratres de communitate), since its principles afforded opportunity to combine the reputation of a mendicant order with the power and wealth of the world. On the other hand, those in whom the bold spirit of their founder continued (Zelatores, Spirituales), refused even to possess property in common. The pope's decision was given in favor of the victorious party from regard to a distinction between a possession in fee simple and a possession of usufruct, and also to the fact that the ownership of the entire property of the Minorites was ostensibly conferred upon the Roman Church. (*m*) With the courage of men who had nothing to lose, the Spirituales then turned their reproaches upon the Roman Church itself, and as their demand that the order should be subjected to the rule of absolute poverty was in glaring contrast with the wealth of the clergy, and as their voluntary rejection of all earthly possessions was seen in the midst of a Church filled with quarrels for this very kind of spoil, a hope was indulged that St. Francis was about to effect through them a great reformation of the Church. This hope was in some degree sustained by a prophecy of the Abbot *Joachim* of Floris in Calabria (d. 1202), who, being full of grief for the corruptions of the Church, pre-

k) Acta SS. Oct. vol. II. p. 597ss.—Cyprian the Younger (of Dantzic), krit. Gesch. d. Port. Ablasses. 1794.

l) *Wadding* vol. I. p. 860. vol. II. p. 160. vol. III. p. 34. 101. 312.

m) *Greg.* IX. a. 1231. (*Roderici* l. c. p. 7ss.) *Innoc. IV.* a. 1245. (*Ib.* p. 18.)

dicted that it would be subverted and then be gloriously renewed, according to the figures of the Apocalypse, at the commencement of the third age of the world, which he placed in the year 1260. (*n*) An Introduction to that *Everlasting Gospel*, (*o*) which was to come in the place of the gospel of Christ which then prevailed and which was originally intended only as a preparation and symbol of the truth, was published, and announced that the period then passing was the age of the Holy Spirit, which had commenced with the labors of St. Francis and his genuine disciples. Those who put confidence in such predictions were in no wise perplexed when the period assigned for these wonderful revelations had passed. The Spirituales were united by *Celestine V.* into a congregation of poor Celestine-Eremites. *Boniface VIII.* dissolved this association (1302). *John XXII.* surrendered the Spirituales, and especially the lay brethren among them (Fratricelli), into the hands of the Inquisition (after 1318). Many of them joyfully gave up their lives in the flames, because they were determined to possess no property on earth. (*p*) But even the other Minorites, having satisfied their consciences by an apparent surrender of their possessions into the hands of the Romish Church, were zealous in maintaining against the Dominicans, that Christ and the apostles owned no property in common. John XXII. rejected this assertion as heretical, and formally renounced the property of the Franciscans, which as a mere pretence his predecessors had held (1322). (*q*) By this means the order lost a portion of its members, who, with *Michael* of *Cesena*, their general, took refuge with the Emperor Louis, and defended his cause against the popes. On the death of Louis the Spirituales wandered about as fugitives, and founded a few settlements. They were often overthrown, but were invincible by mere force, and at last most of them became reconciled to the Church in consequence of some concessions made to them. At Constance especially, they, together with the Conventuals, who regarded their possessions as still belonging to the donors, were recognized under the name of the Brethren of the Rigid Observance, with superiors of their own. (*r*) —The most celebrated doctors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were mendicant friars. But when, in the fifteenth century, the hierarchy were surpassed in attainments by the classes in the interests of science, the mendicant friars became the principal opponents of the latter, and the champions of every Romish abuse, and made use of every artifice to keep the people in the immaturity of a superstitious dependence. But the master

n) De concordia utriusque Test. Expositio Apocal. Ven. 1519. Psalterium decem chordar. Ven. 1527. 4. Comp. Acta SS. Maj. vol. VII. p. 98ss. *Engelhardt*, Joach. u. d. ew. Ev. (KGesch. Abhandll. Erl. 1832. N. 1.) *C. U. Hahn*, die apokal. Lehren d. Joach. v. Flor. (Stud. u. krit. 1849. H. 2.) *Ahr*, Phil. d. Hohenst. p. 312ss.

o) Introductorius in Ev. aeternum, by *Gerhard*, the confidant of John of Parma, a General subsequently deposed, about 1254. Since destroyed, with the exception of some Extracts in *Argentre*, Col. judiciorum de novis err. Par. 1728ss. vol. I. p. 163ss. *Eccard* vol. II. p. 849ss. In a similar spirit *Olivi* d. 1297. Postilla super Apoc. Extracts in *Baluzii* Miscell. l. I. p. 213ss. [*C. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Ketzer im MA. Stuttg. 1852. 3 vols.]

p) *Mosheimii* Institt. H. ecc. Cent. XIV. Chap. II. § 26. note *w*.

q) *Baluzii* Vitae Pap. Aven. vol. I. p. 598. *Extrav. Joan.* XXII. Tit. 14. c. 2ss. *Wadding* vol. VI. p. 394s.

r) Sess. XIX. (*Hardt* vol. IV. p. 515.)

minds of this period combined with their old adversaries to expose to general scorn their intellectual shallowness, their stupidity, their covetousness, and their affected clamor about heresy.

§ 266. *Public Worship.*

Holiness, during this period, was generally looked upon as a mere external thing. Even in the fourth century the hermits of the Thebais, and some others, had been in the habit of reckoning the number of their pater-nosters by some external token. (*a*) This formality in prayer received a definite form and predominant reference to the divine Mother, when the Dominicans introduced the *rosary* (Rosarium) into general use. Public worship consisted almost entirely in the offering of the *Mass*, which professed to be the celebration of a present incarnate Deity, but in fact it often degenerated into a work of superstition, perverted by unbelief to purposes of gain. The business of instruction, however, was not altogether neglected by the Church, especially on the part of the itinerant mendicant friars, whose hearers were frequently so numerous that no temple but that of God under the open heavens was sufficient to contain them. The discourses of many *preachers* abounded in scholastic learning or fantastic conceits, but there were also some who proclaimed the word of God in a popular style. Thus the Dominican *John* of *Vicenza* (about 1230) became distinguished for his eloquence, and before he allowed himself to become an object of ridicule by meddling with miracles and political affairs, he was an eminent peacemaker between the numerous factions which then distracted Italy. (*b*) Thus also *Berthold* of Ratisbon (d. 1272) powerfully aroused the rude and hardened consciences of his hearers, and urged upon them the duty of worshipping God in spirit. (*c*) *Gailer*, also, of *Kaisersberg* (d. 1510), whose own heart was pervaded by a sincere love of perfection, assailed the follies of the world and of the Church with the weapons of the keenest wit. (*d*) *Gabriel* of *Barletta* (about 1470), a Neapolitan preaching friar, presented a specimen of this humorous style of popular preaching, in which the speaker sometimes gave to his discourses even the ordinary comic flavor. (*e*) This kind of address was thought to be especially allowable during the Easter festival, when, according to a prevalent custom, the roughest jests were tolerated even in the pulpit to excite what was called the Easter laugh. (*f*) As none but the clergy took part in the public services, the hymns used in the Church remained without alteration in the Latin language. In addition to those which had been used, some of a tender character composed among the Franciscans were generally adopted

a) *Palladii* Hist. Laus. c. 23. *Sozom.* H. ecc. VI, 29. *Mabillon*, Ann. O. Bened. vol. IV. p. 462s. Acta SS. O. Bened. Praef. ad Saec. V. N. 25ss.

b) Original authorities in *Raumer*, Gesch. d. Hohenst. vol. III. p. 508ss.

c) Berthold des Franc. Predigten, th. vollständig, th. in Auszügen, edit. by *Kling*, Berl. 1824. Comp. Wiener Jahrb. 1825. vol. 32. p. 194ss.

d) Weltspiegel d. i. Predigten ü. Sebast. Brands Narrenschiff. Bas. 1574. and often.—*F. W. Ph. v. Ammon*, G. v. K. Leben, Lehren u. Pred. Erl. 1826. *A. Stroeber*, Essai hist. sur la vie et les écrits de G. de K. Strasb. 1834. 4.

e) Sermm. quadrigesimales. Brese. 1497. and numerous collections of his discourses, especially that of Ven. 1577. 2 vols.—*Baumgarten*, Nachr. v. Merkw. Büchern. vol. VII. p. 124ss.

f) *Füssli*, Beitr. z. K. u. Ref. Gesch. vol. V. p. 447ss. Hist. polit. Blätter. 1839. vol. IV. H. 6.

by the Church. Congregational singing, in which the people took part, had its origin in the extraordinary festivals and among the Fraternities, where the congregations participated more than usual in the services. In Germany it especially grew out of the Kyrie Eleison, which was anciently sung by the people in full chorus as a Refrain. (*g*) During the fourteenth century the festival of the *Immaculate Conception* (§ 225) was more and more observed, and the doctrine which it commemorated became, through the influence of St. Thomas, a party question between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. Great agitations were produced by the discussion of this question in the University of Paris, but finally that body (1387) and Clement VII. (1389), who was carried away by its influence, declared themselves in favor of the doctrine because they regarded it as most favorable to the interests of the Church and of true piety. (*h*) In Berne the Dominicans supported their side of the controversy by causing an image of the Virgin to shed tears of blood, by producing letters from glorified saints, and by branding a deluded man with certain marks in imitation of the wounds of Christ. The tissue of deceit, stupidity and crime, by which these things were rendered plausible, was finally exposed to public scorn, a legate presided over the spiritual court appointed for an investigation of the affair, and four of the principal agents in it were burned (1509). (*i*) The doctrine of a change of the sacramental bread into the body of the incarnate Lord was celebrated on the festival of Corpus Christi (F. corporis Domini). This festival, which originated in connection with numerous dreams and visions in the diocesan church of Liege, over which he had formerly presided, Urban IV. proclaimed (1264) as a general festival of the Church. It was, however, generally neglected by his successors, and was merely re-established by Clement V. as the festival of the grand miracle in which was displayed the highest glory of the Church. (*k*) Near the close of the thirteenth century a report, the origin of which was unknown, generally prevailed in the city of Rome, that according to a custom remembered by some very aged people, a centennial indulgence might be obtained in the church of St. Peter on the occurrence of the Jubilee Year, 1300. Boniface VIII. was induced by the vast concourse of devout persons who on this account thronged the city, to bestow upon all who, in a penitential spirit, should on this *year of Jubilee* visit the churches of the apostles, a complete pardon for the sins of the whole previous life. Hundreds of thousands flocked to Rome, so that people were compelled to acknowledge that the whole human race was Romish, and like one great family assembled around its common father. Hence, in consideration of the brevity of human life, and the benefit of the Roman people, Clement VI. (1342) decreed that

g) *H. Hoffmann*, Gesch d. deut. KLiedes b. Luther. Bresl. 1832. *F. Wolff*, ü. die Lais, Sequenzen u. Leiche. Heidelb. 1841. *C. Frantz*, Gesch. d. geistl. Liedertexte vor. d. Ref. Halbrst. 1853.

h) *Thomas*, Summa. P. III. Qu. 27. Art. 1ss. *Duns Scotus* in Sentt. L. III. Dist. 3. Qu. 1. § 9. Dist. 18. Qu. 1. § 13.—*Bulaei* l. c. vol. IV. p. 618ss. *Argentré* l. c. vol. I. P. II. p. 61ss.

i) *Anshelm's* Berner Chronik, edit. by *Stierlein*, vol. III. p. 369ss. vol. IV. p. 1ss. *Hottinger*, Hecc. P. V. p. 334ss.

k) *Jo. Hocsemius* (about 1348), gesta Pontiff. Leodiens. c. 6. (*Chapeavilli* gestor. Pontiff. Leod. scriptt. vol. II. p. 293.) *Bzovii* Ann. ad ann. 1230. N. 16. Acta SS. Apr. vol. I. p. 443. Both bulls: *Clement. III.* Tit. 16.

the festival of the Year of Jubilee should be celebrated every fiftieth year. Urban VI. (1389) reduced the interval to 33, and Paul II. (1470) to 25 years. (*l*) From these pageantries in public worship were finally developed the representation of sacred dramas in the form of Mysteries and Moralities, enacted by clergymen, students, or fraternities, frequently with an admixture of popular comic parts, but always as a mode of divine worship. (*m*)

§ 267. *Flourishing Period of the Imitative Arts in the Church.*

Vasari, le vite de' pittori, architetti e scultori ital. Fir. 3 P. 1550. 4. and often. *Ib.* 1846ss. 6 vols. Uebers. v. *Schorn* u. *Forster*, Stuttg. 1832–49. 6 vols. [and transl. into Engl. *Vasari's* Lives of the Painters, &c. in Bohn's Stand. Lib. Lond. 5 vols. 8.] *Seroux d'Agincourt*, Hist. de l'Art par les monumens. Par. et Strasb. 1823. [transl. fr. the Fr. Hist. of Art, &c. 1 vol. Lond. 1848. f.] *H. Hase*, Uebersichtstaf. z. Gesch. d. neu. Kunst. b. Rafael. Dresd. 1827. f. *F. Kugler*, Handb. d. Kunstgesch. Stuttg. 1842. [*Kugler's* Hist. Manual of Sculp. Paint. Arch. anc. and mod. in Bohn's St. Lib. Lond. 2 vols. 8. 1852.] *H. Otte*, Abriss e. kirchl. Kunst-Archaeol. d. MA. d. deutschen Lande. Nordhaus. (1842.) 1845. *C. Schnaase*, Gesch. d. bild. Künste in MA. Düsseld. 1844. 2 vols. *G. Kinkel*, Gesch. d. bild. Künste b. d. chr. Völk. Bonn. 1845.—*C. F. v. Rumohr*, ital. Forschungen. Brl. 1827ss. 3 vols. *E. Forster*, Gesch. d. deutschen Kunst. Lpz. 1851–53. 2 vols.—*Quatremère de Quincy*, Hist. de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes du XI. S. jusqu'à la fin du XVIII. ed. 2. Par. 1832. 2 vols. Uebers. v. *Heldmann*, Darmst. 1831. 2 vols. *G. Moller*, Denkmäler d. deutsch. Bauk. 12 H. Darmst. 1816ss. new series. 1821ss. f. [transl. into Engl. Memorials of Anc. Ger. Goth. Arch. &c. Lond. 2 vols.] *Sulp. Boisserée*, Denkmale d. Bauk. am. Niederrhein. Munich, 1833. f. *B. Stark*, Rom u. Köln o. d. Entwickl. d. chr. German Kunst. (Stud. u. Krit. 1851. H. 2.—*Cicognara*, Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Ital. sino al secolo d. Napoleone. Ven. 1813ss. 3 vols. f.—*Lanzi*, Storia pittorica della Ital. ed. 3. Bassano. 1809. 6 vols. Pisa. 1817. 6 vols. 16. [Hist. of Painting in Upper and Lower Italy, from the Ital. of Lanzi by *W. Roscoe*, Lond. 1847. 3 vols.] *Kugler*, Gesch. d. Malerei. vol. I. p. 108ss. [H. of Painting, transl. from the Germ. of Kugler by *Eastlake* and *Head*, Lond. 1842. 1846.]—*J. H. Wessenberg*, die chr. Bilder. Const. 1827. 2 vols. (*J. v. Radowitz*) Ikonographie d. Heiligen. Brl. 1834. *Didron*, Iconogr. chretienne. Par. 1841. vol. I. [Christ. Iconography, from the Fr. of Didron by *Millington*, Lond. 1851. 2 vols. *Lord Lindsay*, H. of Chr. Art. Lond. 1847. 3 vols. 8. *E. Cresey* and *G. L. Taylor*, Arch. of MA. Lond. 4to. *J. S. Memes*, H. of Paint. Sculp. and Arch. Boston. 1831. 12. *A. Cunningham*, Lives of eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Lond. and New York. 1830. *Mrs. Jameson*, Early Italian Painters. Lond. 1843. *H. Shaw*, The Decorative Arts, Eccles. and Civil, of the Mid. Ages. Lond. 1852.]

Among the Germanic nations, the antique style of *Architecture*, especially in its Byzantine character, had been adopted in the erection of their churches. Barrel-shaped and cruciform arches, much depressed, were generally adopted in their construction, as the knowledge of the ancient proportions and ornaments had been gradually lost (portal of the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon, crypt at Freysingen). But with the new life which sprung up in the eleventh century, a peculiar style of sacred architecture was developed in consequence of the use of the pointed arch. In a few instances this form had been previously adopted as a temporary expedient in some Italian structures (St. Lorenzo of Subiaco, 847, Ruins of Tusculum), but its appropriate home was among the Northern nations, with whose pointed gables it admirably corresponded, and yet required but little counterpoise. But that

l) *Jacobi Cajetani* de centesimo s. Jubilaeo anno Lib. (Bibl. PP. Max. vol. XXV. p. 936. Extracts in *Raynald.* ad ann. 1300. N. 1ss.) *Villani* VIII, 36. *Extrav. comm.* V. Tit. 9, c. 1. *Raynald.* ad ann. 1470. N. 55.—*Charl. Chais*, Lett. hist. et dogm. sur les Jubilées et les Indulgences. Haye. 1751. 3 vols.

m) *W. Hone*, Ancient Mysteries. Lond. 1823. *W. Marriott*, Coll. of Engl. miracle plays. Bas. 1838. *Monmerque* et *Michel*, Théatre français au moyen-âge. Par. 1839. Hist. pol. Blätter. 1840. vol. VI. Th. 1–4. *C. A. Wittenhaur*, de artis scenicae apud Germ. initiis. Bon. 1852. *Gervinus*, Gesch. d. poet. Nat. Lit. vol. II. p. 355ss.

which was at first a work of necessity soon became the freest expression of the heart, the vaults of the domes rose up on every hand like a stone forest, and the tall, slender pillars struggling upwards, became the type of a spirit aspiring after heaven. The ground-form still continued to be the Basilica, often in the shape of the cross (in the Latin style), the choir terminating in a polygon, as a church of priests represented the highest aspiration of architecture in the interior, and the towers expressed the necessary culminating and final points of the general effort. In the fantastic decorations of leaves and flowers, of scrolls and grotesque figures, of gentle animals and the old conquered dragon, wrought in stone, the abundance of nature as well as of the world of fancy, was enlisted in the service of devotion. A mysterious light entered the lofty, sombre halls through painted windows, which were the purest transparent representations of color. (*a*) Figures derived from sacred history grew out of the twisted columns, and scenes from profane and ecclesiastical history were represented by shepherds engraved in stone, and resting with folded hands upon the tombs of saints, bishops, and princes. The Church was thus like a new temple of Solomon, a type of the earth with all its children, and the vault of heaven stretched above them. The erection of these sacred buildings was then a great popular expedient by which men could conquer a holy land on their native soil, could pour the wealth of private life into the house of God, and transmit the vast plans of one generation to its successors. (*b*) The first stonemasons and architects came from the monasteries, and gradually lodges of freemasons were organized, in which the results of mechanical skill were communicated from one person to another, and the credit of the trade was secured. (*c*) In the secrecy of these lodges an asylum was also found for dispositions which rose superior to the contemporary Church, and hence we find that ecclesiastical corruptions were sometimes freely and boldly proclaimed by the stones which compose the most splendid monuments of the Church itself. The most flourishing period of this architecture was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when *Conrad* of *Hochstaden* laid (1248) the foundation stone of the cathedral of Cologne, and *Erwin* of *Steinbach* formed the design (1275) of the tower of the minster at Strasburg. (*d*) During the fifteenth century it passed in some measure into decay, not on account of an excessive refinement in building, but because that form of pious feeling which creates such works for a distant future no longer existed in the public mind, and the spirit of the middle ages was gone. This Germanic style of architecture, which since the time of Vasari has received the name of Gothic, has subsequently prevailed extensively in France, England, Spain and Sicily. In Italy the sight of the old Roman architectural structures was too overpowering to

a) *M. A. Gessert*, Gesch. d. Glasmalerei. Stuttg. 1819. [Art of Painting on Glass, from the Germ. of Gessert. Lond. 1825. 4.]

b) Comp. *C. Grüneisen* u. *E. Mauch*, Ulm's Kunstleben im MA. Ulm. 1840.

c) Comp. *Hebbmann*, die 3 ältesten Denkmale der teutschen Freimaurerbrüderschaft. Aarau. 5819. (1819.)

d) *S. Boisserée*, Gesch. u. Beschr. d. Doms v. Cölln. Munich. (1823.) 1842. 4. *J. v. Görres*, der Dom. v. Kölln. u. das Münster v. Strasb. Regensb. 1842. *F. Kugler*, d. Dom. v. Kölln. (Deutsche Viertelj. Schr. 1842. N. 19.)

allow of its adoption. Its utmost limits in that direction are witnessed in the white marble mountain of the cathedral of Milan, with its host of statues, where the Romish element already begins to interfere with the German. Every remnant of this German style was surrendered when antique grandeur and purity was introduced with the revival of classical antiquity. *Brunelleso* formed the arch of the cupola of the Cathedral of Florence (since 1421), and *Julius II.* laid the foundation of the modern St. Peter's Church (1506), the beautiful structure of which was commenced after the plan of *Bramantes*, and has been so fatal to the interests of the papacy, but has finally proved to be its most exalted type, and its proudest monument. (*e*)

The *Plastic Arts*, from which Christian morality withheld the privilege of presenting any figures without costume except those of the martyrs, were developed in forming the ornaments and utensils of churches, and had their principal home in Florence. (*f*) *Nicolas Pisano* (1221–74), whose works were wrought after the models of antiquity, deserves the credit of being their modern father. *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (1378–1455) cast in bronze the doors of the baptistery in a style which made them worthy of adorning the entrance to Paradise, but he was an artistic painter in metals, and hence his successors have been much perplexed when they attempted to imitate him. During the same period every delightful variety of nature's beauties was represented in the pure and animated reliefs of *Lucca della Robbia* (1388–1450). *Donatello* (1383–1466) made up for his deficiency in depth of character by his passionate emotion. *Michael Angelo* (1474–1564) in his youth formed a group of the Madonna with the dead body of our Lord, in which much feeling, delicacy, and beauty were exhibited, but at a later period he seems to have despised all attempts to delineate subjects of Christian beauty. His mausoleum of the Medici is an embodiment of profound and petrified thoughts, and his Moses is a terrible representation of a popular ruler. On the other side of the Alps the imitative arts were generally made subservient to architecture. From the shops of the goldsmiths and brasiers of that period proceeded many careful imitations of ordinary nature adapted to pious uses. In this limited department of art, *Peter Vischer's* Reliquary of St. Sebaldus (1506-19) possesses an artistic excellence of the very highest degree.

Modern *Painting* originated in the effort to represent the views which are peculiar to Christianity, and received its highest cultivation from the patronage of the Church. In the Western Church, it is true, there were some who denounced the use of pictures and statues as an unlawful indulgence of the eyes, but generally it was thought that the arts might properly be used, and the treasures of the Church might be worthily expended at least in commemorating the saints. Ecclesiastical laws were therefore directed only against those representations which were thought to be grossly sensual and of a corrupting character. The pious feelings which found satis-

e) Descrizione istor del principio e proseguimento della fabrica del duomo di Firenze. Flor. 1786. *Fontana*, il Tempio Vaticano e suo origine. Rom. 1694. f. *Platner*, d. neue Peterskirche. (Beschr. d. Stadt Rom. vol. II. pp. 134–229.)

f) Comp. *Aug. Hagen*, die Chronik s. Vaterstadt v. Florentiner Lor. Ghiberti. (Kunst-Roman) Lps. 1833. 2 vols.

faction in the use of relics, obtained still higher enjoyment from an image in which we possess such a beautiful medium of connection between the flesh and the spirit. The glorious forms in which the martyrs receive the palms of victory as they ascend to heaven, reconcile us to the repulsive scenes in the midst of which their tortures are depicted. The old traditions (§ 139) which had been so prevalent in the ancient Church, never became entirely obsolete in Italy. In the mosaic work of the Roman churches are to be found specimens of paintings produced in almost every preceding century. A very delicate and expressive style of miniature painting appears in the manuscripts written in the convents in the time of the Saxon emperors. (*g*) As soon as intellectual life began to be awakened by intercourse with Constantinople, Christian art also made its appearance first among the Italians. A corporation with a regular constitution was formed under the patronage of St. Luke among that highly refined people, when it advanced to its greatest perfection. The design of the paintings obtained from Constantinople was generally grand, but the figures were vacant, mummy-like, and of an extravagant size, but painted with some degree of skill, and generally on a ground of gold. The school formed on this model was commenced by *Guido* of *Siena* (about 1221) and *Giunta* of Pisa (1210–36), and was completed by *Cimabue* (about 1240–1300). The divine Virgin painted by the latter in Florence is noble and saintly, but unnatural. *Giotto* (1276–1336) abandoned not only the stiff manner but the lofty spirit of antiquity, and under the impulse of Dante's suggestions, founded a peculiar style of Italian art by imitating nature in her most animated movements. Not only the commissions given but the conduct presented by the monks, afforded the artistic skill of this *Florentine school* many opportunities to combine the pathetic with the burlesque of ordinary life. Even in representations of Scriptural history, this school, which attained its highest perfection in *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (1451–93), presented its scenes in a domestic, common style, so that in its hands the manger of Bethlehem exhibited simply a Florentine accouchement. But *Angelico* of *Fiesole* (1387–1455) had already introduced into his art the significance and endless variety of human expression, and infused into his sweet pictures the riches of a heart at home not only in the convent but in heaven. He was peculiarly the painter of glorified saints, and by means of his employment enjoyed communion with his Lord. *Masaccio* (1402–43), to whom was opened the secret of the chiaro scuro, returned again with joy to beautiful nature, and to the grand thoughts of the old ecclesiastical traditions. When *Leonardo* (1452–1517) had profoundly developed the laws of the art, and even in his Lord's Supper (the heads of the apostles in Weimar) had combined the charm of the supernatural with exalted individual beauty, *Fra Bartolomeo* (1469–1517) nobly and clearly delineated scenes from sacred history with devout conscientiousness, and in attractive coloring. Finally *Michael Angelo*, by his gigantic power and thorough knowledge of nature, became the painter of the Old Testament, because no subjects seemed worthy of his master pencil but the prophets of olden time and the tremendous

g) *Rive*, Essai sur l'art de verifier l'âge des miniatures peintes dans les manuscrits. Par. 1782. f.

scenes of the Last Judgment. Even the *Lombardic school* had its origin in the Church. But although *Montagna*, occasionally with sacred earnestness, and *Bellini*, with cheerful loveliness, have given us pictures of heavenly and saintly forms, the most perfect specimens of this school are brilliant representations of attractive sensuous beauty and republican glory. In *Germany*, a national school of Christian painting was formed at first on the Lower Rhine, and afterwards at Nuremburg, whose subjects were generally taken from the common traditions, but with a decided preference for those of a typical and allegorical nature. The very first effort it put forth, in the cathedral picture of the patron saint of Cologne (1410), seemed like a new creation. The masters of this school are the two brothers *Van Eyk* (about (1366–1470) and *Albert Durer* (1471–1528), each devotedly attached to subjects taken from sacred history and from nature. They all excelled in the use of a beautiful indestructible coloring, and labored within the limits of a contracted and rather beautiful yet appropriate reality, which in their hands became exalted as the type of the celestial. The two first were poetical and graceful, the last was more judicious, fond of common scenes, but fanciful and inexhaustible not only in his power of invention, but in his diligence in execution, and was scientifically acquainted with all the treasures of art in the Netherlands and in Italy. (*h*) The simplicity of the old ecclesiastical art was still preserved in the purest form in *Umbria*, by means of the spirit and the patronage which proceeded from Assisi, although its rigid sublimity had become somewhat softened and tender. Thus was it with the works of *Perugino* (1447–1524), in the beautiful sphere to which he confined himself, until he condescended to betray his art for money. Thus also was it with respect to *Francisco Francia* (1450–1518), who in spirit belonged to this school, and correctly delineated the ancient forms, while he gave to them the most delicate blending of colors. Thus also was it with *Raphael* (1483–1520), who in Umbria combined the rigidness of ancient Christianity with a proper delicacy of feeling, in Florence found liberty fully to gratify his ardent love of nature, in Rome imparted the beauty of nature to Christian ideals, and in his own bosom found a correspondent sublimity of conception while gazing upon the prophets of Angelo. The Madonnas of his youth are full of sadness and presentiment, those which he executed in Florence of simple perfect happiness, and those of the Sistine chapel have an expression appropriate to the virgin queen of heaven. The Bible in the hands of this great painter of the Church became a series of pictures, and in the Stanzas of the Vatican he has given perpetuity in the world of art to the gorgeous vision even then beginning to vanish, according to which the papacy was the central point of all ecclesiastical and spiritual life. (*i*) Even his other purely secular productions were adjusted to the same exalted position, and the adventures of the Olympic deities were conformed to the spirit of the age of the papal Medici, and exhibited all the embellishments of the most exuberant fancy. But in

h) *G. F. Waagen*, Hubert u. Joh. v. Eyck. Brsl. 1822. *A. Weisse*, A. Dürer u. s. Zeita. Lpz. 1819. *J. Heller*, d. Leben u. d. Werke A. Dürers. Lps. 1831. Only 2 vols. in 3 Abth. *B. Stark*, A. Dürer. (Germania. 1851. p. 625ss.)

i) *G. Bellori* Descr. delle imagine dipinte da Rafaello nelle camere del Vaticano. Rom. 1695. [*R. Duppa*, Life of Raphael. (Bogue's Eur. Lib.) Lond. 1847. 8]

the work which enlisted his last and dying energies, he appears to have caught a glimpse of Christ in his future glory. (*k*)

§ 268. *Worship of the Saints.*

The confidence reposed in the goddess, who, either as a bride or as a mother, was supposed to have all power in heaven, was at this time so great that the dominion of the world seemed to have been regarded as a vast female fief (Kunkellehn), and it was no longer a captious jest when it was said that the virgin queen was every day annoyed with all kinds of importunities. (*a*) In Poetry and in the Imitative Arts she was represented as the Christian counterpart of the Siren of Venus, and of Mother Earth, although nature was frequently unconsciously adored in her. The interest felt in particular localities for those relics which had for the most part been brought home by the crusaders, gave occasion for a continual multiplication of saintly legends, embracing many newly invented adventures. A collection of these was made by the Dominican, *James de Voragine* (d. 1298), and not so much on account of the literary contributions of the author as of the popular elements it embraced, and the summary of saints' days in the year which it presented, it was used in all parts of the Western Church under the name of the Golden Legend. (*b*) Some enlightened teachers indeed feared that the continually increasing worship of saints would produce a forgetfulness of God, but the Church not only inculcated a confidence in the prayers of saints, but an imitation of their virtues. The personal relations of particular patron saints to individual families and guilds which had the care of their sacred things, gave occasion to various rival interests in their behalf, and to promote their respective glories by means of the arts. The effect of this was sometimes highly favorable to an increase of this saintly piety. The creation of new saints was dependent upon a very difficult and expensive process at Rome. In some cases where the claims for a canonization were not made out, a beatification was provisionally granted. The right which the popes had reserved exclusively to themselves with respect to these matters, was sometimes exercised by the great councils. The halo of sanctity was a mark of nobility, and the badge of an order which encouraged the highest services by a reward in the humblest form for the present life, but eternal in another. The mere possession of a high ecclesiastical position was not ordinarily enough to confer any special title to this honor. But even the saints of this period present no very exalted specimens of genuine human excellence, since their merit consisted rather in strange and diversified exhibitions of the power of faith in extreme self-denials, and in sacrifices. The influence of the monastic orders was sufficient to obtain the canonization of a few monks, whose scientific investigations were especially characterized by the ecclesiastical spirit. It was generally held that no one should be canonized unless, either during life or by his dead body he had wrought some miracles, as divine announcements of his

b) *A. D. Passavant*, Raf. v. Urbino. Lps. 1839. 2 vols.

a) *Erasmus*, Peregrinatio religionis ergo. Amst. 1655. p. 355ss.

b) Legenda aurea. Hist. Lombardica. Argent. 1479. f. & often ed. Th. *Graesse*, Dresd. et Lps. 1846ss. Translated into all the Western languages.

sanctity. *Nicolas von der Flüe*, on the Alps, appears as an instance of a peculiar class of saints, similar to those of the Thebais. After having performed the duties of a husbandman, a father, a warrior, and a judge in his native land, he became possessed with an intense longing to spend his life with God in the solitude of the forest. A light, like a sharp knife pierced his spirit, and henceforth, during twenty years (1467–87), he lived entirely with God, and with no sustenance except what he obtained from his communion with God. His humble silence, however, could not save him from the suspicions, nor the pious veneration of his fellow-men. In consequence of the former the miracle of the spirit seemed confirmed, and in consequence of the latter he became the counsellor and arbitrator of the neighboring shepherds. When the freedom of the Swiss confederacy was endangered by dissensions among its members (1481), harmony was restored by the presence and authority of Brother Claus. (*c*) Under the guidance of their confessors women became saints. In Germany, *Elizabeth*, the daughter of a king, and full of grief that she could not die a virgin, though the wife of a prince, sustained herself by the profits of her own toil, and turned the Wartburg, so recently the abode of worldly pomp and music, into a hospital. In her widowhood she solemnly renounced her own will and all the world, that she might devote herself to the care of leprous persons, and died (1231) while young, beautiful, and glowing with a saintly love. The stern priest, under whose perverted counsels she thus fell a sacrifice, delighted in the hope that all remnants of earthly feeling had been slain within her spirit, and announced at Rome, with many sworn witnesses, her ardent piety, the radiance of her countenance in prayer, and the miraculous cures which she had effected. Her apotheosis, as of an ideal of charity, was celebrated as early as in the year 1236, a lofty monument of German architecture spans her grave at Marburg, (*d*) and in the legend the saint has obtained so much grace, that even her timid prevarication miraculously became a truth. In Italy we find *Catharine* of *Siena*, the daughter of a dyer, who grew up among the sacred services of the Dominicans. When a child she was accustomed to kiss the very footsteps of these pious men. She could never be satisfied with self-denials and tortures, and at a later period indulged in the use of no nutriment but that which she derived from the elements of the Lord's Supper. Jesus Christ himself condescended to pay the child a friendly visit, wearing his triple crown, and gradually either alone or in the company of a few saints his visits and conversations became more frequent, until they became daily occurrences. Finally he solemnly betrothed the virgin to himself, by conferring upon her a ring, and took from her side her heart, and substituted his own. Such at least was the statement which

c) *Wildmer*, das Götth. in ird. Entwickl. nachgewiesen im Leben Nik. v. d. Fl. Luz. 1819. *Businger*, Bruder Klaus u. s. Zeitalt. Luzern. 1827. (*G. Görres*) Gott. in d. Gesch. Munich. 1831. H. 1. A book imputed to him on voluntary seclusion (Philos. mystica. Neost. 1618. 4.) is not genuine.

d) I. Conradi Marpurg. Elis. vidua. Ep. Examinatorum miracc. ad. Dom. Papam. (*Kuchenbecker*, Annal. Hass. Marp. 1735. Collect. IX.) *Theodoricus Thuring.* (of Apolda) de S. Elisab. (*Canisii* Lect. ed. Basn. Th. IV.) *Greg. IX.* Canonizatio S. Elis. viduae. (Bullar. Rom. Th. I. p. 104.—H. *K. W. Justi*: Elis. d. Heil. Zür. 1797. *Montalembert*, Hist. de S. Elis. de Hongrie. Par. (1836.) 1837. 2 Th. mit. Anm. v. *Stödler*, Aach. 1836. [*C. Kingsley*, The True Story of Elizabeth of Hungary, or the Saint's Tragedy. Lond. 1852. 12.]

she made to her father confessor. It is possible that the interest of the order may have had some influence in the result, but it is certain that this lowly maid was finally adored, not only by this powerful order, but by nearly the whole of Italy. Compelled to spend much of her time in the midst of secular employments she frequently fell into a trance. She was finally induced to abandon the luxury of this contemplative kind of life, and of her attendance upon couches of loathsome disease, that she might devote herself to the work of composing the strifes which then existed in Italy and in the Church. She exhorted Gregory XI. to enter upon another crusade, effected peace between him and the Florentines, urged the return of the papacy to Rome, was used as an instrument in the quarrels of the mendicant friars, and finally died at Rome (1380) the saint of the Roman papacy in its dissensions, and passionately longing to meet her espoused Lord. In consequence of the unfriendly feelings of the Franciscans with respect to her, she was not canonized until a long period after her death, and even then this office had to be performed (1461) by her own fellow-citizen, Pius II. (*e*) The only saint France could claim during this period, since she only effected the deliverance of her country, and met with a tragical end, was never recognized by her age, but was burned as a witch (May 30, 1431). (*f*)

§ 269. *Miracles and Magic.*

Pelliccia, de superstit. medii aevi. (Opp. Basan. vol. IV.) *Meiners*, Abergl. der schol. Jahrh. Hist. Vergleich. d. Sitten des MA. vol. III.) [*Walter Scott*, Demonology & Witchcraft. Lond. 1830. New York. 1831. *G. C. Horst*, Zauber Bibliothek, &c. Mainz. 1826. 6 vols. S. *For. Quart. Rev.* (in Lardner's Museum.) 1830. *E. Salverte*, Hist. of Magic, &c., transl. by *A. T. Thompson*, Lond. 1841. New York. 1847. 2 vols. 12. *W. C. Deadly*, Phil. of Mystery. New York. 1845. 12.]

The intelligence of this age sometimes imposed limits upon the enthusiasm which delighted only in supernatural revelations, and assumed higher ground than the popular faith, since it occasionally tore the mask from deception, or proposed to the legend some questions with regard to its veracity. Bloody Hosts were not generally regarded as miracles, though none could then explain them on scientific principles. And yet Birgitta's revelations were solemnly confirmed (*a*) at Constance and at Basle, and the people cried out "A miracle!" when the mendicant friar saw the blood of Christ flow down the crucifix erected for absolution. (*b*) Numerous pilgrims and beggars, as well as immense wealth and treasures of art were collected at Loretto, on account of the legend of the fourteenth century, respecting the house of the divine Virgin, which, having been consecrated as a temple by the apostles, had been removed by angels from Nazareth, after the loss of the Holy Land,

e) *Acta* SS. April, vol. III. p. 853ss. Her Letters, conversations, and revelations are edited in Italian, by *Gigli*, Sien. 1707ss. 5 Th. 4. comp. *Fabric.*, Bibl. med. et inf. Lat. Th. I. p. 283s. Processus contestationum super sanctitate et doctr. B. Cath. (*Martene*, ampl. Col. Th. VI. p. 1237ss.)

f) Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle, suivis de tous les documents hist. par *Jules Quicherat*, Par. 1841 9. 5 vols.— *K. Hase*, d. Jungf. d. Orl. (Neue Propheten. Lpz. 1851.) [*J. M. Evans*, Story of Joan of Arc. Philad. 1830. *Anon.* Memoirs of Jean d'A. & Hist. of her times. Lond. 1824. 2 vols. 12.]

a) *Gerson*, Fr. de probatione spirituum. (Opp. vol. I. P. I. p. 87.) Tr.: de distinctione verar. visionum a falsis. (*Ib.* p. 43.) *Hardt*, Const. Conc. vol. III. P. III. p. 28ss. vol. IV. P. II. p. 39s.

b) According to George of Anhalt, *Löscher*, Ref. Acta, vol. I. p. 385.

and after many wanderings had found a permanent abode at *Loretto* (1295). (*c*) Mysterious arts to ascertain the future had never been entirely discontinued. Astrology had been raised by the influence of the Saracens to the dignity of a science, and sometimes had an officer at court appointed to attend to its interests. White magic was tolerated by the Church. But the unfriendly spirit shown by the advancing intelligence of the age toward superstition, harmonized with the suspicion of the vulgar that the ordinary limits of humanity can seldom be passed without Satanic art. The same spells which the Church used for the deliverance and exaltation of souls were supposed to be employed by the infernal powers in like manner, for their destruction. The horror felt in the depths of our own nature for such arts has been generally expressed in the arbitrary symbols which superstition has invented. Yet in the Italian legend of the enchanter, *Virgil*, we have not only the unconscious prophet of Christianity who was lamented by Paul, but the skilful employment of the black art in the performance of wonderful feats, and in the construction of buildings. In the Norman *Merlin* also, is set forth a shadowy counterpart of the divine Saviour, when the wild impulses he derived from his demoniac origin are contrasted with the graceful humanity he inherited from his mother. In the German story of *Faust*, the representative and compiler of all the magic of the Middle Ages, and in that of his younger brother of a more southern clime, *Don Juan*, is exhibited the ruin of the most richly endowed genius, when it is determined by the aid of infernal powers to exceed the limits God has assigned to human knowledge and enjoyment. (*d*) The truth of this popular faith in covenants and unlawful intercourse with the devil was finally conceded by the Church, and those who were supposed to be guilty of such things were arraigned before the ecclesiastical tribunals as traitors against divine majesty. (*e*) Sometimes those who addicted themselves to the black art were burned by the direction of the Church, but frequently the imputation of sorcery was derided as a mere superstition. On hearing that witches and wizards practised their arts in Germany to the serious injury of both property and life among the people, *Innocent VIII.* revived (1484) the laws against magic in the widest sense implied in the popular faith, (*f*) and appointed two judges of witches for Upper Germany, who compiled a manual for the trial of witches, as remarkable for its learning as for its superstition and impurity. (*g*) Then commenced a process, during which the popular faith, avarice, and the new modes of evidence required by the penal law, consigned thousands of witches to the flames. The injuries which they were accused of inflicting were generally confined to the most trifling matters of ordinary life, and no witch appears

c) *Baptista Mantuanus*, Ecc. Lauretanae Hist. (Opp. Antu. 1576. vol. IV. p. 216ss.) *Martonelli* Teatro istor. della S. Casa Naz. Rom. 1732. 2 vols. Treated polemically: *Vergerii* L. de Idolo Laur. (Opp. adv. Papatum. Tub. 1563. 4. Th. I.) Ingol. 1584. *Bernegger*, Hypobolimaea Mariae deiparae camera. Argent. 1619. 4. Apologetically: *Turriani* Resp. ad capita argum. Vergerii haeretici. Ingol. 1584. 4. *Turselini* Lauretana Hist. Mog. 1599. Ven. 1727.

d) *J. Gorres*, die deutschen Volksbücher. Heidelb. 1807. p. 207ss. *C. L. Stieglitz*, Sage v. Faust. (*Raumer*, Hist. Taschend. Lpz. 1834.) Comp. Jahrb. f. wiss. Kritik, 1834. N. 25. [*W. Godwin*, Lives of the Necromancers, New York. 1835. 12.] *e*) According to *Gen.* 6. 1–4. *Exod.* 22, 18.

f) *Hauber*, Bibliotheca. St. I. p. 1ss.

g) (*Jac. Sprenger* et *Heinr. Institor.*) Malleus Maleficarum. Col. 1489. 4. & often.

ever to have become wealthy by her arts. Actual crimes were never legally proved. Some may have been induced by the popular superstition, by somnambulistic states, and by narcotic salves, to form criminal desires, and to regard themselves as witches. But in general the violence of tortures, and the various illegal processes of investigation were sufficient to account for the confession of unnatural crimes, without supposing them real. (*h*) But no persons ventured to express doubts with respect to the propriety of such proceedings, except on very rare occasions, and in the most guarded manner. (*i*) The picture drawn of the Witch's Sabbath is only a copy of the fantastic representations often given of the assemblies of heretics. The process against witches now supplied the place of that which had formerly been employed against heretics. It was only in Germany, England, and Scandinavia, that the nation generally became enlisted in its behalf. The bulls of Alexander and Leo against magicians and poisoners in Lombardy, appear to have been directed against some remnants of the Manichaeans. (*k*) As all nature was believed to be subservient to the kingdom of God, and to have a share in the blessings of the Church, many thought proper sometimes to defend themselves even against noxious beasts by exorcism and excommunication. (*l*)

§ 270. *Church Discipline and Indulgences. Cont. from* §§ 66, 202.

The Ban and the Interdict had now lost their power, in consequence of the abuse which had been made of them. The popes were therefore compelled in their political contests to sharpen their spiritual weapons, by abolishing every right previously recognized among enlightened and Christian nations. Clement V. and Sixtus IV. declared the Venetians infamous and outlawed, even to the fourth generation. (*a*) In the thirteenth century the popes introduced the annual practice on the day before Good Friday (in coena Domini), when absolution was especially bestowed before the altar, of solemnly pronouncing sentence of excommunication, in a form not then invariable, against the whole host of heretics and wicked persons of all kinds, then so constantly increasing. (*b*) The discipline of the Church had become exceedingly lax, in consequence of the vast number of the mendicant friars, and the preachers of indulgences. The prerogative by which the popes professed to remit all ecclesiastical punishments became so much extended that they finally possessed the complete power to forgive all sins. This was derived from the doctrine which taught that the merits of Christ and the saints (Thesaurus supererogationis perfectorum) were so abundant, and the unity

h) *N. Remigii* Daemonolatria. Lugd. 1595. 4. Frkf. 1598.—*Hauber*, Bibliotheca, acta et scripta magica. Lemgo. 1739ss. 36 St. *W. G. Soldan*, Gesch. d. Hexenprocesse. Stuttg. 1843. *C. G. v. Wächter* in S. Beitr. z. deutschen Gesch. insb. z. Gesch. d. Strafr. p. 81. 277ss. Comp. *Grimm*, deutsche Mythol. p. 579ss.

i) *Ulr. Molitor*, de Lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus. Col. 1489. Strasb. 1575. 4. *J. Wier*, de praestigiis daemonum. Bas. 1563. & often.

k) *Hauber*, St. III. p. 151ss. St. V. 277ss.

l) *Hemmerlin*, Tr. de exorc. et adjurationib. e. animalia bruta (about 1451).—*S. Prix*, Rapport et récherches sur les procès et jugem. relatifs aux animaux. Par. 1829.

a) *Raynald*, ad ann. 1309. N. 6. ad ann. 1482. N. 13ss. Comp. *Muratori* vol. VIII. p. 1151.

b) *Lambertini* de Festis. P. I. c. 196. *Raynald.* ad. ann. 1411. N. 1. (*Le Bret*) Gesch. d. Bulle In Coena Domini (Stuttg.) 1769s. 4 vols. 4.

of the mystical body of the Church was so perfect, that she had power to dispose of those merits according to the wants of men. (*c*) Even the indulgences of the year of Jubilee were sent beyond the Alps, and when divines were debating whether the pope had power of absolving souls in purgatory, the bulls of indulgence issued by Alexander and Leo soon decided the question. (*d*) Ever since the papal chair had sustained some severe shocks, the popes had opened such a shameless *trade in indulgences*, that those who farmed and dispensed them paid little attention to the repentance and reformation which had always been demanded by the Church as conditions of forgiveness. The indulgence was disposed of as all that was needful for reconciliation with God, even for yet future and intended offences. Grave ecclesiastical letters on the unlawful use of butter were harmless. Some indulgences were granted to obtain funds for the erection of inland churches, hospitals, and even secular establishments of general utility. A large portion of the revenue was consumed by the preachers themselves, but the final receptacle was the treasury of the pope. Just as the profits of all money for indulgences had been formerly devoted to the crusades, they were now appropriated to the Turkish war or to the erection of St. Peter's church. A general rumor, however, prevailed, that Leo X. had promised a part of the money so basely obtained from Germany, to his sister. (*e*) It was in vain that the people remonstrated against these extortions and immoralities, and some of the princes either forbade the preachers of indulgences to enter their dominions, or deprived them of the revenues they had collected. Literary men directed the shafts of their ridicule against these hawkers, and even expressed some doubts whether the tickets they bestowed would be respected by the great Judge of all. The more earnest class of preachers were also indignant and zealous against a trade which involved the murder of the souls of men. (*f*)

§ 271. *Flagellants and Dancers.*

(*Jac. Boileau*) Hist. Flagellantium. Par. 1700. 12. *Schoettgen*, de secta Flag. Lps. 1711. *Förstemann*, die chr. Geisslergesellschaften. Hal. 1828. *Möhnike*, ü. Geisslergesellsch. u. verbrüd, dieser Art. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1833. vol. III. St. 2.)—*Hecker* die Tanzwuth. Brl. 1832.

A system of penance and fleshly mortification by scourging (disciplina) in the closet, was especially recommended by Damiani, and extensively encouraged by the mendicant orders. But all at once appeared long processions of penitents, who went about day and night, naked down to the waist, with heads covered, singing penitential psalms, and whipping themselves until the blood flowed. This peculiar mode of contrition commenced in Perugia (1260), and soon spread over nearly all Italy. In the struggle between the

c) *Alex. Hales*, Summa, P. IV. Qu. 23. Art. 1s.

d) *Alex. Hales*, P. IV. Qu. 23. Art. 2. *Thomas*, Suppl. ad Summ. P. III. Qu. 71. Art. 10. *Trithun.* Chron. Hirsaug. vol. II. p. 535.—*Amort.* l. c. vol. I. p. 96. 209. vol. II. p. 283.

e) *M. Villani* VI, 14. *Guicciardini* l. XIII. p. 396.

f) Appellatio pro parte prince. Norimb. a. 1460. interposita. (*Senckenberg*, Sel. jur. et hist. Frcf. 1738. vol. IV. p. 378.) *Wesseli* adv. indulgentias Dsp. (*Walch*, Mon. medii aeri, vol. I. p. 111.) *Berthold*, edit. by Kling, p. 384. *Löscher*, Ref. Acta, vol. I. p. 355ss. *Kapp*, Samml. einiger z. Abl. gehör. Schriften, Lps. 1721. *Veesenmeyer*, z. Gesch. d. Ablasswes. kurz. vor. d. Ref. (KHist. Archiv. 1825. vol. III. St. 4.)

Guelphs and the Ghibellines this country had been more than ordinarily filled with vices and crimes, and the people now seemed to have been siezed by a penitential paroxysm, and to celebrate a general season of reconciliation with God. (*a*) A few of these processions crossed the Alps, and were there rather objects of astonishment than of imitation. But when the *black death* came from Asia and passed through Europe (1348), even in Germany every place was startled by the scourging processions of the brethren of the cross, whose doleful songs were especially directed to Christ, entreating him by the recollection of his own sufferings, and from a regard to their repentance, to stay the progress of the plague. (*b*) These scenes were repeated as often as the people were visited by national calamities, or there appeared to be a call for an unusual degree of penitence. A number of these scourging processions passed through Southern Europe, near the commencement of the fifteenth century, under the direction of the Dominican, *Vincentius Ferreri*, a Spaniard, whose eloquence was so powerful among different nations, in exciting men to a religious earnestness, that the gift of tongues seemed to have been restored in him. (*c*) At first the popes were in favor of this movement, because they hoped it might stimulate the energy of the ecclesiastical party against the Ghibellines. But when the scourge began to be looked upon as more efficacious than all ecclesiastical penances and means of grace, the hierarchy became displeased with it. Clement VI. declared himself opposed to an enthusiasm (1349) which threatened the subversion of all ecclesiastical and civil order, (*d*) and finally Vincentius himself yielded obedience to the dissuasive admonition of the Council of Constance. (*e*) This unfriendly disposition of the Church induced some societies of Flagellants to assume a hostile position toward the ecclesiastical authorities. In Thuringia a company of them which had been condemned to the flames by the inquisition (after 1414), denounced the clergy as Antichrist, rejected the use of the crucifix and of images, and the invocation of saints in worship, and substituted the baptism of blood by the scourge for all ecclesiastical sacraments. (*f*) The same kind of sensuous devotion by means of convulsions of pain or pleasure, was practised by bands of *Dancers* in a few towns along the Rhine (1374, 1418). This epidemic was treated in Strasburg as a demoniacal possession, against which, invocations were made to St. Vitus. (*g*)

a) *Monachi Patavini* Chron. (*Muratori* vol. VIII. p. 712ss.)

b) After Closner's Chronik: *C. Schmidt*, Lied u. Predigt d. Geissl. (Stud. u. Krit. 1837. II. 4.) *L. Schmergans*, le grand pélerinage des flagellants. Strasb. 1837. Freely revised by *Tischendorf*. Lps. 1849.—*Hecker*, d. schwarze Tod. im 14. Jahrh. Brl. 1832.

c) *Ludwig Heller*, Vinc. Ferr. nach s. Leben u. Wirkem. Brl. 1830. *Comes de Hohenthal-Staedtelu*, de Vinc. Ferr. Lps. 1839. 4.

d) *Trithemii* Chron. Hirs. II. p. 209. *Raynald.* ad ann. 1349. N. 20.

e) *Gerson*, Ep. ad Vinc. (Opp. vol II. p. 658.) Tr. contra sectam flagell. sc. (*Ib.* p. 660.)

f) *Hardt*, Const. Conc. vol. I. p. 126. Comp. *R. Stumpf*, Hist. flagell. praecipue in Thuringia. 1780. (*Förstemanns* Neue Mitth. a. d. Gebiete hist. antiq. Forsch. vol. II. H. 1.)

g) Notices of Radulphus de Rivo, in the Limpurgian and Alsatian Chronicle in Förstemann, p. 224ss. & Hecker.

§ 272. *Morals of the Clergy.*

Avignon and Rome had now received the names of Sodom and Babylon, and it was reported that in those places Christianity was of no other benefit than as a profitable fable. (*a*) The most exalted and wealthy stations in the Church were regarded merely as livings belonging to certain persons by birth, or easily to be purchased, and those who occupied them followed the example of the Roman court, by devoting themselves wholly to worldly interest. Public services were for the most part administered by an ignorant and low minded rabble, from which no one could ever expect to raise himself by the most meritorious exertions for the good of the Church. (*b*) The clergy were also corrupted by secret lewdness, for the practice of which the spiritual office itself was made subservient, or by concubinage, to which they were often urged by their congregations for the safety of the people, and for which they were taxed by their bishops. (*c*) During the various reformations projected in the fifteenth century, it was sometimes proposed that the honor of the priesthood should be redeemed by restoring to them the rights of nature. But even liberal-minded prelates acknowledged that such a measure would be the commencement of a revolution in all hierarchical relations. (*d*) Hence, while the most unscrupulous portion of the clergy compensated themselves by indulgence in base and scanty pleasures, those who were serious-minded and anxious to comply with the requirements of the Church, and by good works attain a seat in heaven, were borne down by their burden, and made uneasy on account of doubts respecting their salvation. The sentiments of the people with reference to the clergy wavered between habitual reverence and an involuntary feeling of contempt. Sometimes, however, the popular indignation against the sins and privileges of the clergy broke forth into open violence. The literary portion of the laity put into circulation heavy accusations and bitter satires against the clergy. (*e*) Even in some books of pictures were represented many scenes from the lives of the prelates, in contrast with others taken from the humble lives of Christ and his apostles. But in this way the Christian spirit maintained its rights, or at least preserved, in the midst of the Church a full liberty sternly to reprove such enormities; and there were not wanting even in the great councils, some preachers of repentance, who held up a faithful mirror in which the Church could recognize its own distorted features. (*f*) There were always many among the clergy worthy of a better age, who felt the disgrace of their times, and to whom it was

a) *Petrarca*, Epp. sine tit. Lib. (Lugd. 1621.) Ep. 10. 18. *Nic. de Clemangis*, de ruina Ecc. c. 27.

b) *Oresmius* coram Urbino V. (*Flacii* Cat. test. ver. N. 106.)

c) *Conc. Palentin.* a. 1322. c. 7. (*Mansi* Th. XXV. p. 703.) *Nic. de Clemangis* c. 22.—*Theiner*, erzw. Ehelosigk. vol. II. p. 591ss.

d) *Gerson*, Dial. sophiae et naturae super caelib. (Opp. vol. II. p. 617.) More slightly: *Pius II.* (*Platina* p. 645.)

e) Many of these by the Troubadours in *Dietz*, (Zwick. 1829.) in the Fabliaux et contes publ. par Méon (Par. 1808) in *Flacii* Catal. testium veritatis, Epp. viror. obscurorum. Pasquilli (Eleutheropol. 1544.) & others.

f) The discourses of *Bernardus Baptisatus*, *Theobaldus* & others in *Hardt*, Const. Conc. Th. I. P. XVIII. p. 879ss.

evident that so contemptible a hierarchy could no longer control the hearts of men. (*g*)

§ 273. *The Religious Character of the People. Cont. from* § 200.

The gradual transformation which had taken place in the character of the people did not publicly manifest itself until near the close of this period. Superstition was not yet eradicated, but the enthusiasm and poetic fervor it had displayed in former times had gradually disappeared, and the exuberance of fancy which had been enlisted in its service now gave way before the efforts of the understanding. These had been awakened to the highest intensity by the exigences of the real world, and in order to obtain the comforts of life. Not only had the morals of the people been endangered with respect to individual actions, but the very principles on which they were founded had been changed by the free sale of indulgences. Still the Christian spirit and the common sense of the people always returned again to the great elements of moral truth. Literature and science then reviving in great vigor, were generally clothed in a learned dress, and confined to the Latin language. The people were not prepared to enjoy the benefit of the new art of printing until they had learned to read. While the lower clergy remained so ignorant, it was needless to employ any special art to retain the people in that state of pupilage without which no hierarchy will be tolerated, and yet we find some institutions like the censorship of the press, the inquisition, and the limitations imposed upon the use of translations of the Bible, which clearly evince an intention of keeping the people in a degraded condition. The proofs, however, which we possess, that the people were generally ignorant and corrupt, (*a*) refer principally to Northern Germany, and to the lowest classes. The best domestic chaplains were the mothers, (*b*) and knowledge, not sincerity or strong religious feeling, was wanting. It was night, but in many respects a sacred night. Knighthood, and consequently the true basis of an aristocracy, had been undermined by the use of gunpowder, the legal constitutions of the several states, and the new power of the commercial classes. Even the poetry of chivalry had been exchanged in the schools which the Master-singers who lived near the close of the thirteenth century held in the different cities, for lays which related more to the ordinary lives of the middle and laboring classes. The popular elements contained in the ancient poetry were made more prominent, and modern improvements were added to them as in the Low-German fable of Reynard the Fox. During the struggle then in progress between the Church and the State, a third estate had been gradually formed by the side of the nobility and the clergy, which had

g) After *Gerson*, Theol. a. Niem, and especially *Nic. de Clemangis*, de ruina Eccl. (*Hardt*, Const. Conc vol. I. P. III.)

a) Collected in the first chapters of the Histories of the Reformation, e. g. *El. Vjelii* Hist. et necessitas reform. ec. Ulm. 1688. *Loscher*, Ref. Acta, vol. I. p. 169ss. *Spieker*, Luther, vol. I. p. 375ss. 618ss. *Breitschneider*, Luthers Schilder. d. sittl. Verd. Deutschl. (Ref. Almanach 1817. p. 212sss.) [Histories by *Ranke* (transl. by Mrs. Austin), *Waddington*, *Stebbing*, *Soames*, *Seckendorf*, *D'Aubigné* and others.] Ob the other side Betr. ü. d. Zust. d. K. im 15. u. Anf. 16. Jahrh in Bezug. a. d. Nothw. einer d. Grundl. d. K. verletzenden Ref. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1831. P. 4.)

b) Predigten d. Fursten Georg v. Anhalt. Witt. 1555. p. 289.

become acquainted with the pleasures of mental freedom and of civilization. In Italy, especially, where the doctrines of the Ghibelline party were common, where classical studies were cultivated, and the papacy was seen in its corruptions at home, this class became indifferent to the Church, and sometimes to Christianity itself, though it condescended to allow the popular religion to remain unmolested. (*c*) In Germany, especially, a healthy energy still remained, and many had tasted of intellectual freedom in consequence of the municipal liberties they had acquired. Such were therefore prepared to repel every unlawful aggression which might be made upon them in civil or ecclesiastical affairs.

§ 274. *Survey of the Monastic Life. Cont. from* § 265.

The more ancient orders lived in retirement, some of them strictly observing their original severity of discipline, but most of them in the enjoyment of great wealth. Frequently scarcely a semblance of their original rule remained, and sometimes vows were made by the members that they would not regard it. The convents, in some instances, became places of the most shameless lewdness, and the most unnatural crimes were concealed within their walls. Various attempts at reform were therefore made during the fifteenth century, especially at Constance and Basle, and were partially carried to a successful issue by the right or wrong means used by the ecclesiastical deputies, the bishops and the local princes; but they were generally repelled by those who resided in the convents, sometimes with subtilty and insolence, and sometimes with powerless desperation. (*a*) A careful system of legislation respecting the rights and duties of the private members of the orders was gradually perfected in the decretals. (*b*) The prohibition issued at the fourth Council of Lateran (§ 204) was not sufficient to prevent a monastic community from sometimes gathering around some extraordinary master spirit, or from being gradually and imperceptibly formed where persons of like dispositions were brought into contact. These peculiar associations generally found some pope who could be induced to recognize them as incorporate communities. The peculiar circumstances of the age which had called into existence and given such success to the mendicant friars, induced many to follow their example; but for want of some effective and prominent character in the commencement, they could never attain important form or influence. Innocent IV. (1245), to console the *Carmelites* for the loss of the Holy Land, conceded to them the privileges of mendicant friars. (*c*) Alexander IV. (1256) conferred the same privileges upon the *Augustinian Hermits*, whom he gathered together from various scattered associations of monks, and united under the rule of Augustine. (*d*) *Martin V.*, after exhibiting many tokens

c) *Kapp*, Ref. Urk. vol. II. p. 397. 499. *Henke*, Freigeisterei u. Atheismus in Italien. Anh. z. Uebers. v. *Villers*, ü. d. Ref. p. 469ss.

a) Instar omnium: *Jo. Busch* (d. 1479) de reform. monasteriorum quorundam Saxon. (*Leibn.* Scrr. Brunsu, vol. II. p. 476. 806ss.)

b) *Greg.* III. 31. Sext. III, 14. *Clem.* III, 9. *Extr. comm.* III, 8. & others.

c) Bullarium Carmelitanum. Rom. 1715ss. P. I. p. 4ss.

d) Bullarium Rom. vol. I. p. 110. Acta SS. Febr. vol. II. p. 447.

of his dislike toward them, granted similar privileges to the *Servites* (Servi b. Mariae Virg.), an order which originated (1233) in a religious excitement among some gentlemen belonging to the principal families of Florence, and which was intended to celebrate the honors of the divine Virgin and her sorrows. (*e*) *Colombino*, while perusing the lives of the saints was excited to renounce the highest power in the government of Siena for the most menial occupations, and founded, in accordance with the rule of Augustine, the order of the *Jesuites*, (*f*) which was confirmed by Urban V. (1367) as an order of mendicant lay brethren, but was abolished by Clement IX. (1668) as wealthy padri del' acquavite. Finally *Francisco de Paulo* (d. 1507), whose life is represented to have been a monstrous caricature of the life of Jesus, founded an exaggerated resemblance of the order of the Minorites, in that of the *Minimi*, incorporated by Sixtus IV. (1474) and confirmed with a gradual enlargement of their rule by Alexander VI. (1492, 1501), and Julius II. (1506). (*g*) In Spain and in Italy there were certain hermits, who were united in congregations, and assumed the name of *St. Hieronymus* (after 1370). Some of these lived according to the rule of Augustine, but under the patronage of Hieronymus, and others were governed by a rule derived from the writings of him whose name they bore. (*h*) The *Oliretans* (Congr. S. Mariae montis Oliveti) were founded as a congregation of Benedictines in a wilderness near Siena by *John Tolomei*, in commemoration of the recovery of his sight, and were recognized by John XXII. (1319). (*i*) With the approbation of Urban V. (1379) *Birgitta* (d. 1373), a pious seeress, belonging to the royal house of Sweden, who had fulfilled the duties of a wife and a mother, founded the order of the Redeemer (commonly called Ordo S. Birgittae). The rule of this order required that there should be in each convent sixty nuns, and for the performance of its spiritual duties thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brethren. All these, with the numerous convents of the order in the northern countries, were to be under the control of the abbess of *Wadstena*, who was regarded as the representative of the holy Virgin. (*k*)

§ 275. *More Independent Associations.*

As early as in the eleventh century some women in the Netherlands associated together, without entering into any absolute vows, for the performance of works of mercy, and were popularly named *Beghines*, or praying sisters. Their number increased during the thirteenth century, when many could not be satisfied without something more than a connection with either the general Church or with the convents, or were too poor to assume the veil. A more honorable kind of nunneries (the Canonissae saeculares) was also established for the noble widows and the orphan children of the crusaders. The example of the Beghines was soon followed by certain men who

e) *Pauli Florent.* Dial. de oriz. O. Serv. (*Lamii* Delic. Erud. Th. I. p. 188.)

f) *Acta* SS. Jul. Th. VII. p. 333ss.

g) *Acta* SS. Apr. Th. I. p. 193ss. *Helyot*, Th. VII. p. 426ss.

h) *Holsten. Brockie* Th. III. p. 13. Th. IV. p. 1ss. *i*) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1320. N. 50.

k) *Birgittae* revelationes, ed. *Turrecremata*, Lub. 1492. Mon. 1680. f. & often. Life in: *Vastovii* Vitis Aquilonia s. Vitae SS. in Scandinavia. Col. 1623. f. c. notis *Erici Benzel*, Ups. 1708. 4. Rule in *Holsten. Brockie* Th. III. p. 100ss.

were called Beghards. (*a*) A peculiar class of these people, whose office it was to attend upon the sick and to bury the dead, proceeded also (about 1300) from the Netherlands, and were called from their patron saint *Alexiani*, from the huts in which they resided, *Cellitae*, and from their low funeral chants, *Lollards* (Nollbrüder). There was naturally an intercourse between these fraternities and the Tertiaries connected with the mendicant orders, and there were many unobserved transitions from the one to the other. Accordingly after the middle of the thirteenth century, when they were thrown into a hostile position with respect to the hierarchy, and the suspicions of the inquisition had been awakened, many Beghines betook themselves to the communities of the Tertiaries, and again, when the Minorites became involved in party conflicts, many of them became connected with the Beghards and Lollards, since these were regarded as their companions in sufferings and hopes, and were likewise then persecuted as heretics. But after the time of John XXII. the popes protected against the inquisition those engaged only in works of charity. (*b*) In the same country, distinguished as the home of practical views, was formed under the influence of *Gerhard Groot* of Deventer (d. 1384), a powerful preacher of repentance, a society called the *Brothers of the Common Life*, which was composed principally of clergymen engaged in copying books. The convent of regular canons at Windesheim (1386), with which all similar institutions were connected, became the spiritual centre of this community. Some of its members remained in connection with the parishes where they resided, and others lived in the houses of the brethren, supported by the profits derived from their common occupations. The latter were bound by a special vow to refuse all secular, literary, and ecclesiastical honors, and the lives of all were to be devoted to pious exercises and studies, in which nothing was to be allowed unless it tended to their improvement. Laymen were admitted as members, houses were also established for sisters, the literary education of the youth was conducted on Christian principles, and the perusal of the Scriptures in the vernacular language was encouraged, but the grand object of the society was the cultivation of their own spiritual happiness. (*c*)

§ 276. *The Templars and the Knights of St. John. Cont. from* § 211.

Raynald. ad ann. 1307–13. *P. du Puy*, Hist. de la condamnation des Templiers. Par. 1650. 4. Frkf. 1665. 4. *Mohdenhawer*, Process gegen d. O. d. Templ. a. d. Acten d. päpstl. Commiss. Hamb. 1792. *Raynouard*, Monumens. hist relatifs. a la condamnation des Chevaliers du Temple. Par. 1813. in *Michelet*, Procès des Templiers. Par. 1841. 4. *Maillard de Chambure*, Règle et statutes secrets des Temp., précédées de l'hist. de l'etablissement, de la destruction et de la continuation moderne. Par. 1841.

Dark rumors began to prevail respecting the secret crimes committed by

a) *Mosheim*, de Beghardis et Beguinabus, ed. *Martini*, Lps. 1790. *E. Hallmann*, Gesch. d. Urspr. d. belgischen Beghinen. Berl. 1848. [*Mosheim.* Eccles. Hist. Cent. XIII. Chap. II. § 40. note *r*.)

b) Bulls of John XXII. and Greg. XI. 1318. 1374. and 1377. in *Mosheim.* l. c. p. 396. 401. 627.

c) I. Lives of Gerhard and Florentius by *Thomas a Kempis.* (Opp. ed. *Sommalius*, Antu. 1607. 4. p. 765.) *J. Busch*, Chronicon Windesemense, ed. *Rosweide*, Antu. 1621.—II. *Clarisse* (Son and Father) over den Geest en de Denkwijze van Geert Groot. (Archief voor kerkelije Geschiedenis. 1829. vol. I. p. 355. 1830. vol. II. p. 347.) *Delprat*, over de Broederschap van G. Groote. Utrecht. 1830. with an App. by *Mohnike*, Lpz. 1840. *Ullmann*, Reformatoren v. d. Ref. vol. II. p. 62ss.

the Templars. *Philip* the *Fair* commenced an actual investigation of these, by the imprisonment of all the Templars then in France, for which he had made secret preparation, and by the confiscation of their property (Oct. 13. 1307). The charges especially urged against them were a denial of Christ, adoration of the idol called Baphomet, and unnatural lewdness. The proceedings before the royal commission at Paris, which issued in the condemnation of the order, were characterized by the grossest injustice and illegalities. It is indeed true that more than once the interests of Christendom had been sacrificed to the selfish policy of the order, and it is probable that some knights had been guilty of unnatural vices, that the order had become pervaded by a spirit hostile to the Church, and that a few Grand Commanderies had been indifferent to the religious controversies of the day. Nothing, however, was legally proved against the order. It was evident that Philip was eager to get possession of the wealth belonging to the Templars, and to break up the government which they had formed within and independent of his own. *Clement V.* sacrificed them to obtain the favor of the king, and this proud order of knights could expect no aid, for it had lost the friendship of the clergy (*a*) Even before the proceedings were concluded, fifty-four knights were burned by order of Philip (May 12, 1310), because no confession could be extorted from them by all the power of the rack. As a matter of expediency and not from regard to a judicial sentence, the order was abolished by Clement (May 3, 1312). (*b*) Its property was to have been given to the other orders of knighthood, but in France the king firmly grasped the reward of his guilt. *James* of *Molay*, the Grand Master of the order, who with other high functionaries had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, was burned (March 19, 1314) because he publicly denied certain confessions alleged to have been made by him. (*c*) The people looked upon his death as that of a martyr, and upon that of the king and of the pope, which speedily followed it, as special citations to the bar of God. The fate of the expiring order in the several countries where it prevailed was different, according to the justice or favor shown toward it by the princes and bishops, and the courage and unanimity exhibited by the knights themselves. Except in France, they generally were permitted to enjoy life, liberty, and a competent support during life. The memory of the sainted Molay, and a hope that the ruined Temple would in some future day be restored, was secretly spread abroad among the people.—The Knights of St. John, deprived of Ptolemais by the Saracens, settled in Cyprus, but having conquered Rhodes (1310), they afterwards made it the principal seat of their order. The tragical fate of the Templars, in whose guilt they had participated and whose rivals they had been, was not beheld by them in vain. As they were generally connected with the nobility of Europe, and possessed

a) *Nicolai* ü. d. Beschuldigungen, welche dem T. O. gemacht worden. Brl. 1782. On the other side: *Herder*, in the Mercur. March. 1783. *Münter* in Henke's N. Mag. vol. V. p. 351ss. *Hammer*, Mysterium Baphometis revelatum. (Fundgrub. d. Ori. 1818. vol. VI. pt. 1.) *Raynouard* in the Journ. des Savans, Mars, Avr. 1819. Biblioth. univ. vol. X. p. 327. XI. p. 3.

b) *Mansi* vol. XXV. p. 389.

c) *Villani* VIII, 92. Contin. Chron. *Guil. ae Nangis* in *D'Achery* Spicil. vol. III. p. 67. *Raynouard* l. c. p. 205ss.

great power on the sea, their order became a formidable bulwark of Christendom against the Turks.

CHAP. IV.—ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

§ 277. *Scholasticism. Second Period. 13th Century. Cont. from* § 218.

Paris now gave unequivocal evidence that it had become the principal seat of a scholasticism which developed its maturity in intimate connection with academic life. The Physics, the Metaphysics, and the Ethics of Aristotle were introduced by the Arabians, and even Thomas made use of a translation from the original Greek. (*a*) The hierarchy were indeed jealous of the ascendency of a heathen philosopher, and attempted (after 1210) to prohibit the use of the whole, or at least of a part of his writings, but even the power of the Church was ineffectual against a prevalent intellectual tendency of the age. Through the influence of the mendicant friars especially, this *philosopher* was regarded as the harbinger of Christ, and the representative of all natural science, in accordance with whose principles the eternal truth of the doctrines of the Church may be proved, and a systematic connection between them may be established. (*b*) But the spirit of the Church was as powerful as a philosophy which was obliged to direct its energies wherever the highest intellectual interest existed. The Franciscan *Alexander of Hales*, a master of theology in Paris (Doctor irrefragibilis, d. 1245), by his acute analysis of all possible questions, already indicated what was to be the next form philosophy would assume, and at the same time showed by his practical ecclesiastical tendencies the peculiar character which it then possessed. (*c*) The little Dominican *Albertus* of Bollstädt (d. 1280), in the midst of his various academic and ecclesiastical engagements, made a collection of all the knowledge of his age. From the Arabians he derived a knowledge of nature and of its mysteries. (*d*) By his history of the Winter Garden and of the Speaking Head, he obtained the reputation of being a wizard and a man of the people, (*e*) and from his relation to his still greater pupil, the saint, he received the appellation of the Great. The Dominican *Thomas* (Count) of *Aquino* (d. 1274), who taught in Cologne, Paris, Rome, and other cities of Italy (Doctor angelicus), and who refused the office of archbishop of Naples, his native country, may be regarded as the highest point of Scholasticism. Subtle and profound, full of enthusiasm in behalf of the doctrines of the Church as well as of philosophy, he made a powerful effort to effect a reconciliation between Aristotle, Plato, and Augustine. The order to which

a) *Jourdain*, (p. 237.) p. 49ss. 130ss.

b) *Jourdain*, p. 198ss. *Bulaeus* vol. III. p. 81. 140ss. *Launoius*, de varia Aristot. in Acad. Par. fortuna. Par. 1659. 4. ed. *J. H. ab Elswich*, Vit. 1720. Acta Philosophor. Hal. 1720. St. XI. p. 716. St. XV. p. 869.

c) Summa univ. Theol. in l. IV. Sentt. Ven. 1475. Col. 1622. 4 vols. f.

d) After the Commentaries upon Aristotle and Lombardus, consult Summa Theol., physic. and astrol. writings, Opp. ed. *P. Jammy*, Lugd. 1651. 21 vols. f.—*Rudol. Noviomagensis* de vita Alb. Magni. Col. 1490. f.

e) *Görres:* teut. Volksbüch. p. 27ss. Volks- u. Meisterlieder. Heidelb. 1817. p. 208ss.

he belonged has been accustomed to regard his Summa as the most perfect development of Christian science, and even the Church, after some hesitation, finally received it as a work in which Christ himself might find pleasure. (*f*)

§ 278. *Scholasticism. Third Period. 14th and 15th Centuries.*

When the highest intellectual energies had been exerted to harmonize the two great authorities of the age, the only alternative for science in its progress, was to direct its attention to the differences which existed between them. But this struggle with the internal and external power of the Church was manifested in a play of bold questions which exceeded the proper province of theology, and although they were all so decided as not to conflict with the doctrines of the Church, in the mere proposal of them intellectual freedom was preserved, and an obscure dissatisfaction was shown toward the limitations imposed upon it. The remark that a principle might be true in philosophy and yet be false in theology, betrays the doubt which Scholasticism felt with respect to its own ultimate tendencies. The leaders of this school generally came from those orders which were most prone to disagree with the Church. *Duns Scotus*, a teacher in Oxford, Paris, and Cologne (Doctor subtilis, d. 1308), recognized man as an individual created by the Holy Ghost, and consequently in his original condition pure and free, but limited by his connection with the world, and capable of redemption, so as to possess a true divine intuition only by the power of the Church. (*a*) *William of Occam*, a teacher in Paris (venerabilis inceptor), after 1322 the provincial of the Franciscan order in England, and after 1328 a resident at the court of Louis (p. 299, d. 1347), wielded the sword of a free spirit not only in his doctrine but in his life. He however knew no other way to rescue the absolute doctrines of the Church but by asserting, in accordance with a new form of Nominalism, the subjective conditions under which all human knowledge must be placed. (*b*) The old controversy respecting Nominalism was consequently revived, and although Louis XI. had proscribed (1473) it as dangerous, and with a similar stretch of arbitrary power had subsequently (1481) (*c*) invited a free discussion of it, victory now preponderated in its favor. The Franciscans, delighted with the prospect of opposing the mysterious subtlety of their Scotus to the saintly authority of Thomas, now resolved to follow none but him. The controversies respecting the proper limits of human freedom, the satisfaction of Christ, and the sinlessness of Mary, were only subordinate elements in the intricate conflict in which the *Thomists* and the *Scotists*, the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*, proved the full

f) Comm. in l. IV. Sententiarum. Summa Theol. in 3 P. (3 vols. incomplete, supplied by Supp'. e Comm. in 4. l. Sentt.) Comment. ü. Bücher d. Arist. u. d. h. Schrift., apolog. u. asket. Schrr. Opp. Rom. 1570. 17 vols. f. and often. Ven. 1745ss. 28 vols. 4.—*Acta SS.* Mart. vol. I. p. 655. *Touron*, Vie de S. Thomas. Par. 1737. 4. *Bern. de Rubeis* de gestis et Scrr. S. Thomae. Ven. 1750. f. *Kling* ü. d. Theol. d. Thom. (*Sengler's* rel. Zeitschr. 1833. vol. III. H. 1.) *H. Hoertil*, Thom. u. s. Zeit. Augsb. 1846. [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bib. Lit. vol. I. p. 1.]

a) Quaestiones in l. IV. Sentt. Quaest. quodlibetales XI. Opp. ed. *Wadding*, Lugd. 1639ss. 12 Th. f.—*F. E. Albergoni* Resolutio doctr. Scotticae. Lugd. 1643. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, de Theol. Scoti. Jen. 1826. 4.

b) Quaestiones super l. IV. Sentt. Centiloquium theol. Lugd. 1495. f.

c) *Bulaeus* Th. V. p. 706ss. Comp. *Ullmann*, Wessel. p. 327ss.

power of their intellectual and spiritual weapons. (*d*) The systematic character of Scholasticism became much relaxed in such polemic engagements, and in the conflicts of the schools it lost its religious earnestness. Its decline had already commenced when it refused its countenance to the new form in which science now made its appearance. It had, however, aroused men to freedom of thought, given a rigidly scientific form to the doctrines of faith, and presented the true questions on which philosophy should be employed. It had therefore fulfilled its destiny by giving a definite form to the existing materials. *Gabriel Biel* (d. 1495) is usually mentioned as the last of the Scholastics. He was the faithful counsellor of Count Eberhard in the establishment of the high school of Tubingen (1477), and was intimately connected with Occam in a liberal opposition to the papacy. He was also much engaged in making known the Ethics of Aristotle, but he was of a modest spirit, and inclined to favor a scriptural and practical Christianity. (*e*)

§ 279. *Mysticism. Second Period. Cont. from* § 219.

Arnold, Leben d. Gläubigen. Hal. 1701. *Arnoldi* Hist. et descr. Theol. mysticae. Frcf. 1702. p. 292ss. *De Wette*, chr. Sittenl. Brl. 1821. vol. II. II. 2. p. 220ss. *Ch. Schmidt*, Essai sur les Mystiques du quatorzième siècle. Strasb. 1836. 4. *Ullmann*, Reformatoren vor d. Ref. vol. II. p. 125ss. *F. Galle*, Geistl. Stimmen a. d. MA. Hal. 1841.—*F. Pfeiffer*, deutsche Mystiker d. 14. Jahrh. Lpz. 1845. vol. I. (the less important.)

The course of Scholasticism was always completed by the prevalence of Mysticism. It was not, however, until it had become much degenerated in the wranglings of the schools, that new advocates began to arise, who escaped from the tumult of the buyers and sellers to find a refuge in the inner sanctuary, and now defended the cause of Christian feeling principally in the German language, and with a German spirit. There were two tendencies distinguishable among them, although they are often blended together. The first was a class of persons addicted to speculative reveries, and may be traced back to Erigena, Dionysius, and the New Platonists. They described the extinction of all selfishness and the perfection of holy love as an absorption of the soul in God, and more or less consciously interpreted ecclesiastical dogmas simply as allegories. And yet so strong were their moral and ecclesiastical tendencies, that this was always connected with a recognition of a creation, and of the historical son of God. Master *Eckard* alone, the provincial of the Dominicans at Cologne, by his feeling of nearness and ardent love to God, attained such a giddy height that he lost all consciousness of the distinction between God and man, Christ and the Christian, good and evil, and his memory was attainted by the ecclesiastical tribunals (1329). (*a*) *John Tauler*, a Dominican residing at Cologne and Strasbourg (Doctor sub-

d) *Ayuda*, Controversiae inter S. Thomam et Scotum super IV. l. Sentt. Col. 1620. 4. *Bulaeus*, Th. IV. p. 298ss. *Argentré* Th. I. p. 342ss.

e) Collectorium ex Occamo in l. IV. Sentt. (Tub. 1502. 2 vols.) Brix. 1574. 4 vols. 4. Sermm. de Temp. Tub. 1500. 4.—*Trithem.* de Scrr. ecc. c. 903. *Moseri* Vitae Profess. Tubing. Tub. 1718. 4. Decas I. *H. W. Biel*, (pr. *Wernsdorf*) de Gab. Biel, celeberrimo Papista Antipapista. Vit. 1719. 4.

a) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1329. N. 70. *Docen*, Miscell. z. Gesch. d. deut. Literat. vol. I. p. 138ss. *C. Schmidt*, Meister Eckard. (Stud. u. Krit. 1889. II. 3.) *H. Martensen*, Meister Eck. Theol. Studie. Hamb. 1842.

limis et illuminatus, d. 1361), after preaching for some time in a spiritual and acceptable manner, became convinced by a layman (Nicolas of Basle) that his spirit had never been truly consecrated to God by a complete death to the world and to himself. He immediately became, in consequence of his utter despair of himself, a most awakening preacher to others. In strange language he allured them to seek for intellectual poverty as the true way to become like God, and invited them to taste the delicious pleasure of completely dying in God. (*b*) Standing in no need of sensible imagery, and set at liberty by God himself, he preached that the spiritual and the temporal sword should never be used in the place of one another; that in the conflicts between civil princes the poor innocent people should not be placed under the curse, and that if they were, the curse would become a blessing. It was not long before he himself experienced the power of such a curse. (*c*) *John Ruysbroek* (Doctor ecstaticus, d. 1381), having been long employed in the service of the Church, sought to find a quiet retirement in the Augustinian convent of Grunenthal, near Brussels, in which he recorded his thoughts in a simple and monotonous but lofty manner, under the impression that they were inspired by God. He described the sacred frenzy of love as merely a state of transition, and the higher life as a perpetual birth of the Son and an everlasting effusion of the Holy Spirit within us. He warned men against spiritual indolence, recognized the moral power of the will, but commended mental ecstasy as the highest state of existence, because in it man is released from the images and veils of his own being, and sunk in the abyss of divine love. (*d*) Even the *German Theology* of the fifteenth century expended its principal strength in discussing subjects relating to perfection and its several degrees, the extinction of Adam and the formation of Christ in us, and the necessary processes of becoming human and divine. These expressions, however, could readily have been adopted by a simple pious spirit, as mere descriptions of that revelation of an exalted love of God out of which they sprung. (*e*) A transition from this position may be noticed in the Dominican *Henry Suso* (d. in Ulm, 1365), who was said to have been named Amandus by God himself. Even in his youth he had been remarkable for an affectionate spirit, and troubled with the sorrows of every thing around him. He appears in the character of a Suabian Minnesinger,

b) Nachfolgung des armen Lebens Christi, Mark d. Seele, & others. Lpz. 1498. Augsb. 1508. & often. Works conformed to the present forms of language, and ed. by *Casseder*, Luz. 1823. Unchanged edition of the armen Lebens Christi, with Lexicon Tauleriauum by *Schlosser*, Frkf. 1833, von d. Leiden uns. Herrn. Sulz. 1837. Opp. lat. redd. *Surius*, Col. 1548. f. Predigten. Frkf. 1826. 3 vols. Prefixed to these, the history of his conversion by himself: Historie des Ehrw. d. Joh. Tauler.— *Heupelius*, Memoria Taul. instaur. Vit. 1688. 4. *Oberlin*, de Taul. dictione vern. et myst. Arg. 1786. 4. *C. Schmidt*, J. Taul. Hamb. 1841. *Rudelbach*, chr. Biogr. p. 187ss. [*B. Buchring*, J. T. u. d. Freunde Gottes. Lps. 1854. 12.]

c) *Specklin's* Collectaneen ad ann. 1350. *Schmidt*, p. 58ss.

d) De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum. Speculum aet. salutis, etc. Opp. e. Brabantiae germanico idiom redd. lat. par *L. Surium*. Col. 1555. f. and often. His Vita by a brother Dominican of the next generation, revised by Surius. Four treatises of Rusb. in Low Germ. (ed. by *Arnswaldt*.) Praef by *Ullmann*, Han. 1848.—*Engelhardt* (p. 240. n. b.) p. 165ss.

e) Teutsche Theologia, ed. by *Luther*, Witt. 1516. 4. by *Grell*. Brl. 1817. by *F. L. Krüger*, Lemgo. 1822. by *Detzer*, Erl. 1827. by *Troxler*, S. Gallen, 1837. by *Viesenthal*, Berl. 1842. by *Pfeiffer*, Stuttg. 1851. comp. *Ullmann* in Stud. u. Krit. 1852. II. 4.

but the mistress of his affections, to whom he devoted himself in mysterious longings, and with all the passion of youth, was eternal Wisdom. In pursuit of this he tortured himself for many years, until his nature became utterly wasted. He was then favored by God with still severer trials, in the endurance of which he succeeded in attaining the tranquillity of divine love, and became lost in that divine nature which is the real essence of all creatures. His fundamental doctrine was, that a passive human being must be divested of the creature, formed anew in the likeness of Christ, and perfected in the Deity. There was a vigorous moral spirit in his ardent love which sought to save every thing ruined by sin around him. (*f*) The other tendency of Mysticism was directed to the simple wants of the heart and of the people. *Thomas* (Hamerken) of *Kempen*, a canon of the convent of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwoll (d. 1471), in spite of his zeal for monasticism and the worship of the Blessed Virgin, by his writings as well as by his private counsels unconsciously led many from the Roman Church to the true Church of the heart, by a quiet communion of the soul with God and Jesus Christ. (*g*) The book on the *Imitation of Christ*, respecting the author of which whole orders of monks and nations have contended, became a kind of Bible for the people, and in quiet contrast with the worship of the saints, the formal life pursued in the convents, and the fables of the Minorites, set forth the true spiritual following of Jesus in the destruction of all selfishness, and in the exercise of a love which unconditionally surrendered itself to God. (*h*) This branch of Mysticism had a seminary which was maintained among the Brethren of the common life.

§ 280. *Excesses and Compromises.*

From what is related of *Tournay*, it is evident that Scholasticism had the presumption to imagine that the very existence of Christianity depended upon its power and its logic. (*a*) Scholasticism was accused of forgetting the word of God while contending about mere words, of frittering away the earnestness of the Christian life by its sophistries, of driving away animation by its frigid learning, and of making theologians seem like fantastic vision-

f) Life of H. Suso by himself. Büchlein v. d. ew. Weisheit, and other writings.—Leben u. Schriften according to the old style of writing and printing by *Diepenbrock*, with Einl. v. *Görres*, Ratisb. 1829. Opp. latt. red. *Surius*, Col. 1555. Geistl. Blüthen. v. Suso. Bonn. 1834. *C. Schmidt*, H. Suso. (Stud. u. Krit. 1843. H. 4.)

g) Soliloquia animae. Exercitia spiritualia. Hortulus rosar. Vallis liliorum. Hospitale pauperum. Vitae Beatorum. Dial. Novitiorum. Opp. ed. *Sommalius*, Col. 1660. 4. and often. Ausserl. Schrr. Weim. 1824. 4 vols. Sämmtl. Werke uebers. v. *Silbert*, Vienna. 1838ss. 4 vols. [Transl. into Engl. Lond. 2 vols. 12.]—*Scholtz*, Th. a K. sent. de re. chr. exponitur. Gron. 1839. *B. Bahring*, Th. v. K. Brl. 1849.

h) De imitatione Ch. Argent. 1472. often and in various languages since *Fabric.* Bibl. med. et inf. Lat. vol. IV. p. 214ss. [Imitation of C. new ed. Lond. 1849. 8.]—*G. de Gregory*, Mémoire sur le véritable auteur de l'imitation de J. C. revu p. le Comte *Lanjuinais*, Par. 1827. With app. by *Weigl*, Sulzb. 1832. *Silbert*, Gersen, Gerson u. Kempis, welcher ist Vrf. &c. Vien. 1828. *G. de Gregory*, de imit. Ch. Aquae Sext. 1833. *Ullmann*, Reformatoren. vol. II. Supplement. *J. B. Malou*, Recherches sur le véritable auteur. (acad. royale de Belgique. Brux. 1848. 4 vols. XIV.)—Secundus tract. de imit. Chr. ed. *Liebner*, Goet. 1842. Comp. *Ullmann* in Stud. u. Krit. 1843. H. 1. [and *Baehring*, in Stud. u. Krit. 1850. H. 3.]

a) *Mat. Paris* ad ann. 1201. p. 144. But comp. *Henr. Gandavensis* L. de scrr. ecc. c. 24. (*Fabric.* Bibl. ecc. vol. II. p. 121.)

aries in the eyes of other learned men. With such views, *Gerson* and *Nicolas* of *Clamengis* demanded that the course of theological studies should be reformed. (*b*) There was, however, so much of truth on the side of both Scholasticism and Mysticism, that the compromise which had been effected between them could not be abandoned. This compromise was attempted during the most flourishing period of Scholasticism by *Bonaventura* (John of Fidanza, Doctor seraphicus, d. 1274), and during its decline by *Gerson* (John Charlier, Doctor Christianissimus, d. 1429), but it was attained rather in their personal lives than in a scientific form. Bonaventura strictly conformed to the rules of Scholasticism, but he has enlivened its most subtle definitions with the ardor of his own feelings. His affectionate spirit contemplated both the internal and the external life as a mirror of the eternal reality, though he was not unfrequently invited to the most extensive spheres of activity in the Church. He is one of those exalted forms in which the ecclesiastical spirit most complacently exhibits its glories. We need not wonder, therefore, that the representatives both of the Eastern and of the Western Church mingled their tears at his tomb. (*c*) From the position of Mysticism, which he established by psychological arguments, and fortified by sound logic, Gerson carried on a powerful conflict in behalf of the true peace of the Church against the extravagances of the hierarchy and the errors of superstition. (*d*) *Raymond de Sabunde*, a Spaniard, endeavored to effect (about 1430) a more perfect union of these opposite parties by laying aside the formulas then generally in use. "God has bestowed upon man the book of nature, in which every creature is a letter written by God. This divine book and the Holy Scriptures can never contradict one another. The former, which is common and open to all, is the primary source of knowledge, is intelligible to the laity, and cannot be perverted by heretics. But the highest knowledge is the love of God, which is the only thing man can truly call his own, to be offered to his Creator." According to this significant train of thought, it is not very difficult to construct the doctrine of the Church from materials supplied by the book of nature, *i. e.* from the internal and external experience of man, who needs not an artificial science, but only a higher illumination. (*e*)

b) *Gersonii* Epp. duae de reform. Theol. (Opp. vol. I. p. 121. 4s.) *Nic. de Clemangis* L. de studio Theol. (*D'Achery*, Spicil. vol. I. p. 473.)

c) Commentar. in IV. l. Sentt. Breviloquium (ed. *Hefele*, Tub. 1845.) Centiloquium.—Itinerarium mentis in Deum. Stimulus. Incendium amoris. Opp. jussu Sixti V. emend. Rom. 1588. 8. Th. f. Ven. 1751ss. 13 Th. 4.

d) After the ecclesiastical published writings, especially: Considerationes de Th. mystica. Opp. ed. *L. E. du Pin*, Antu. 1706. 5 Th. f.—*Lecuy*, Essai sur la vie de J. Gers. Par. 1832. 2 Th.—*Engelhardt*, de Gers. mystico P. II. Erl. 1822s. 4. *Handeshagen* ü. d. myst. Theol. d. J. Gers. Lpz. 1834. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. vol. IV. St. 1.) *Liebner*, ü. Gers. myst. Theol. (Stud. u. Krit. 1835. H. 2.) *Jourdain*, doctr. J. Gers. d. Th. myst. Par. 1838. *Ch. Schmidt*, Essai sur Jean Gers. Strasb. 1839.

e) Lib. creaturarum s. Theol. naturalis. Argent. 1496. Latiniore stylo in comp. red. a. *J. Clamensio*, Amst. 1659. 12. Solisbac. 1852.—*Montaigne*, Essais II, 12. *D. Matzke*, d. nat. Theol. d. K. v. Sab. Bresl. 1846. Stud. u. Krit. 1847. II. 4.

§ 281. *The so-called Revival of Literature.*

Meiners, Lebensbeschrr. berühmte Männer a. d. z. d. Wiederh. d. W. Zür. 1795ss. 3 vols. *Heeren*, Gesch. d. class. Lit. s. d. Wiederauf. d. W. Gött. 1797. 1801. 2 vols. *H. A. Erhard*, Gesch. d. Wiederaufblüh. wiss. Bildung vorn. in Deutschl. Magdb. 1827 32. 3 vols. *F. Krameri* Nar. de humanitatis studior. XV. et XVI. S. in Germ. origine et indole. Misen. 1843. 4. Editions of the modern Classics and their Commentaries in *Ebert*. [*H. Hallam*, Int. to the Lit. of Eur. in the 15. 16. and 17. Centt. Chap. I. & II. Lond. 1842. New York. 1847. *J. Berington*, Lit. Hist. of the Mid. Ages. Lond. 1846. *S. de Sismondi*, H. of Lit. in the South of Eur. transl. by *Roscoe*, New York. 1827. 2 vols. 8.]

A scientific education had been extensively secured and diffused by means of the Universities. These were sometimes devoted only to a single department of science, and at other times embraced faculties for all the sciences. They had generally been founded by the princes, or the cities in whose neighborhood they were, and especially in Germany they were all conformed to the model of that of Paris. The first of these was established at *Prague* (1348), and the last at *Wittenberg* (1502). But they were dependent for all their privileges upon the papal see, and very readily settled down in the comfortable routine of traditionary learning. The scientific spirit then awakened received only indirect encouragement from these institutions. The Franciscan *Roger Bacon* (Doctor mirabilis, d. 1294) pointed out the defects of a barren knowledge of Scholasticism, and in the character of a prophet of worldly science, with genial energy and multiplied experiments penetrated thoroughly into the mysteries of nature, whose arrangements he recognized in every thing. (*a*) *Dante Alighieri* (d. 1321 in exile at Ravenna), in his Divine Comedy, effected a reconciliation of the claims of love and religion, and as in a General Judgment of sacred poesy gave an allegorical representation not only of the state of the human mind and of his age, but of the history of the world. With the boldness of a Ghibelline, in whose eyes the universal authority of the empire was as truly instituted by God, and was as essential to the welfare of the world as the papacy itself, he denounced the abuses of the hierarchy, and on his own authority canonized or consigned to perdition whom he pleased. A friend of Virgil, he was no less an admirer of St. Thomas, an enthusiast for ecclesiastical doctrines, and the first-born son of the Church among the poets. (*b*) This great work of modern genius, which he composed in the language of the people, but with a perfection worthy of the best of the ancient writers, awakened a spirit which could appreciate and confide in those writers also. The age was in fact now fully prepared for a revival of the great works of antiquity. Although the classics, especially the Roman, had never been entirely forgotten, the true spirit which pervaded them had not been perceived, and the language in

a) Opus majus (1266.) ed. *Sam. Jebb*, Lond. 1733. f. comp. Sammd. merkw. Lebensbeschrr. Hal. 1757. vol. IV. p. 616ss.

b) Comp. *Dantis* Epp. c. notis ed. *C. Witte*, Patav. 1827. *Baumgarten-Crusius* de Dantis doctrina theol. (Opp. p. 327ss.) *Ozanam*, Dante et la phil. cath. au 13 siècle. Par. 1839. Münst. 1844. *L. R. Arndt*, de Dante scriptore Ghibellino. Bon. 1846. Schrr. of *Schlosser*, 1824 u. 1830. *Witte*, 1831. *Blanc* in d. Encykl. vol. XXIII. *Philalethes* (John, Duke of Saxony), 1839ss. *Göschel*. *Artaud*, 1842. *F. X. Wegele*, Dante's Leben u. Werke, kulturgesch. Jena. 1852. [*Schlegel*, Hist. of Lit. New York. 1844. *H. Stebbings*, Lives of the Ital. Poets. Lond. 1832. 3 vols. 8. *C. Balbo*, Life and Times of Dante, from the Ital. by *Bunbury*, Lond. 1851. 2 vols. 8.]

which they were written had become quite destroyed. *Petrarch* (d. 1374) was the first who turned with a congenial spirit to the ancient authors, and even if his imitations be regarded as unsuccessful, he was certainly trained by them until he became a general spokesman in the affairs of Italy, and of the human heart. (*c*) *Boccaccio* (d. 1375) labored in the same field, and brought back to Western Europe the gods of ancient Greece. He was publicly appointed to expound the writings of Dante, wrote the first polished prose in the language of the people, and was allowed to exercise his wit at the expense of the monks, of good morals, and probably also of Christianity itself. (*d*) A knowledge of Grecian antiquity had been introduced, especially after the Synod of Florence (1439), by large numbers of Greeks, who as deputies or fugitives became scattered in all parts of Italy. These were generally persons of only moderate talents, but they brought with them the inheritance which a refined antiquity had bequeathed to them in living traditions, and they were therefore received in the halls of the Medici and of the Vatican as if they had been apostles. The wealth which had been preserved at home was now also brought to light, the convents opened their graves, and the resurrection of classical antiquity was now regarded as a national affair by the whole of Italy, and as a solemn festival in honor of the great ancestral world, whose fragments were recognized not only under the rubbish of centuries and the ashes of Vesuvius, but even in the customs and dispositions of the people. To study these sacred relics of heathenism, the youth of the Western world, with the Germans and Hungarians in the van, now went on pilgrimages across the Alps (after 1450). The influence of this upon theological studies may be observed in the life of the Roman *Laurentius Valla* (d. 1457), who first developed the laws of a true Latinity, and was induced by the artistic refinement which it produced, decidedly to pronounce the scholastic style absurd, by the philological knowledge it afforded to explain and illustrate the original text of the New Testament, and by the historical criticism it fostered to give judgment against the fables of the hierarchy. (*e*) The monks whom he derided invoked against him the power of the inquisition, but his fame was too great and he was too highly esteemed by the nobility of Italy to be reached by that court, and he was silenced only by papal confidence and favors. In fact the papal court was by no means displeased with these efforts, the serious consequences of which it did not anticipate. The bishops beyond the Alps knew but little about them, and Scholasticism could no longer present to them any considerable resistance. The mendicant friars, who were attacked with the greatest severity, and whose ignorance rendered them the most suspicious, were the only class which, especially in Germany, were bold enough to accuse the new literary

c) Africa Epistolae (Opp. Bas. 1554. 1581. Lugd. 1601. 2 vols. f.) Sonnetti, Canzoni, Trionfi.—*C. F. Fernow*, Franc. Petr. Lpz. 1818. [*T. Campbell*, Life of P. Lond. 2 vols. *Wollaston*, Life of P. transl. from the Ital. Lond. svo. *Mrs. Dobson*, Life of P. from the French. Philad. 1817. 8.]

d) De genealogia Deor. l. XV. Bas. 1532. f. Decamerone. [Decam. transl. in Engl. 4. vols. 12. Lond. 1822.]

e) Elegantiarum latinae linguae l. VI. Dialectice l. III. Annott. in N. T. (ed. *Erasmus*, Par. 1505. f. rep. *Kerius*, Amst 1631.) De mentita Constantini donatione (Opp. Bas. 1540. 1543. f.) - D. h. Gericht u. L. Valla (*Paulus*, Beitr. z. K. u. Ref. Gesch. Brem. 1837. p. 315ss.)

improvements of heresy on account of their heathenish and schismatical origin. The Ghibelline party in Italy was distinguished for the interest which in various ways it showed in pagan antiquity. The new school of *Peripatetics*, in opposition to the scholastic Aristotle, declared that the theory of the universe maintained by the ancient Greeks was, to say the least, a philosophical truth, and *Pomponazzo* (d. 1526), like a modern Prometheus, ventured openly to declare his conviction that the immortality of the soul was according to philosophical principles more than doubtful, although it might be conceded as a theological truth to a Church which could not dispense with it. (*f*) The Platonic *Academy*, in the gardens of the Medici, defended only a few of the religious ideas peculiar to Christianity. (*g*) There was a kind of superstition which in some places made a boast of its attachment to heathenism, and the language of the Holy Spirit which had been used in the ancient Church, was now exchanged for some delicate flourishes of a pagan Latinity. (*h*) Infidelity and superstition were arrayed boldly and distinctly in opposition to each other. In Germany, it is true, the disposition to engage in classical studies originated in the school of Thomas a Kempis, and in general it preserved the Christian seriousness of this source. (*i*) But from the very nature of the new studies, those qualities of the mind which have most to do with the world obtained the ascendency in the hearts of such as were devoted to them, and the common people seized upon them as though they constituted a general education of the whole individual man (Humanismus). The consequence was that a mental revolution was commenced, which in its essential character was properly named a restoration of the Sciences. At the same time the great ocean which surrounded the world was crossed, and a heaven began to rise before them, in which the earth, hitherto regarded as an immovable empire in the centre, modestly assumed its proper position. (*k*) Now also *Machiavelli* (d. 1530) revived the ancient doctrine, that while religion was of vast importance for its salutary influence upon the state, the highest political objects might nevertheless be attained without the aid of the Church or of Christianity. (*l*) Thus was formed independently of the hierarchy an intellectual power which had detected the corruptions of the Church, and had lost a sincere faith in its assumption that no one could be saved except by its offices. Through the discovery and prevalence of the art of printing (about 1440), which was almost equivalent to a new gift of tongues, this power became absolutely indestructible and irresistible.

f) *Petri Pomponatii* L. de immortalitate animae. Bon. 1516.—*Conc. Later.* a. 1513. (*Harduin* vol. IX. p. 1719ss.)

g) *Roscoe*, Lorenzo de Medici. [Lond. 1846. 1 v. in Bohn's Stand. Lib. and Philad. 2 v. 8.] *Sieveking*, Gesch. de Plat. Acad. zu Flor. Gött. 1812.

h) In *Pauli* II. Vita Platina, p. 665s. *Cannesius* p. 788. *Quirinus* p. 988. *Erasmi* l. XXVI. Ep. 34.—*Walchii* Hist. crit. Lat. linguae c. 12. n. 3. *Bayle* under Bembo. *Henke* on Villers. p. 469ss. *Piper*, Mythol. d. chr. Kunst. vol. I. p. 279ss. [*Ranke*, Hist. of the Popes. vol. I. p. 72s.]

i) *Meiners* vol. II. 308ss. after *Revii* Daventria illustrata. Lugd. 1651. 4.

k) *G. L. Schulze*, Astronomia per Copernicum instaurata religionis et pietatis chr. per. Luth. repurgatae egregia adjutrix. Budiss. 1830.

l) Discorsi sopra la prima Dec. di T. Livio. Il. Principe. Storia Fiorentina.—*Schlosser* in his Zeitschr. f. Gesh. u. Lit. vol. V. p. 435ss. [*Machiavelli's* Hist of Flor. the Prince and other works, transl. into Engl. in Bohn's Stand. Lib. Lond. 1847.]

§ 282. *John Reuchlin.* 1455–1522.

J. H. Matius, Vita Reuchl. Durlaci 1687. *Meiners* vol. I. p. 41ss. *E. Th. Mayerhoff*, Reuch. u. s. Zeit. Brl. 1830. *Erhard* vol. II. p. 147ss. [*Barham*, Reuchlin's Life and Times. Lond. 12mo.]

Reuchlin (Capnio), who had been educated in the study of the Classics, and was a leader of the Humanists, came originally from Pforzheim. At first he devoted himself to the study of Jewish literature, expecting to find the mysterious wisdom which had been promised there. Though disappointed in this, he obtained a knowledge of Hebrew, which he succeeded in diffusing through the Church, and applied to the exposition of the Old Testament. (*a*) From a scientific spirit as well as from private inclination he disapproved of the proposition urged by *Pfefferkorn*, a converted Jew, to commit all the Rabbinical books to the flames, at least so far as they did not blaspheme Christ. This was construed by the inquisitor *Hoogstraten*, who then presided over the Dominicans at Cologne, as evidence that he was secretly a convert to Judaism. In the eyes of such a man the Greek language was the mother of all heresies, and the study of Hebrew was an unquestionable apostasy to Judaism. Standing in the independent position of an advocate of princes and cities, Reuchlin assailed the theological barbarism of the Dominicans with every kind of intellectual weapons, to which the inquisitorial judges had nothing to oppose but cries for his condemnation. (*b*) The whole German people were witnesses of this ecclesiastical feud, and a learned class of spirited youth under the banner of Ulrich of *Hutten*, openly declared themselves on the side of Reuchlin. From the circle thus formed proceeded the *Letters of Obscure Men*, (*c*) in which the extreme stupidity of the mendicant friars, their general immorality, and their loud outcries respecting the heresies of the Humanists, together with their own dog-Latin, is described so naturally and truthfully that the Dominicans themselves joined in circulating the book, though they afterwards hurled their anathemas against it in vain. The controversy was at last brought before the pope himself, and decided in favor of Reuchlin. The Dominicans made every effort to obtain a reversal of this decision, and the papal court was not altogether indifferent to the threatenings and briberies they made use of, but on the other hand, Reuchlin was sustained by the whole influence of the emperor and the empire. The party at Cologne were finally compelled by the sword of Francis of *Sickingen* to defray the expenses of the suit (1520). The amount of these was only a hundred and eleven gold-florins, but the mendicant friars were themselves overwhelmed with ridicule, their cause was utterly ruined in the estimation of intelligent persons, and Germany had now proclaimed to the world where she would stand in the decisive struggle which was approaching.

a) De verbo mirifico l. III. Tub. 1514. f. De arte cabbalistica l. III. Hag. 1517. f.—De rudimentis hebr. Phorcae. 1506. f. Bas. 1573. f. De accentibus et orthogr. linguae hebr. Hag. 1518. f.— Epp. Hag. 1514 1519. 4.

b) R. Rathsch. ob man den Juden alle ihre Bücher nehmen und verbrennen soll. 1510. *Pfefferk.* Handspiegel. 1511. R. Augenspiegel. 1511. Defensio calumniatores c. Colonienses. 1513. besides other orig. doce. in. *Hardt*, Hist. Liter. Ref. P. II.

c) Epp. obscurorum virorum. l. I. Hagen. 1516. l. II. Bas. 1517. and often. den. ed. *Rotermund*, Hann. 1827. 2 Th. edit. and expl. by *Münch.* Lpz. 1827.—*U. ab Hutten*, Triumphus Capnion. 1518.

§ 283. *Desiderius Erasmus.* 1465–1536.

Opp. ed. *Clericus.* Lugd. 1703ss. 11 vols. f. Comp. Vitae Erasmi by himself in *Cleric.* vol. I. *J. le Clerc*, Bibl. choisie, vol. V. p. 135ss. vol. VI. p. 7ss. *Jortin*, Life of E. Lond. 1758. *Burigny*, Vie d'E. Par. 1757. Ueberw. v. *Reich* u. Zus. v. *Henke* Hal. u. Ulm. 1782. 2 vols. (Hess) *E. v. Rotterd.* Zür. 1790. 2 vols. *A. Müller*, Leb. d. E. v. R. Hmb. 1828. comp. *Ullmann* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1829. H. 1. [*Butler*, Life of E. Lond. 8vo. *D'Aubigné*, Hist. of Ref. vol. I. p. 118ss.]

Among those engaged in promoting the literary improvement of this period no one was more prominent than *Erasmus* of Rotterdam. He was the offspring of a faithful connection, but one which never received the sanction of a Church fettered by monastic prejudices. He was for some time a pupil of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, and afterwards a monk at Stein (1486). When he lacked courage to refuse the monastic vows he was released from them (about 1490) by the Bishop of Cambray, who was anxious to turn his classical education to a better account. Several years were then spent in journeys for literary purposes in France, England, and Italy, until he became settled with his publisher at Basle (1521). When a young man, and devoted to literary pursuits, he lived in a state of dependence upon the capricious favor of his English patrons, and at a later period when reigning supreme in the learned world he refused with a lofty consciousness of his power, every office of dignity both in the Church and in the courts of princes. But as he was of a feeble constitution, fond of ease, and as he enjoyed with a high relish the elegancies of life, he was always delighted with costly presents and pensions. He displayed an astonishing activity in the discussion of the various subjects then brought forward in ecclesiastical and social life, sometimes for his own pleasure and sometimes in compliance with the wishes of his patrons. Many classical authors and ecclesiastical fathers were edited by him, but above all, the original text of the New Testament was made accessible to the public, and the immense benefits of the press were then realized principally by his agency. (*a*) His character was not of the highest order, for he was easily excited and suspicious, and he was destitute of inventive power or depth of thought; but his common sense was of the most solid nature, his stores of knowledge were abundant, he was never at a loss for the happiest turn of expression, and his wit was inexhaustible. The insipid practices of the monks, the subtle refinements of the scholastics, the weak points of the worship of the saints, the extravagances of those who preached indulgences, and the follies of every class, even of the popes themselves, were all unmercifully ridiculed in his writings. Nor did he hesitate to throw suspicion upon the foundation on which the whole fabric of the hierarchy rested, and to refer to Socrates as a saint, although he reproved the heathenish tendencies of the modern Ciceronians, and always appeared ardently attached to the Christianity of the sacred Scriptures. (*b*) He was not backward to attack the interests of many classes, and when excited or exercising his wit he was frequently bolder than circumstances required. It was

a) Colloquia Ciceronianus. Adagia. Moriae encomium. Enchir. militis chr. Ratio verae Theol. Matrimonii chr. institutio. Ecclesiastes. Epp. etc. [His Panegyric upon Folly has been transl. and publ. in Oxf. 1683. 12. and his Familiar Colloquies transl. by Bailey, and publ. in Lond. 1725. 8.]

b) *J. A. Fabricii* Exerc. de rel. Er. (Opusc. hist. crit. lit. p. 379ss.)

therefore not surprising that nearly every kind of heresy was imputed to him. The common people, however, were not the object of his efforts, neither did he aim to effect any very violent changes in society. Even to those who were enlightened he only ventured to hint at truth, he never objected to an intrenchment of himself behind ambiguous expressions, and on all subjects professed his readiness to submit to the judgment of the Church should it even teach the doctrines of Arianism and Pelagianism. It was, therefore, no very difficult matter for such a man, eminently intellectual and distinguished among his contemporaries, to keep up a tolerably good understanding with the principal men of the hierarchy, whose education was accomplished and secular. By all those who filled the papal chair during his life he was especially esteemed.

§ 284. *The Holy Scriptures.*

In matters of faith an indefinite kind of authority was every where conceded to distinguished writers among the ecclesiastical fathers, the Scholastics and the Mystics. In the controversy with the Hussites the principal object was to prove that the authority of the Scriptures was dependent upon that of the Church, but all those who contended for reform in the Church itself, directed their attention to the word of God. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, considerable interest was taken in a tedious kind of Scriptural exposition, much like the allegorical and devotional method of an earlier period, according to which each passage had various senses. Few, however, ventured to go beyond the authority of the Vulgate, of Hieronymus, and of Augustine. Individuals indeed, like *Thomas*, though ignorant of the original languages, and full of preconceived opinions, nevertheless under the guidance of a congenial spirit, sometimes penetrated deeply into the meaning of the Scriptures. (*a*) Some assistance in an intelligent exposition and criticism was also derived from the works of Jews and heathen writers. *Nicolas* of *Lyra* (d. 1351), a Minorite, investigated the literal meaning of the Old Testament with no small amount of Rabbinical learning. (*b*) The first printed edition of the Hebrew Bible was published under the care of the Rabbins, and was conformed to their critical traditions (*Masora*). (*c*) *Ximenes* (after 1505) in the possession of unbounded means and opportunities, got up an edition of the Bible in all the sacred languages, but the original text was based upon recent manuscripts, and was corrected by the Vulgate. (*d*) The New Testament had already been placed in the hands of thousands by the labors of Erasmus. (*e*) *Valla* was desirous of teaching the Latin Vulgate, but *Erasmus* pointed out its errors, and endeavored to make the simple meaning of the words of the New Testament intelligible to his readers, and

a) *A. Tholuck*, de Thoma Aquinate atque Abael. interpretibus N. T. Hal. 1842. 4.

b) Postillae perpetuae in univ. Biblia. Rom. 1471. 5 vols. & often.

c) Soncini. 1488. f. Brix. 1494. & often.

d) Biblia hebr. chald. gr. et Lat. de mandato *Fr. Ximenes de Cisneros*. In Complutensi Univ. 1514-17. Th. 6. f. Not publicly until 1520, and beyond the Pyrenees in 1522. Comp. *Hefele* (p. 294.) p. 12ss. [*Barrett*, Life of Ximenes. Lond. 8.]

e) Nov. Instrum. Bas. 1516. f. With continual improvements 1519. 1522. 1527. 1535. *Henke* v. d. Er. Arbeiten ü. d. N. T. Anh. zu. *Burigny* vol. II. p. 533ss.

although he was in possession of only a few manuscripts, he availed himself of the labors of the Greek exegetical writers. With a bolder criticism *Faber* (Lefevre d'Etaples, d. 1537) broke through the custom of relying upon the Vulgate, and although he fled before his enemies when threatened with martyrdom, he prepared the way for the triumph of the gospel in France. (*f*) Bonaventura's *Bible for the poor* proposed that the favorite object of all preaching should be the contents of the Scriptures. (*g*) The opposition of the Church to primitive Christianity was evinced in the fact that when it perceived the almost universal use of the sacred writings by parties hostile to it, the hierarchy ventured more and more decidedly to prevent the perusal of the Scriptures in the language of the people, and to subject every translation to an ecclesiastical censorship. (*h*) In spite of all their efforts, however, after the middle of the fifteenth century, the wishes of the people and the power of the press prevailed, and fourteen editions of a translation in the High German, all founded upon the Vulgate, though none were in the genuine language of the people, are evidence of the extent to which it was used. (*i*)

§ 285. *The Doctrine of the Church.*

The introduction of genuine Christianity had all the effect of bringing forward a new law. The doctrine of the Church made no further progress than that which sprung from an attempt to justify, in the view of literary men, the corruption of ecclesiastical morals by indulgences, and an outward formality (§ 270). From this proceeded the doctrine that, without regard to the spirit with which an ecclesiastical observance was performed, it possessed a certain degree of moral value, and that man might be forgiven by his God on account of his own works or of indulgences. It was, however, argued that this reconciliation with God was primarily founded upon the original atonement by Christ. (*a*) The Scholastics made justification before God a consequence of love or of the faith which is quickened by love (fides formata). A few Mystics made it the consequence of faith alone. In a limited sense only can it be said that the *Thomists* stood on the same ground as Augustine, for while they regarded original sin as a culpable offence, and divine grace as predestination, they nevertheless looked upon the former as consistent with the possession of some remnants of power, by which a man can render himself worthy of the divine favor (meritum e congruo), and the latter as dependent upon the divine foreknowledge. The *Scottists*, on the other hand, described both original sin and grace rather as the invariable condition of all men, and as de-

f) Psalterium Quincuplex. Par. 1509. In Epp. Pauli. Par. 1512. In IV. Evv. Meld. 1522. French Bible after 1523, complete at Antw. 1530. f.—*Ch. H. Graf*, Essai sur la vie et les écrits de J. Lefèvre d'Et. Strasb. 1842. *K. H. Graf*, J. F. Stapulens. [Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1852. H. 1s.]

g) Biblia pauperum, Praedicatoribus perutilis. 1590. 4. & often.

h) *Innoc. III.* l. II. Ep. 141. *Conc. Tolos.* a. 1229. c. 14. (*Mansi* Th. XXIII. p. 197.) [*Landon's* Manual, Toulouse a. 1229. c. 14.]—*Usserii* Hist. controv. de Sc. et Sacris vernaculis. Lond. 1690 4 *Hegelmaier*, Gesch. d. Bibelverbots. Ulm. 1783.

i) First edit. was that of Mentz, 1462.—*Panzer*, lit. Nachr. v. d. allerält. gedr. deut. Bibeln Nürnb. 1774. u. Gesch. d. röm. kath. deut. Bibel. Nürnb. 1781. *J. Kehrein*, z. Gesch. d. deutschen. Bibeluebers. vor. Luth. Stuttg. 1851.

a) *Dallaeus*, de poenis et satisfactt. hum. Amst. 1649. [*Hagenbach* Hist. of Doctrines, § 186.]

velopments of the spiritual world in the course of Providence. The Pelagian tendency was essential to a Church which placed works by the side of grace, and taught that our own merits may exceed the demands of duty. The profound Thomist *Thomas de Bradwardina*, a Professor at Oxford, and finally an Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1349), summoned the whole generation in which he lived before the bar of God, to answer for its adoption of Pelagian sentiments. His philosophical system was founded upon the principle that God is the necessary cause of every event, and man only his shadow. (*b*) This manner of speaking was so foreign to the prevalent mode of thought, and the delusion with regard to the opinions of Augustine was so general and indispensable to the times, that it awakened as little favor as it did opposition. (*c*) It is, indeed, not improbable that when men happened to be arraigned under some peculiarly unfavorable circumstances, even trifling departures from the ordinary opinions of the Church, were condemned by the tribunals, but certainly a great variety of opinions were freely tolerated, particularly with respect to anthropological doctrines and in literary discussions. The popes were far from possessing either the ability or inclination to pronounce any decision with respect to those controversies of the schools in which great parties were arrayed against each other. The Church seemed to be so indifferent respecting all subjects not connected with its own usages and privileges, that it was commonly said that it would be safer to impeach the absolute authority of God than that of the pope.

§ 286. *Ethics and Casuistry.*

De Wette, chr. Sittenl. Brl. 1821. vol. II. H. 2. p. 116ss. and Lehrb. d. chr. Sittenl. Berl. 1833. p. 148ss. *Stäudlin*, Gesch. d. moralph. Han. 1822. p. 466ss. & Gesch. d. Sittenl. Jesu. Gott. 1823. vol. IV. p. 298ss.

Ethics now became properly a science. *Abelard* had already presented the principal points of a regular moral system (§ 220), in which his dislike to a merely external ecclesiastical sanctity and penance, is made especially prominent. According to him sin is not an outward act, nor a thought, nor a natural desire, but a consent to that which we think we are bound to refuse from a regard to the divine will. We truly repent only when the pain we endure springs from love to God. Other methods by which we attempt to make satisfaction for sin are merely means of discipline. Those scholastics who came after him generally connected their ethical system with their theology, without however, on that account, assigning to it an inferior position. *Thomas* was most successful in rendering the usages of the Church consistent with the purity of Christian morals. (*a*) According to him the ultimate object of ethics is to attain a likeness to God by means of the Church, the contemplative life is more exalted than the active, and monks and prelates are indispensable to a perfect state of society. Like Aristotle before him he describes Prudence, Justice, Courage and Temperance as the cardinal virtues,

b) De causa Dei adv. Pel. l. III. ed. *Savilius*. Lond. 1618. f.

c) *Argentré* vol. I. p. 323ss. With great probability Gieseler cites on this subject also *Raynald* ad. ann. 1372. N. 33.

a) Summa, secundae Partis prima et secunda.

and following Augustine he represents the virtues peculiar to Christianity as consisting in faith, hope, and love. In contrast with these stand the seven deadly sins, with pride the mother of them all. The ethical system of the Mystics was confined to the delineation of the means and degrees by which the creature can die to self and awake to the life of God. Through the influence of the Humanists, sprung up in contrast with the conventional morality of the Church and of the knights, the idea of a purely human ethics which differed from the law of Christ only in name, and had been already hinted at in Thomasin *Tirkler's* Italian Guest (1216s.). According to this, constancy of mind is the basis of all virtues, and inconstancy the basis of all vices, God is not a Judge who can be induced by money to make wrong exchange places with right, good men will be happy whether in outward prosperity or adversity, wickedness renders those who commit it miserable, the will alone gives character to every action, and God always loves the virtuous. (*b*) When this scholastic method of treating the subjects of faith and law was applied to ethics, a science of *Casuistry* was formed, for those especially who had the care of souls, and to take the place of the old penitential books. (*c*) In this theory of cases of conscience, the conflict between duties and the ambiguities of particular circumstances were either invented with the most artful ingenuity, or taken from actual life. When it was received as a real counsellor in the path of life, the rock of conscience was still shaken by it. The moral judgment of the Church itself appeared to waver. When in the Council of Constance the Franciscan, *Jean Petit*, was solemnly accused by France of having defended the Duke of Burgundy for his assassination of the Duke of Orleans, on the ground that the latter was a tyrant and a traitor, and the Dominican, *John von Falckenburg*, was charged by Poland with having preached in behalf of the German orders, that the Polish king and nation should be expelled and massacred, the only result which could be obtained by all the eloquence of Gerson was a general disapprobation of the assassination of tyrants, while the particular crime complained of and its defenders remained unrebuked, and Martin V. refused his assent to the condemnation of Falckenburg. Political considerations and bribery were doubtless concerned in this result, but the hesitancy of the Church allowed the mendicant friars to place the sentiment under the protection of their doctrine of probabilities, that any one was justifiable in punishing by his sword all those who were beyond the ordinary reach of justice. (*d*)

b) Der Wälsche Gast d. Thomasin v. Zirklaria, ed. with phil. & hist. obss. by *H. Rückert*, Quedlinb. 1852.

c) In the thirteenth century, Summa Raymundiana, by Raym. de Pennaforte; in the fourteenth, Astesana, by Astesanus, Bartholina s. Pisanella, by Barthol. de S. Concordia, in Pisa; in the fifteenth, Angelica, by Angelus de Clavasio, and others.

d) *Gerson* Opp. vol. V. II. P. II. p. 886ss. *Hardt*, Const. Conc. vol. IV. p. 439ss. 1555. *Dlugossi* Hist. Pol. Frcf. 1711. f. l. XI. p. 876.

CHAP. V.—EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 287. *Apologetics. Islam. Judaism.*

The literary defences of Christianity were principally directed against some objections urged by Mussulmen and Jews, but they merely justified the views of Christians at the bar of their own judgments. *Thomas* of *Aquino* gave utterance to the rigid views of the Church when he maintained that she is the only judge of reason and the only gate of salvation. (*a*) The Platonist, *Marsilius Ficinus* (d. 1499), maintained the view adopted by the Humanists, according to which God had revealed himself also to the heathen, but had never become a perfect man except in Christ. (*b*) Mussulmen were prohibited, under the penalty of death, from even listening to Christians. *Raymond Lullus*, of Majorca (1236–1316), who had been startled from the poetic dreams of a gay youth by the image of a suffering Christ, attempted to overcome the power of Islam on the one hand by establishing institutions for philological missions, and on the other by his new art of reasoning, which he supposed was able to conquer any mind. With restless activity he proclaimed his fanciful doctrine of combination to Christians, and a Triune God to the Saracens, and finally suffered the martyrdom which he had long sought but feared. The Church long hesitated whether he should be regarded as a saint or as a heretic. (*c*) It was not until the Cross had become victorious in Spain that many Moors and Jews were induced by the alternative of death, or banishment from their native soil, to receive baptism from their conquerors. In that country, especially, Judaism became pervaded by the literature of the Middle Ages, and exceeded even the learning of the times. *Maimonides* (d. 1208), by combining the doctrines of Moses with those of Aristotle, gave new life to Hebraism, and yet with warm affection preserved collected traditions. (*d*) So decided was the ecclesiastical prejudice against loans of money on interest on the ground that it was usury, that nearly all the pecuniary wealth of Christendom in each generation fell into the hands of the Jews, at that time scattered in every country of Europe. It was, however, as speedily lost by them in consequence of the extreme oppressions and violence to which they were universally subjected. Wherever a protracted profit from them was regarded as more advantageous than a sudden robbery, they were protected by the princes like any other lucrative possessions. Many laws were passed and frequently renewed by the Church, to prevent all dependence of Christians upon Jews, to destroy all bonds of affection between Jews and Christians, to forbid the employment of Jewish physicians, and to nullify all mortgages held by Jews upon sacred utensils, and the property of the Church. Even Gregory I. regarded it as unquestionably proper

a) Summa cathol. fidei contra Gentiles, l. IV.

b) De rel. chr. et fidei pietate ad Laurent. Med. (Opp. Par. 1641. f. vol. I.)

c) *R. Lulli* Opp. quae ad inventam ab ipso artem universalem pertinent, C. Jord. Bruni et C. Agrippae commtr. Argent. 1598. Acta SS. Jun. vol. V. p. 633ss.

d) Especially More Nebochim, Bas. 1629. 4. Ber. 1791. uebers. v. *Scheyer*, Frkf. 1830. [*J. Townley*, Reasons of the Laws of Moses from the More Neb. of Maim. with notes, &c. Lond. 1828. *Littell's* Mag. vol. I. p. 238ss. 545ss.] *Beer*. Leben u. Wirken d. Moses ben Maimon. Prag. 1835.

to entice Jews into the profession of Christianity, were it only for the sake of their children, and frequently arrangements were made for compelling Jews to listen to discourses for their conversion. All, however, conceded that they should never be compelled to profess the Christian faith, and the popes excommunicated those who attempted to injure these living witnesses for the truth of the Christian faith, in the enjoyment of their usual privileges and discipline, on the ground that at some period before the second coming of our Lord they were to be converted to Christianity. (*e*) But the exclusive influence of ecclesiastical prejudices, the wealth of the Jews, and the necessities of those indebted to them, continually nourished the popular hatred. The commencement of the crusades was remarkable for scenes of Jewish slaughter, and not unfrequently afterwards the feelings of the populace were so aroused against this people by vague rumors of the crucifixion of Christian children, of poisoned wells, and of the piercing of the Host, that in some cities the whole Jewish population were suddenly massacred or burned at the stake. Excluded as they were from public stations of honor and enjoyment, they applied all their energies and keen intellects with almost convulsive eagerness to the accumulation of money, by which alone they could possess influence. In silent bitterness toward the whole human race, but faithful to their principles even to death, this reprobate people of God by hundreds gave themselves and their children to the slaughter rather than to baptism. (*f*)

§ 288. *Prussia. Lithuania. Lapland.*

Liter. see § 211. *Mone*, Symb. u. Mythol. vol. I. p. 79ss.—*Dlugossi* Hist. Pol. l. X. p. 96s. *J. Lindenblatt*, Jahrbb. edit. by *Voigt*, Königsb. 1823. p. 60ss. 334ss.—*Schefferi* Lapponia. Fref. 1673. 4. *Mone*, vol. I. p. 21ss.

The bishops who, since the tenth century, had been consecrated to carry the gospel to Prussia, found nothing but death there. The Polish Cistercians, after 1207, appear to have been more successful. But when the converts were used by Polish princes in the subjugation of the Prussians, they were all murdered, and the Polish provinces on the border were reduced to desolation. In this extremity the order of the German knights was invited to assist the distressed Poles (1226), and by a league between it and Poland, the empire, and the Roman court, Prussia became its perpetual possession. These knights then proclaimed a crusade against their enemies, and after long and bloody wars they effected the conquest of the inhabitants (1230–83). Innocent IV. divided Prussia into the dioceses of Culm, Pomesania, Ermland, and Samland. The bishops were to have possession of a third part of all the land as an independent property, but they soon became dependent upon the knightly order, by which a refractory bishop of Samland was allowed to starve in prison. (*a*) Every foot of territory conquered by the

e) *Alexand.* III. in Conc. Later. a. 1179. c. 26. *Innoc.* III. l. II. Ep. 302. Comp. *Bernardi* Ep. 322. *Thomas*, Summa. P. II, 2. Qu. 10.

f) *Jost*, Gesch. d. Isr. vol. VI. VII. & Allg. Gesch. d. Isr. Volks. vol. II. p. 307ss. [*Jost's* Hist. of the Jews, &c. transl. from Germ. by J. H. Hopkins, New York. 1848. *Milman's* Hist. of Jews. New York. 1830.] *Depping*, les Juifs dans le moyen âge. Par. 1834. *Locherer*, Geist. der v. d. Kirche für u. wider die Juden hervorgegangenen Verordnn. (Jahrb. f. Theol. u. chr. Phil. 1835. vol. IV. H. 2.)

a) *Gebser*, Gesch. d. Domk. zu Königsb. Königsb. 1835. p. 204ss.

order was secured by permanent cities colonized by Germans, so that ultimately the Prussians were more properly exterminated than converted. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Grand Master made the city of *Marienburg* his permanent capital, and there were put forth the most splendid exhibitions of knighthood. (*b*) Soon, however, dissensions arose between the order and the hierarchy, the people whom they governed were driven to despair, one portion of the country was wrested from them by the King of Poland, and the remainder was received from him as a royal fief (1466).—*Jagello*, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, purchased the hand of the heiress-apparent to the throne of Poland by submitting to baptism (1386). His countrymen received each a white woollen coat as a sponsor's gift, and allowed themselves to be baptized in troops, all in each company receiving the same name. But even in the sixteenth century heathenish customs maintained their place side by side with Christian usages.—The sovereignty of Sweden was acknowledged by the Laplanders (about 1279), and a church was consecrated for them at Tornea (1335) by *Hemming*, the Archbishop of Upsala. After this, children were generally baptized, and marriage was celebrated by the priests, but the natural poverty of the country and the separation of the families was so great, that a pastoral charge seemed almost impossible, and the minds of the people were subject to the magical rites of their former heathenism. (*c*)

§ 289. *Prester John and the Mongols.*

Assemani Bibl. or. vol. III. P. I. II. *Mosheim*, Hist. Tartarorum ecc. Illust. 1741. 4. *Abel-Rémusat*, Memoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens avec les empereurs Mongols. (Mem. de l'Inst. de France, Acad. des Inscript. 1822. Th. VI. VII.) *Schmidt*, Hist. des Mongols depuis Tschinguiz-khan jusqu'à Timur-lenk. Par. 1824. [Hist. of the Mongols from Ghenghis-Khan to Tamerlane. Amst. 1853. 4 vols.]

Near the commencement of the eleventh century the Nestorians induced a Tartarian prince to profess Christianity, who transmitted to his successors the name (Ung-Khan) which has been rather doubtfully translated into European languages in the form of *Prester John*. In the popular traditions of his own age he was a mythical personage, in which Europe admired an ideal surpassing the papacy itself in its union of the royal and sacerdotal power. A royal priest of such an illustrious character, *Alexander III.* was very anxious to connect with the Roman Church.* His glory, however, was soon lost in the confusion created by the conquests of *Ghenghis-Khan*. Europe itself was delivered about the same time (1241) from the perils of the great national migration of the Mongols, not so much by the hand of man as by the power of God. Mendicant friars were sent to these conquerors of Asia by the Roman Church and St. Louis of France. Brilliant hopes had been awakened by the personal favors shown to individuals, the regard which a conquering people usually entertain for the deities of the nation they wish to subdue, and the actual hesitation which Mongolian Deism exhibited in choosing between the gospel and the koran. The exaggerated accounts sent

b) *J. Voigt*, Gesch. Marienb. Königsb. 1824.

c) Comp. *Rheinwald's* Rep. 1841. vol. XXXIII. p. 82ss.

* *Baronius*, ad ann. 1177. N. 38ss.

back by the missionaries there, filled all Europe with the most exalted expectations. Even in the thirteenth century, however, the papacy of the Dalai-lama began to be developed, and other Mongolian tribes embraced the religion of Islam. One small congregation in the city of *Peking*, over which an archbishop had been consecrated by Clement V. (1307), was entirely destroyed during an insurrection in China against the Mongols (1369). The Nestorians alone succeeded in preserving a few settlements there.

§ 290. *The New World.*

Barth. de las Casas, Relacion de la destruicion de las Indias. 1552. 4. (lat. 1614. germ. 1665. 4.)—*Robertson*, Hist. of America. Lond. 1772. and often. [New York. 1840.] *Weise*, ü. Las Cas. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. vol. IV. St. 1.) *Walten's* Weltk. 1835. vol. I. p. 87ss. [*W. Irving*, Life and Voyages of Columbus and his Companions. new ed. New York. 1848. 3 vols.]

In spite of the ecclesiastical prejudices he was obliged to overcome, Columbus believed himself called by the Holy Spirit to fulfil the word of the Lord, predicting that the gospel should be carried to nations at the utmost borders of the earth. The discovery of America (1492) and the circumnavigation of Africa (1498) were regarded as mighty conquests in behalf of Christianity. The Indians, however, had no desire for a heaven where they were again to meet their Spanish tyrants. In every way that European violence could devise, they were forcibly compelled to receive baptism. And yet the blessings the gospel ever carries in its train could not be altogether withheld from them. The Dominicans exerted all the power of the Church to secure for their converts the rights of human beings. Finally the heroic sufferer *Las Casas* (1517) obtained a law from Charles I. (V.) securing to the natives the enjoyment of their personal freedom, but it was purchased by the introduction of the African slave-trade.

CHAP. VI.—OPPOSITION AND REFORM.

Liter. before § 228. *Flacius*, Catal. testium veritatis. (Bas. 1556. Arg. 1562. f.) Frcf. 1666. Fascic. rerum expetendarum ac fugiend. ed. *Orthuinus Gratius*, Col. 1535. f. aux. *E. Brown*, Lond. 2 vols. f. *Jo. Wolf*, Lectiones memorab. et recond. (Laving. 1600.) Lps. 1671. *Hardt:* Const. Conc. vol. I. P. IX. Hist. lit. Ref. P. III. *C. Ullmann*, Reformatoren vor d. Reformation. Hamb. 1841s. 2 vols. *F. A. Holzhausen*, d. Protest nach seiner Entsteh. Lpz. 1846. vol. I.

§ 291. *General View.*

The highest forms of the ecclesiastical system then prevalent had their origin in enthusiastic notions and feelings, inconsistent with nature. (*a*) But as all enthusiasm must in the course of time expend its force, and nature will ultimately assert its rights, the extreme self-denials which that system had undertaken and required, soon became a false display, for which some indemnified themselves by unlawful and unnatural means, and others became a prey to idiocy or despair through their compulsory fidelity. Hence, so long as Catholicism was looked upon as the only possible form of the Church, there were either perpetual corruptions of all ecclesiastical institutions, or

a) Comp. *Hegel*, Phil. d. Rel. Brl. 1832. vol. I. p. 171ss.

continual renovations of the spirit, which either gave new life to the old forms, or created new. But the true mission of Catholicism in Europe was now nearly complete, the people began to think that they had passed the period of pupilage, and those who were employed in political and scientific pursuits were evidently superior to the hierarchy. The internal spirit which called for such a system no longer existed, its abuses had attained a high degree of extravagance, and finally a painful schism had become perceptible in every part of the Church. The necessity of a reformation was therefore generally acknowledged. Many felt that it was near, and expressed their convictions by predicting sometimes the destruction and sometimes the glorious renovation of the Church. Not unfrequently their feelings were exhibited in prophecies that God was about to raise up pious doctors, Christian heroes, and even monks or hermits for this work. (*b*) Two classes of persons became prominent in the course of these struggles for reform: 1) The hostile parties continued from the preceding period, whose revolutionary elements were soon almost completely destroyed by the Church, while all that was true in them passed over into the other class. 2) A party composed partly of a series of ecclesiastical teachers still deeply imbued with the spirit of Catholicism, and anxious to bring it back to its original intention, and to render it consistent with its own principles and laws, and partly of those who despaired of any general reform according to the customary forms of law, and who therefore commenced the work in their own way. These, longing for a primitive Christianity unknown in later times, had no scruples in renouncing all terms with the Church of that day. All these tendencies were in various ways intermingled with one another, inasmuch as the Catholic and the Protestant elements were as yet comprehended in each other.

I. Hostile Parties.

§ 292. *The Stedingers and the Heretical Ghibellines.*

A tribe of Frieslanders in the district of Steding, among the settlements on the Weser, succeeded in maintaining the popular freedom which originally prevailed in Germany. The castles from which the Count of Oldenburg threatened their country were demolished, the tithes which the Archbishop of Bremen demanded of them were withheld, and the curse of excommunication which the latter denounced upon them was disregarded. For forty years the count and the bishops contended against this little tribe, protected only by the courage which freedom supplies, and their country's morasses. Their heresy consisted not in the adoration of a toad, as was asserted in the stupid and lying accounts sent to Rome, but in something far more dangerous to the peace of the Church. (*a*) It was the first triumphant struggle of the people against the nobility and the priesthood, and therefore exceedingly interesting to the peasants, who every where gloried in it. Gre-

b) *Wieliffe*, Trial IV, 30. Apol. Conf. August. p. 276s. *Löscher*, Ref. Acta. vol. I. p. 145ss. *Hottinger*, H. ecc. l. XV. p. 413. *Hagenbach*, Gesch. d. Ref. vol. I. p. 112. *Augusti*, die Ref. Propheten. (Beitrr. z. Gesch. u. Statist. d. ev. K. 1838. vol. III. p. 115ss.)

a) *Mansi* vol. XXIII. p. 323. *Raynald.* ad ann. 1233. N. 42ss.

gory IX. caused a crusade to be proclaimed against the Stedingers as heretics of the most deadly and absurd character. Their great and glorious struggle was finally terminated by a dreadful battle (1234), which only a small remnant survived to submit to the yoke of the Church. (*b*)—During the contest between the popes and the house of Hohenstaufen, some sectaries residing in the Suabian city of Hall (about 1248) declared the pope a heretic, and that the clergy had forfeited their power on account of their corruptions. They therefore offered prayer for the members of the house of Hohenstaufen as the only just and perfect rulers. When the power of these princes was broken they also disappeared. (*c*) But for a long time after a story was current in various forms among the people, according to which Frederic II. would at some future period return, or from his blood should arise a mighty eagle which would destroy the Roman Church. (*d*)

§ 293. *Fraternity of the Free Spirit.*

The bold aspiration of the spirit toward God, which was not seriously opposed when it appeared in all its indistinctness and benignity in the system of Mysticism, necessarily fell under the judgment of the ecclesiastical courts when it came out with scholastic definitions, exalted itself above the Church itself, and was even perverted to the gratification of wicked passions. A synod at *Paris* (1209) pronounced judgment upon the school of *Amalric*, which combined the Pantheistic doctrines of Erigena with their own principles of reform, which they announced in the style of the abbot Joachim. They maintained not so much that every thing was one and God, as that God is the essence, the end, and the object of every thing created. Every pious person is a Christ in whom God becomes man, the resurrection is regeneration, heaven and hell are internal and moral states, the body of Christ is in the bread even before its consecration, just as God is in all nature, and the Trinity is merely the incarnation of the Deity in three different periods of the world. After them and among them the age of the Holy Spirit was to commence, when there would be no more need of an external Church. They also maintained that the pope was Antichrist, that every thing done from love was pure, since the Spirit who reigns in the hearts of all who know themselves to be one with him cannot sin. *Amalrich* of *Bena* was himself compelled only to recant his assertion, that no one can be saved who does not consider himself a member of Christ's body (1204). The condemnation of persons then in their graves, by the Synod of Paris, and the connection of the proceedings with the name of Erigena, indicate what must have been the pantheistic object of that assertion. A treatise of *David* of *Dinanto* was at the same time destroyed, which would seem from arguments urged against it at a later period, to have founded upon certain Aristotelian

b) *Jo. Otton*, Catal. Episc. Brem. (*Menken* vol. III. p. 793.) *Gregor. IX.* ad Archiep Brem. (*Lindenbrog.* p. 172.)—*J. D. Ritter*, de pago Steding et de Stedingis. Vit. 1751. 4. (*Berg*, Museum Duisb. vol. I. P. II. p. 529.) *Scharling*, de Stedingis. Hafn. 1828. *Schlosser*, Weltgesch. vol. III. Th. 2. Abth. 2. p. 127ss.

c) *Albertus Stadens*, ad ann. 1248.

d) *Mosheim*, Vers. e. unparth. Ketzergesch. Hlmst. 1748. p. 342ss. *Michelsen*, d. Riffhäuser Kaisersage. (Zeitsch. f. thuring. Gesch. 1853. H. 2.)

conclusions the idea that the Deity could have no distinctions in his nature, and that from him proceeded spirit and matter. (*a*) Soon after this holocaust at Paris, a popular party with similar principles made its appearance on the Upper Rhine, and, until some considerable time in the fourteenth century, in some parts of France, Germany, and Italy. They were known under various local appellations, frequently as Beghards and Waldenses, but among themselves they were generally called Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit. The nature of their principles leads to the conclusion that they had their origin in the scattered fragments of Amalric's school, in which their doctrines had been advocated in a systematic form. Their principal doctrine, however, does not seem to have been the Pantheism which contains no popular elements, but an opinion which they made prominent in all their teachings, according to which it is the Spirit alone that makes us free and happy. (*b*) From this they inferred that all outward things were unprofitable, and thus adopted a sentiment which in every age has been very ambiguous in its application. Some found access to God by breaking loose from all earthly objects, but others gave themselves up to worldly lusts, on the ground that these could have no influence upon the mind, but might, on the other hand, serve to extricate the feeling of original unity from the artificial distinctions of society, by abolishing marriage and the possession of private property. (*c*) The Picards or Adamites, who in the fifteenth century endeavored to introduce among the Hussites a paradisiac state of nature, were children of the same spirit, and perhaps were externally in connection with them. Some of these escaped the swords of the Hussites, and preserved a secret remnant of their sect in Bohemia. (*d*)

§ 294. *Order of the Apostles.*

I. Hist. Dulcini & Additamentum ad Hist. Dulc. (*Muratori* vol. IX. p. 423.)

II. *Mosheim*, Gesch. d. Ap. O. (Ketzergesch. p. 193.) & de Beghard. p. 221ss. *Schlosser*, Abäl. u. Dulcin. Gotha. 1807. [*L. Mariotti*, Fra Dolcino, An Hist. Memoir of, transl. from the Ital. by *A. Galenga*, Lond. 1852. 8.]

Gherardo Segarelli, of Parma, a youth of a fanatical disposition who had been rejected by the Franciscans, felt called upon to invite men back to the true poverty of the apostolic life. The Order of the Apostles, which he collected (after 1260) around his person, went about with their spiritual sisters begging, and proclaiming that the kingdom of God was near. The popes prohibited (after 1286) this new mendicant order, but they continued to assemble with the Catharists and Fratricelli, and awaited the approaching downfall of the papacy according to the imagery of the Apocalypse. Gherardo was buried in Parma (1300). The apostolical brethren were then

a) Conc. Par. Acta in *Martene*, Thes. Anecd. vol. IV. p. 163ss. Accounts by *Rigordus* ad ann. 1209, and *Caesarius Heisterbac.* V. 22. in *Mansi* vol. XXII. p. 801ss. *Gerson.* de concordia metaphys. c. logica. (vol. IV. p. 826.)—*Engelhardt*, A. v. Bena. (KHist. Abh. N. 3.) *C. U. Hahn*, Am. v. B. (Stud. u. Krit. 1846. H. 1.) *J. H. Krönlein*, Am. v. B. u. David v. D. (Stud. u. Krit. 1847. H. 2.)

b) John 4. 23s. Rom. 8.

c) *Mosheim:* de Beghardis et Beguin. p. 210. 255. H. ecc. vol. II. p. 552s.

d) Contemporary accounts in *Lenfant*, Hist. de la guerre des Huss. vol. I. p. 79ss. (Comp. *Beausobre*, Diss. sur les Adamites de Bohème. *Ib.* vol. II. p. 304ss.) *Mosheim*, H. ecc. p. 637s. Brl. K. Z. N. 12.

induced to follow *Dolcino*, a native of Milan, and his spiritual friend Margaretta. His prophetic circular Letters recognize indeed the historical necessity that the Church should pass into the hands of the wealthy and powerful, but maintain that since the hierarchy had left their first love, and surrendered themselves to earthly things, it was now needful to return to the poverty of the apostles. His assertions, which probably attained this distinct form only by degrees,* were merely a compilation of the heresies which had prevailed at an older period: "The Roman Church is the great harlot of the Apocalypse; all the popes since the time of Sylvester, with the exception of Peter de Murrhone, have been false leaders; it is better to live without vows than with them; men and women may cohabit without distinction; perjury is lawful in opposition to the inquisition; and the power of the Church is transferred to the Order of the Apostles, in which alone salvation can be found." Believing that the revolution he expected was at hand, and that the Staufian imperial dynasty was about to be restored, Dolcino took up arms against the inquisition, with something like a thousand men went forth on a bold predatory expedition, and finally intrenched himself on Mount Zebello. Here he was surrounded by the host of the crusaders which had been sent against him by the Bishop of Vercelli, and at last sank under the power of hunger and the swords of his enemies (1307).

§ 295. *Termination of the Earlier Sects.*

In the south of France, after many fluctuations of fortune, victory became decided in favor of Catholicism, amid fields strewed with the slain and the ashes of dwellings (1228). In *Italy* itself the Holy Father was surrounded by all kinds of heretics. The *Catharists* had been allowed opportunity to complete a regular system of Church polity, and in Brescia they even ventured to destroy some Catholic churches, and solemnly to excommunicate the Roman Church. (*a*) But when the chief of the Ghibelline party had fallen (until 1269), they sunk under the power of the inquisition, and in consequence of their own unfaithfulness. In *Bosnia* alone they succeeded in maintaining their ascendency, until the measures of the government against them (after 1442) led to the subversion of the empire by the Turks. (*b*) In Milan, some who advanced the idea that a female hierarchy ought to be formed on the ruins of that which then existed, because the Holy Spirit had become incarnate in a woman, were obliged to atone for their rashness at the stake. (*c*) The *Waldenses* were reduced in numbers because they had been burned by their persecutors, but some congregations still remained in the south of France and in the secluded valleys of Piedmont. The reasons for the increase of heresy were declared by a zealous Catholic to be: the vanity and the zeal of heretics of every condition in life to teach and con-

* This is sustained by the milder view in the accounts discovered by *Baggiolini* Dolc. e i Patareni. Novara. 1838. After him: *J. Krone*, Fra Dolc. u. d. Patarener. Lpz. 1844. Comp. *Hahn* in d. Stud. d. ev. Geistl. Würtemb. 1846. vol. XVIII. H. 1.

a) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1225. N. 47.

b) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1445. N. 23, 1449. N. 9. 1450. N. 13.

c) After *Palacky*: *Pescheck*, d. Böhm. Wilhelmine. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1839. H. 3.)

vert those with whom they were conversant by means of the Holy Scriptures, and on the other hand, the neglect of popular instruction, the contempt for the Church shown by its own servants, and the unapostolic lives of the prelates. (*d*) After the thirteenth century, no one who considered merely the worldliness of the Church and the multitude and zeal of the heretics, could have any doubt whether the latter or the Catholics would obtain the victory. In the commencement of the fifteenth century heretical congregations of almost every kind were scattered and broken up. But it was only in secret that those forms of opposition were maintained or organized which in the sixteenth century came forward under the name of Anabaptism, when assailing the constitution of the Church, and of Unitarianism when arrayed against the doctrines of the Church. (*e*) The victory, however, was dependent partly upon the hopes which might be entertained of a reform and the disposition of the liberal party then powerful in the Church itself, partly upon the lifeless disposition of the age, which, as represented by the Humanists, was satisfied with a shrewd and selfish smile at existing evils, and finally upon the more settled condition of the states and their reconciliation with Rome. A victory on the part of such heretics, as most of those were who existed at that period, would have destroyed for ever the historical development of Christianity. If, therefore, we may concede that the Church was right in shrinking from no calamities or laceration of feeling (*f*) to overcome this first threatened revolution, the very relation of such a victory to Christianity rendered it evident that at some future time an entirely different result might be expected.

II. Reform.

§ 296. *Reformation in the Head and Members.*

When the Minorite, *Alvarus Pelagius* (about 1330), poured forth his lamentations over the low condition of the Church, the only remedy he sought was the re-establishment of the papal authority. (*a*) About the close of the same century public opinion became decided that the reformation of the head of the Church must commence with a limitation of its power to do mischief. In the fifteenth century, when every nation and class in society demanded the reformation of the Church, when prelates and popes united in the promise that it should be given, and in fact proclaimed that it was already begun and completed, every one understood this indefinite term to mean primarily that which he most desired, the removal of what seemed to him most oppressive and unchristian. Reformation was generally understood to mean: the establishment of Christian morals among all classes, and especially among the clergy, the abolition of Roman extortion, and the restoration of all ecclesiastical institutions to their original design. The canon law, however, was to remain untouched, and hence its meaning was indefinite. Nothing was

d) Append. to *Rainerii* Summa c. 3. (Bibl. Max. vol. XXV. p. 263.)

e) *Illgen*, Symbb. ad vitam et doctr. Laelii Soc. ill. P. I. Lps. 1826. 4. *Gebser*, de primordiis Anabaptistar. Reg. 1830.

f) *Leo*, MAlter. vol. I. p. 509s.

a) Summa de planctu Eccl. Ulm. 1474. f. & oftcn.

said respecting doctrine. In consistency with this view, those who gave expression to public opinion, especially the Parisian divines, represented the reformation as essentially connected with the reconciliation of the great schism. The Bishop of Cambray, *Peter d'Ailly* (d. about 1425), combined all the efforts of the French Church in the demand of a general council, and although after the experience gained at Pisa, he had doubts whether any help could be derived from such a source, (*b*) he exerted all his intellectual energy at Constance to have one summoned. *Gerson* also defended the independence of the general assemblies of the Church, as the only medium by which a legal and salutary reform could be effected, but maintained that the only way in which a sound state of heart could be secured was by the study of the Scriptures, and a better education of the people. Accordingly, toward the close of his stormy life, he commenced the reformation among the children. (*c*) Finally, *Nicolas* of *Clamengis* (d. 1440), believing that the time had come in which judgment should begin at the house of God, and having described the corruption of the Church in language rhetorically extravagant, but in Roman Latin, and with graphic distinctness, then waited for the exaltation of the Church by external means, whenever she should humble herself, and amend her ways. (*d*) *Hemmerlin*, a canon of Zurich, as a preacher and as an impressive author, has faithfully represented the spirit of the Council of Basle, but his aristocratic hatred of the Swiss Confederacy produced his removal from public life to the prison of the convent of Lucerne (about 1457). (*e*) Andreas, Archbishop of Crain, of the order of preachers, in his wrath against Sixtus IV. called, on his own authority, a general council at Basle (1482), for the deliverance of the Church. Although the old City of Councils ventured to endure an interdict in his defence, he was, on the pope's requisition, imprisoned, and when he found himself forsaken by all on whom he had relied, he hung himself on the railing of the tower (1484). (*f*) The more advanced champions of reform in the great councils sometimes inadvertently went beyond the fundamental principles of Catholicism. D'Ailly appealed to the opinion of the ancient fathers in proof of his position that councils might err even in matters of faith, and Gerson advanced the idea of a universal Church, which, under Christ its sole head, was the only Church in which salvation could be found, was without error, schism, or sin, and was consequently very different from that of Rome. (*g*) The *Mystics* believed in the possibility of a Reformation springing from within the Church itself. Those in particular who were called the "Friends of God," and who professed to take refuge under the cross of Christ, and depended upon visions and secret leaders, must have occupied a position quite ambiguous with respect to the Church, and were full of bitter complaints of its degeneracy. (*h*) The saint of the North

b) De difficultate Reform. in Conc. univ. (*Hardt.* vol. I. P. VI. p. 255.)

c) Tr. de parvulis trahendis ad Christum. (Opp. vol. III. p. 278.)

d) *N. de Clamengis*, de ruina Eccl. about 1406. (*Hardt.* vol. I. P. III. p. 1.)—*Ad. Müntz*, Nic. de Clémanges, sa vie et ses écrits. Strasb. 1846.

e) *B. Reber*, Felix Hemmerlin, Zü[illegible]1846. Here see p. 18ss. of his writings.

f) *Peter Numagen*. Gesta Archiep. Crayensis (Wirceb. 1514.) in *Hottinger*, H. ecc. p. XV. p. 347ss. *Wurstisen*, Basler Chronik VI, 14.—*J. Burckhardt*, Erzb. A. v. Krain u. d. letzte Concilsversuch in B. Basel. 1852. *g*) *Hardt.* vol. II. P. V. p. 196. & vol. I. P. V. p. 68.

h) *Rulman Merswin* (d. 1382), das B. v. d. neun Felsen. (comp. *C. Schmidt* in d. Zeitschr. f. hist.

when she visited Rome found the whole Decalogue reduced to a single precept, "Bring money!" and she therefore predicted a Reformation, which should proceed, not from the pope, but from Christendom. (*i*) Gregory of Heimburg (d. 1472), a legal counsellor, even when excommunicated and homeless, remained true to his character, and with German sturdiness invoked the German national spirit, in opposition to Roman encroachments. (*k*) *Erasmus* perceived that the only vocation suited to his character was, in the quiet leisure of a literary life, to effect a reformation of theology, and thus prepare the way for a peaceful reformation of the Church, by promoting a knowledge of classical and ecclesiastical antiquity, and by cultivating the faculty of independent and sober common sense. But there were in the hierarchy prodigious resources for evading these calls for a Reformation, and for corrupting those leaders in it who could not be overthrown. All the bold champions who advocated it at Basle gradually submitted. Some of the more cautious did this first, and all could do so with dignity. *Nicolas* of *Cusa* (d. 1464), afterwards Cardinal and Bishop of Brixen, defended the supremacy of the pope at the bar of the very synod for whose independence he had just been contending. According to his metaphysical speculations all the affairs of Church and state were arranged on the principle of a unity before which no opposition could be true. To the scholasticism of his day he opposed his learned want of knowledge, to an absolute faith in the Scriptures he opposed the authority of the Holy Spirit who had been given to men and had established the Church before the letter of the sacred writings had been composed, and to such as disbelieved the miracles of the Church he opposed his own disinterestedness as a legate and as a preacher of indulgences. He, however, preserved in his heart a desire for a Reformation, and predicted that the papacy would be subverted and the Church renovated, but at some distant period. (*l*) At the commencement of the sixteenth century every thing accomplished for the Church at Constance and at Basle had apparently come to nothing, and all confidence in councils was given up. There were not wanting, however, even among the friends of the hierarchy, some individuals who warned them of the consequences of this course. Cardinal *Julian* wrote to the pope (1431), "If all hope of our amendment should be cut off, we shall be attacked by the laity according to our deserts." (*m*) Chancellor *Mayer* of Mentz wrote (1457) to Aeneas Sylvius: "The German nation, once the Queen of the world, but now a tributary handmaid of the Roman Church, begins to arouse herself as out of a dream, and is resolved to throw off the yoke." (*n*)

Th. 1839. P. 2. p. 61ss.) Plaintes d'un La que allemand sur la décadence de la chrétienté (1356.) opuscule publié p. *Ch. Schmidt*. Strasb. 1840. 4. *Rohrich* d. Gottesfr. u. Winkler am Oberrhein. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1840. P. 1.) *C. Schmidt*, Tauler, p. 161ss.

i) *Birgittae* Revelatt. in *Wolfii* Lectt. memor. vol. II. p. 670ss.

k) Admonitio de injustis usurpatt. Paparum Rom. ad Imperator. Reges et Princc. chr. s. Confutatio primatus Papae. (*Goldast*, Monarch. S. R. Imp. vol. 1. P. 557ss.) & others. Comp. *Hagen* in d. Braga. Heidelb. 1839. vol. II. p. 414ss. *Ullmann*, Reformat. vol. I. p. 212ss.

l) De cath. concordantia. De docta ignorantia. Apol. doctae ignor. De Deo abscondito. De conjecturis. Epp. VII. ad Clerum et Literatos Bohemiae. Conjectura de novissimis dieb. (Opp. Bas. 1565. 3 vols. f.) *F. A. Scharpff*, d. Card. N. v. C. Mainz. 1843. vol. I. *J. M. Düx*, N. v. C. ü. d. K. sr. Zeit. Ratisb. 1847. 2 vols. *R. Zimmermann*, Cus. als Vorläufer Leibnitzens. Weim. 1852.

m) *Richerii* Hist. Concc. gen. Col. 1681. I. III. p. 32. *n*) *Wolfii* Lectt. memor. vol. I. p. 853.

A literary man in Germany thought the Reformation equally impracticable and necessary at that time. (*o*)

§ 297. *John de Wycliffe.* 1324.—*Dec.* 31, 1384.

I. Writings of J. Wicl. Lond. 1836. *H. Knyghton*, de eventib. Angliae usque 1395. (*Twisden*, Scrr. Hist. Aug. Lond. 1652. f.) *Argentré* vol. I. P. 2. p. 1ss.

II. *J. Lewis*, Hist. of the Life & Sufferings of J. W. (Lond. 1720.) Oxf. 1820. *Rob. Vaughan*, Life & Opinions of J. de W. Lond. (1829.) 1831. 2 vols. [new ed. Lond. 1853. 4. *C. W. Le Bas*, Life of W. New York. 1838. 2 vols. Littell's Rel. Mag. vol. III. p. 31ss. 142ss.] *De Ruever Groneman*, Diatr. in J. W. vitam, ingenium, scripta. Traj. 1837. *G. Weber*, Gesch. d. akath. K. u. Secten in Grossbrit. Lps. 1845. vol. I. Th. 1. *E. A. Lewald*, d. theol. Doctrin. W. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1846. H. 2. 4. 1847. H. 2.) *G. V. Lechler*, W. u. d. Lollarden. I. (*Ib.* 1853. H. 3.)

The papal power in England had been renovated by means of the mendicant friars. In the time of Edward III. parliament enacted that every one who should be the bearer of any papal orders with respect to ecclesiastical offices should be imprisoned (1350), forbade all appeals to the court of Rome (1353), and declared that all rents paid to the pope as a liege lord were unlawful (1366). Wycliffe also wrote in the style of the Abbot Joachim respecting the last times of the Church. (*a*) Under the instruction of Bradwardine he had become skilled in scholastic learning, and in both branches of the law, and as a subordinate member of the University of Oxford he supported that institution by his learned tracts in opposition to the mendicant friars (after 1360), and defended the government in its endeavors to render itself independent of the French papacy. As a professor of theology after 1372, and much respected as a realistic philosopher, he was sent as one of the deputies to Bruges (1374–76), to confer with the papal commissioners respecting a free appointment of ecclesiastical offices by the Church. He afterwards spoke and wrote against the oppression of the Church by the papacy, against the arbitrary mode of excommunications then prevalent, against monasticism, purgatory, and against the necessity of auricular confession, indulgences, and the worship of saints and of images. Gregory XI. condemned (1377) nineteen articles selected from his writings, which however Wycliffe, under the protection of the court and the high nobility, merely explained in a milder and more definite sense. But when he longed to extricate himself from the antichristianity of his own day, and enjoy the privileges of a Church like that which Paul had constructed, and therefore taught that the Scriptures alone were worthy of complete confidence (Dr. Evangelicus), that the temporal power of the pope was derived solely from the emperor, that it was treason to obstruct appeals from the spiritual courts to the king, that priests lost all spiritual power by the commission of mortal sin, that tithes and other alms should be withheld from priests living in sin, that the saving grace of God was not connected exclusively with the priesthood and the sacraments, and, finally, that Christ was present in the Lord's Supper only in a spiritual manner; his doctrines were condemned at the Earthquake-Council at London (1382), and Wycliffe himself was excluded from the University. He was,

o) Life of the celebrated D. Crantzii. Hamb. (1722.) 1729. p. 51. *Mönckeberg*, d. theol. Charakter d. A. Krantz, Hamb. 1851.

a) The last age of the Church, 1356. Dublin. 1840. 4.

however, assured of his personal freedom by the House of Commons, and betook himself to his own rectory of Lutterworth, where he had leisure to complete his principal work containing his Augustinian system of scriptural scholasticism, and his propositions for the reformation of the Church. (*b*) His influence was exerted by means of his translation of the Scriptures from the Vulgate, his sermons, (*c*) his pamphlets, and some poor priests whom he sent among the people, and many were known to be his adherents to whom the name of Lollards was transferred, but he produced no permanent religious impression upon the masses of society, and the insurrection which occurred in his day among some peasants, in favor of liberty and equality, was only aided by a misunderstanding of his doctrines. His views were principally received and promulgated by the higher classes and men of learning, and hence, no sooner was the government hurried into a sanguinary persecution (after 1400) than all his adherents were easily thrust back into obscurity. It was with especial reference to Bohemia that the anathema of the Church against the views of Wycliffe was made so severe at the Council of Constance.

§ 298. *John Huss and the Hussites.*

I. The Literature of the Sources may be found in *H. v. Aufsess*, Anz. f. Kunde d. deut. MA. 1832. p. 738. 227ss.—*Hist. et Monumm. J. Huss* et *Hier. Prag.* Nor. (1558.) 1715. 2 vols f. Gerichtl. Anklage u. vertheid. d. J. H. ehe er nach Constanz ging, mitgeth. v. Lehmann. (Stud. u. Krit. 1837. P. 1.) Many things are in *Hardt* & in *Aen. Sylvii* Hist. Bohemor. Rom. 1475. f. & often.—*Brzezyna*, Calixtiner, Canzler d. Neust. Prag, Diarium belli Huss. (*J. P de Ludewig*, Reliquiae Manusce. vol. VI. Comp. *Dobrowsky* in d. Abhh. d. böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1788. p. 303ss.)

II. *J. Cochlaeus*, Hist. Hussitar. Mog. 1549. f. *Z. Theobald*, Hussitenkrieg. Nürnb. 1621. 3 ed. Brsl. 1730. 3 vols. 4. *Zitte*, Lebensb. d. J. H. Prag. 1789. f. 2 vols. *A. Zürn*, H. zu Costn. Lps. 1836. *D. G. v. d. Horst*, de Hussi vita praesertim. illius condemnati causis. Amst. 1837. *E. de Bonnechose*, J. Hus et le Conc. de Constance. (Les reformateurs avant la ref. vol. I. II.) Par. 1845.—*Palacky*, Gesch. v. Böhm. 1845. vol. III. Abth. 1. (*J. A. Helfert*, Hus u. Hier. Studie. Prag. 1853.)—*Neander*, Gesch. d. chr. Rel. u. K. Th. XI. p. 330ss.—*Lenfant*, Hist. de la guerre des Huss. Amst. 1731. 2 vols. 4. Prsb. 1783. 4 vols. Supplément p. *Beausobre*, Laus. 1745. 4. [*Bonnechose's* work above referred to was republ. in Paris in 1853.]

Ever since the middle of the 14th century a few eminent priests of Prague who had been persecuted but not silenced, as preachers of repentance (*a*) and in their writings (*b*) had contended against a corrupt clergy as the Antichrist, and had endeavored to draw off the minds of men from the human institutions of the Church to the apostolic laws, to the universal priesthood, and to a crucified Redeemer. John Huss, of Hussinecz (after 1398), a Professor of Philosophy, a scholastic realist, and (after 1402) a Bohemian preacher in the chapel of Bethlehem at Prague, followed in their footsteps. Toward himself he was rigidly severe, but toward others he exhibited a friendly disposition, his reading was not extensive and was principally directed to the histories of

b) Trialogus (Dialogor. l. IV.) 1382. (Bas.) 1525. 4. Frcf. et Lps. 1753. 4.

c) *Engelhardt*, Wycl. als Prediger. Erl. 1834.

a) Conr. of Waldhausen d. 1369. Jan of Stekno, about 1360. Milicz d. 1374. *J. P. Jordan*, d. Vorläufer d. Hussitenth. in Böhmen. Lps. 1846.

b) Matth. v. *Janow*, d. 1394, de regulis Vet. et N. Testamenti 1392, de abominatione & de antichristo are only sections of this work, the last has been regarded as a writing of Huss (Hist. et Monum. vol. I. p. 376ss.) *Neander*, M. v. J. als Vorläufer d. deut. Ref. u. Repräsent. d. neuen Princips. (Wissensch. Abhh. ed. by Jacobi. Brl. 1851. p. 92.) Extracts in Jordan & Neander (KGesch.)

the martyrs, and his eloquence, though considerable, was owing more to his lofty enthusiasm than to his natural talents. He was devotedly attached to the Romish Church until, in consequence of the intercourse between Oxford and Prague he became acquainted (about 1403) with the reformatory writings of Wycliffe, in which he recognized particular truths of the greatest importance, and soon publicly avowed his admiration of the name of Wycliffe. His preaching and his publications were then directed against the worldliness of the clergy and the abuses of the papacy, but it was not long before his direct reference to the gospel led him to announce that all clergymen possessed equal authority, that a visible head was not needful to the general Church, that the congregations possessed some special rights, that tithes were nothing but alms, and that civil authorities had a right to confiscate any property of the Church which had been perverted to improper uses. As long as the votes of Germans were most numerous in the councils of the University the writings of Wycliffe were condemned there. But by appealing especially to a feeling of old national jealousy he succeeded in obtaining the passage of a law (1409) by which the German corporations were deprived of their privileges in the academic republic. In consequence of this proceeding the University lost most of its students and became strictly Bohemian, and Huss, himself, became an object of hatred in all parts of Germany. (*c*) With him, at the head of an evangelical clergy, advanced the impetuous but learned knight, *Jerome* of Prague, who had just returned from an academic crusade in behalf of Wycliffe's scholastic principles. On the complaint of the Archbishop of Prague, Huss was cited to appear at Rome, deposed and excommunicated as a Wycliffite (1410), but he appealed to a pope better informed, and in consequence of his favor with the people and King Wenceslaus, the archbishop found it necessary to become reconciled to him (1411). When John XXIII. (1412) had indulgences offered for sale to raise funds for his crusade against Naples, Huss boldly preached against them, and against the erection of the standard of the cross in opposition to professed Christians. The bull of indulgences was burned at the public pillory in the same manner in which the archbishop had burned the writings of Wycliffe, public tranquillity was disturbed, and the disturbance was avenged with blood. The views of Huss were now elevated above all regard for the Roman Church, and he formed a conception of the true Church as a communion of all who have been eternally elected to life, the head of which could not be the pope but Christ alone, since no earthly dignity, no human choice, and no visible sign could confer a membership in it. (*d*) When the place of his residence was placed by a bull under an interdict (1413), he retired to the castles of his friends, and preached to the people with great power. As he had appealed to a general council, to God, and to Christ, the Emperor Sigismund summoned him to Constance. He freely obeyed this citation, trusting to his own orthodoxy, and prepared, if necessary, to lay down his life with joy. He was soon thrown into confinement (Nov. 28, 1414); the Bohemian and the Polish nobility contended

c) *J. T. Held*, Tentamen hist. illustrandis rebus a. 1409 in Univ. Pragena gestis. Prag. 1827. *W. Tomek*, Gesch d. Prag. Univ. Prag. 1849. p. 47ss.

d) Tr. d. Eccl. (Hist. et Monum. vol. I. p. 243.)

for his rights in vain, and the emperor had nothing but a blush to give as an apology for the violation of his safe conduct. (*e*) Some of the charges alleged against him he was able to deny, and others he could modify—he had never rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, the pope had been created by Constantine only with respect to his temporal honor and earthly possessions, a king, a pope, or a bishop in mortal sin was in the sight of God unworthy of the name, and such a priest could not properly administer the sacraments. The council required him unconditionally to recant his opinions, and condemned him for his obstinacy, since he would make no concessions except to the authority of the Scriptures or of reason. (*f*) A person of a different character might perhaps have extricated himself without betraying the cause of truth, and indeed have become a leader in the synod. The farewell letters which Huss wrote to his friends were full of heroism and tenderness, (*g*) and he died (July 6, 1415) praising Christ and fully believing that his cause would become victorious at some future period, in the hands of more powerful men. (*h*) Jerome at first recanted, but soon recovered his courage, summoned his judges before the Supreme Judge of all, and, according to an account left us by a philosopher, died with the fortitude of a Stoic. (*i*) Theological heresies were charged against these men, only in an indefinite manner, and by a misunderstanding of their views. When we find that a liberal assembly like that of Constance rewarded these liberal efforts by martyrdom at the stake, we must also recollect that the hostility of the scholastic school, the hatred of the Germans, and the bitterness of the clergy on account of the general contempt to which they had been exposed, all co-operated in producing the result. But the decisive object which the hierarchical party had in view was simply to terrify its opponents by bringing to the stake men whose sentiments were so similar to theirs; while, on the other hand, they were sacrificed by the liberal party lest it should expose itself to the suspicion of sharing in their heretical sentiments. But a large part of the Bohemian nation were seized with horror at the cruel deed perpetrated at Constance, under the guise of sanctity, and in a body they rose in rebellion. Huss and Jerome were honored as martyrs, and the priests and monks became victims to a most terrible and sanguinary vengeance. A custom introduced by Jacob of Misa and approved by Huss, according to which the cup in the Sacrament was administered to the laity, was now made the badge of the Hussite covenant. (*k*) When *Wenceslaus*, who had retained possession of his crown, in consequence of the weakness of his government, died (1419), and Bohemia became the inheritance of his brother, the emperor, the greater part of the estates refused to swear allegiance to a prince who had broken his promise, and they therefore raised the standard of civil war (1420). The Hussites

e) On the other hand: J. Huss u. s. Geleitsbr. (Hist. pol. Bl. 1839. vol. IV. H. 7.)

f) *A. Cappenberg*, utrum H. doctr. fuerit heretica et merito anath. proscripta? Monast. 1834.

g) Briefe d. J. H. zu Konstanz. Nach. d. böhm. Urtexte ed. by F. Mikowec. Lps. 1849.

h) Hist. et Monn. vol. I. p. 33ss. vol. II. p. 515ss.—*Mansi* an vere de Luthero vaticinatus sit Huss? (Verm. Abhh. Brsl. 1821. p. 157ss.)

i) *Poggii* Ep. ad Aretin. (ed. Orelli. Tur. 1835. *Hardt* Th. III. p. 64ss.) Hist. et Monn. Th. II. p. 522ss.—*L. Heller*, H. v. Prag. Lüb. 1835.

k) *Martini* Ds. de Jac. de Misa. Altd. 1753. 4. conf. *Schreiber*, de Petro Dresdensi. Lps. 1778. 4.

were divided into two parties, of which the milder, called *Calixtines* (Utraquists), reduced their demands to four articles: the privilege of freely preaching the word of God, the administration of the Lord's Supper in both forms, the return of the clergy to the apostolic life of poverty, and the right of the congregation to punish all mortal sin. The other more rigid party, called the *Taborites*, claimed to be the true elect of God, rejected unconditionally all the principles of the Church which could not be proved from the Scriptures, expected in a short time the second advent of Christ, and under their infatuated leader, *Ziska*, carried on a war of extermination against the neighboring nations. After the death of Ziska (1424), his place was filled by a monk whose name was *Procopius*, but as many of the troops looked upon the loss of their general as irreparable, they called themselves *Orphans*. Although these parties were opposed to each other they became united when a common danger threatened them. Every army sent against them by the emperor or the papal legates was beaten, being composed only of mercenaries under the name of crusaders, and opposed to a people whose wrath had been powerfully awakened. The conquerors were now in the most cautious manner summoned to appear before the Council at *Basle*. After much debate the Calixtines came to an agreement (1433) respecting their articles, and it was agreed that the word of God should be regularly preached under the direction of spiritual superiors, that the Lord's Supper should be administered under both forms by the special authority of the council, that the property of the Church should be managed by the clergy according to the usages of the fathers, and that mortal sins should, as far as possible, be punished by the civil magistrates according to law. The Taborites and Orphans, who regarded this compromise with contempt, were overcome (May 30, 1434) at the battle of Prague, and Bohemia became subject to the emperor by a treaty formed at *Iglau* (1436), by which religious and political liberty were secured to the people on the basis of the compromise with the council. But this treaty was in many ways violated in favor of the Catholics, who, after the dispersion of the Taborites were a sufficient match for the Calixtines alone. On the death of Sigismund (1437), when the nation were called upon to choose a successor, controversies respecting the succession sprung up, and civil wars were prosecuted with no decisive results, until at the Diet of *Kuttenberg* (1485) a religious peace was established by King Wladislaus, which secured the Catholic and Calixtine parties in the possessions which they then held. So long, however, were the Hussites agitated by political storms that ultimately none of their advantages remained, except the outward form of the cup in the sacrament, and recollections of former glory.

§ 299. *The Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.*

Köcher, die 3 vorn. Glaubensbekennt. d. B. Brüd. Frkf. u. Lpz. 1742. *J. Camerarii* hist. narratio de fratrum orthod. ecclesiis in Boh. Moravia et Pol. (about 1570.) Heidlb. 1605. Frcf. 1625. *J. Comenii* Hist. frat. Bohemor. (Amst. 1660.) c. praef. Buddei. Hal. 1702. 4. *Lochner*, Entsteh. u. erste Schicksale der Brüdergem. in B. u. M. Nürnb. 1832. *A. Köppen*, d. KOrdnung u. Disciplin. d. alten huss. Brüderkirche. Lps. 1845.

A small band, composed principally of remnants of the Taborites, but mollified by necessitous circumstances, became dissatisfied with the conces-

sions made to the Catholics, and the low state to which the evangelical spirit had declined, and therefore separated themselves from the Calixtines (after 1450). Their congregations were prescribed on the eastern borders, but soon became numerous in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, in spite of severe persecutions. Their first bishops received ordination from the Waldensian bishops, and several remnants of the Waldenses, with other pious and peaceable persons, were received into their community. They were generally poor, quiet, well versed in the Scriptures, and divided into three classes in regular gradations, called Novices, Proficients, and Perfect. They rejected the saints and prelates of the Catholic Church, taught that there was a mystical connection between the body of Christ and the elements of the Lord's Supper, did not pretend to be the only saving Church, but only members of it, and by an ecclesiastical discipline like that of the first centuries, maintained a habit of life rigidly moral, spiritual, and pious, though in many respects contracted in its objects.

§ 300. *Learned Precursors of the Reformation in Germany.*

Nearly all the subjects which so powerfully agitated the world during the conflicts of the next century, were more or less discussed by learned men in the midst of the general opposition to the Church raised by science and piety in the fifteenth century. The great points common to them all were the purification of the Church by means of the Scriptures, and the reception of Christianity as the only saving faith. *John* (Pupper) of *Goch*, rector of a convent of nuns in Mechlin (d. 1475), endeavored to find Christianity in those errors which have in all ages been its snare, viz. the perpetual observance of the Mosaic law in some form, faith without works, satisfaction with works without divine grace, and finally vows as indispensable conditions of evangelical perfection. (*a*) *John Wessel* (Gansfort), originally from Groningen, but afterwards a resident successively in Cologne, Louvain, Paris, and Heidelberg, whose mental activity at last found congenial employment in the stirring excitement of a counsellor's and a teacher's life (Lux Mundi, Mag. contradictionum, d. 1489), has, in the style of the Scholastics and Humanists, conceived of Christianity on a basis of mysticism, and regarded it as something entirely spiritual, wholly confined to a man's own heart and God. His expressions, therefore, with regard to ecclesiastical institutions are generally very limited, and formed with a careful exclusion of all reference to doctrines. "The Holy Scriptures, God's own abbreviated word, is the living source of all true faith; the Church is based upon a compact; there is a general priesthood of the rational universe; faith is to be reposed only in an orthodox pope, and not in every council; sins can be forgiven by none but God; excommunication has only an external influence; indulgences refer only to ecclesiastical penalties; repentance is internally complete through the righteousness of Christ and God's free grace, when we are sincerely grieved for our sins; the true satisfaction for sin is a life in God; and purgatory is nothing but the purifying influence of a longing after God." (*b*) His friend *John*

a) De libertate chr. ed. *C. Grapheus*, Antu. 1521. 4. De quatuor errorib. Dial. in *Walch*, Mon. medii aevi. vol. I. Fasc. 4. Comp. *Walch's* Vorr. p. XIIIss.

b) A collection of his theol. treatises: *Farrago Wesseli* (1521.) Witt. 1522. and often. Later praef.

(Ruenrath) of *Wesel*, a professor in Erfurt, and a preacher in Worms, standing on the ground of the rigid Augustinian theology, made an assault upon the received system and usages of the Church. If the names of all the elect are inscribed from eternity in the book of life, he inferred that no excommunication could ever blot them out, no absolution could insert any in addition to them, and no observation of merely human statutes with which the Church is burdened, could raise them to a higher rank. As long as propositions like these were not addressed to the people, they could be tolerated under favorable circumstances as learned doctrines in the schools. But John of Wesel, who glorified Christ although he despised the pope, was accused by the Dominicans of Mentz, was compelled to recant when old and sick, and was finally imprisoned in a convent (1479) until he was set at liberty by death (1481). (*c*)

§ 301. *Jerome Savonarola.*

I. Trattato circa il regimento di Firenze. Fir. 1494. ed. 6. 1847. Compendio di rivelazioni. Fir. 1495. 4. (Comp. revell. Flor. 1495. 4.) De simplicitate vitae chr. Flor. 1496. 4. Triumphus crucis. Flor. 1497. 4. Expos. in Psalmum: Miserere mei. Flor. 1498. 4. and often, especially sermons and letters. Catalogue in Meier. p. 393ss.—Roman view: *Burchardi* Diarium. (*Eccard* vol. II. p. 2087ss. *Paulus*, Beitrr. z. D. K. u. Rel. Gesch. Brem. 1837. p. 281ss.) Apologetical: *J. F. Picus de Mirandula*, Vita Patris H. Sav. 1530. (with other orig. Docc.) ed. *J. Quetif*, Par. 1674. 3 vols. 12. *Pacif. Burlamacchi*, Vita del. P. Sav. ed. *Mansi* in *Baluzii* Miscell. Luc. 1761. f. vol. I. (Burlamacchi, d. 1519. Mansi has edited only the hyperorthodox revision by *Bottoni*, which was not made till 1527. I have sought in vain at Florence for the original text not longer ago than 1852, numerous Codd. in the Bibl. Magliabecchiana, contain the simple text of Mansi with only unimportant variations.) In connection with Gen. Hist.: *Guicciardini* l. III. p. 99ss. *Macchiavelli:* Discorsi I, 11. 45. Principe c. 6. *Commines* VIII. 2. 19.

II. *Buddeus* de artib. tyran. Sav. Jen. 1690. 4. with his later Retractatio. (Parerga hist. Jen. 1719.) *F. W. P. v. Ammon*, Grundz. d. Theol. d. Sav. (*Winer's* krit. J. 1828. vol. VIII. H. 3.) *Rudelbach*, Hier. Sav. u. s. Zeit. Hamb. 1835. *K. Meier*, Gir. Sav. Brl. 1836. *K. Hase*, Sav. (Neue Propheten. p. 97.) [*R. R. Madden*, Life and Mart. of J. Sav. Lond. 1853. 2 vols. 8.]

After a period of literary activity in a convent, the Dominican *Savonarola* became known as an impressive preacher of repentance in Florence (after 1489). He reproved the sins of great men as freely and as faithfully as those of ordinary men, and predicted that divine judgments were about to break forth upon Italy, but that a great purification of the Church, proceeding from Florence, should follow from these severe troubles. He also predicted the approaching ruin of the house of the Medici, and the march of a foreign king across the Alps, to chastise the tyrants of Italy and to reform the Church with the sword. Accordingly, Lorenzo Medici died, Charles VIII. advanced (1494) across the Alps, and the sons of Lorenzo were banished from Florence. After this partial fulfilment of his prophecies, and when the people by his advice had seized upon the government of the republic, the state was entirely dependent upon his counsel, although he never interfered with the details of the administration. He looked upon a government by

by *Luther* in his W. by *Walch*, vol. XIV. p. 219. Opp. Groning. 1614. 4.—*G. H. Goeze*, de Jo. Wess Lub. 1719. 4. *G. Muurling*, de Wesseli Gansfortii cum vita, tum meritis in praepar. sacrorum emendatione in Belgio sept. P. I. (Vita.) Traj. ad Rh. 1831. *C. Ullmann*, J. Wessel, ein Vorgänger Luth. Hamb. 1834. Die 2 umg. A. in d. Reformatoren vor d. Ref. vol. II.

c) His treatise adv. indulgentias in *Walch*, l. c. Fasc. I. p. 111. Legal documents relating to his trial in *Argentré* vol. I. P. II. p. 391ss. *Ullmann*, vol. I. p. 367ss.

the people as most appropriate to such a place as Florence, and he advised that it should be a spiritual community, established upon the principles of the fear of God, true patriotism, and peace among all its citizens. From his pulpit he commenced a great moral reformation. His system of faith was founded upon that of St. Thomas, though it deviated somewhat in the direction of the Mystics, and was animated by the spirit of the Scriptures. Of course he had no hope of salvation from the saints, nor from his own works, but his whole trust was in the grace of God. Although he declined the dangerous appellation of a prophet, he derived his predictions from a prophetic spirit nourished by the Scriptures, and he believed that in his conclusions he could no more be mistaken than that God himself could err. Alexander VI., wounded in various ways, and threatened with a council, endeavored to silence the terrible prophet at first by brilliant promises, and afterwards by sending him a crafty summons to Rome (July 21, 1495). Savonarola excused himself on the ground that he could not at that time be absent from Florence. Many Florentines were offended at the rigid morality which in its enthusiasm held a carnival with the works of luxury and art, and consigned them to an auto-da-fé. The noble families were chagrined at the ridiculous manner in which the government was conducted by a monk and the people. An attempt to restore the Medici was expiated with the heads of its authors, in the midst of legal forms before unknown. The sturdy confidence which Savonarola reposed in the King of France, brought the city of Florence into a dangerous political condition, and the retreat of the king gave a ridiculous aspect to his prophecies. Already was his influence over the minds of the people abated, when he was forbidden by the Roman authorities to enter the pulpit (Oct. 1496). As he would not allow the word of God which burned within him to be smothered, he was excommunicated (May 12, 1497). He regarded such a prohibition as utterly void when opposed to the spirit of love, and concluded to appeal from the earthly to the heavenly Pope. He therefore continued to preach to the people, assuring them that his cause would be triumphant though he himself should suffer martyrdom. The Franciscans placed themselves at the head of the opposition to the Dominicans of his convent of St. Mark, the people became excited at the disappointment which their curiosity had received when assembled to witness a divine trial of his claims by the ordeal of fire, for which neither of the champions had any inclination or confidence, and finally the city was threatened with a papal interdict. The convent of St. Mark was attacked by a mob, a few of Savonarola's adherents were struck down, and he himself was thrown into prison. An extraordinary court of justice compelled him to confess on the rack that he had played the part of a prophet from motives of ambition. Condemned by the judgment of the pope as a heretic, and by the voice of the Signoria for crimes not specified, he piously submitted himself to death, and between two brothers of his order was burned at the gibbet (May 23, 1498). Even the politic Secretary of State in Florence considered it becoming to speak of such a man with reverence. His portrait, with the halo of sanctity, painted by Fra Bartolomeo, is suspended in the gallery of St. Mark even to the present day.

CHAP. VII.—THE GREEK CHURCH.

§ 302. *Arsenius.*

G. Pachymeres III, 10. 14. 19ss. IV, 1ss. VII, 22. *Niceph. Gregoras* III, 1. IV, 1ss. VII, 9.—*Engelhardt*, die Arsenianer u. Hesychasten. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1838. vol. VIII. H. 1.)

A complete re-establishment of the monarchy had been prevented by the introduction of an arrangement resembling the feudal system, and by the formation of an independent nobility, composed of those families which were contending against the occupation of the country by the Latins. The Church regarded itself as the moral power by which the unity of the nation was to be preserved and the empire was finally to be restored. But when *Michael Palaeologus* actually set up the imperial authority in Constantinople (1261), he had the lawful heir to the throne, John Lascaris, deprived of his sight. For this act the patriarch *Arsenius* pronounced sentence of excommunication against the emperor (1262), who was compelled by the murmurs of the people to promise compliance with every penance required of him. But when the patriarch demanded that he should lay aside the purple which he had unlawfully seized, the emperor retaliated the ecclesiastical Bann with a civil banishment. He also succeeded in gaining over a synod to his purposes, by which Arsenius was deposed (1266), on the ground that his election and his administration had been irregular. Only three gold pieces which had been earned by transcribing the Psalms were found in the episcopal treasury. Even when banished to a desert island, and with his last breath, the deposed patriarch rejected the prayer of the emperor to be reconciled to the Church. The next patriarch was obliged to yield to the popular displeasure. Michael then succeeded in having a popular saint consecrated as patriarch, by whom the restoration of the emperor to the communion of the Church was finally effected (1268). But an influential party of monks called *Arsenites* persisted in rejecting the emperor and his patriarch. This dangerous schism was not healed until *Andronicus* caused the dead body of Arsenius to be deposited in the holy place, and the wrong which had been committed against him was atoned for by a penance imposed upon the whole nation (1312).

§ 303. *The Light of God and Philosophy.*

I. Among contemporaries, for Barl. *Niceph. Gregoras* XI, 10. Against him, *Jo. Cantacuzen.* II, 39ss. (Both in the Corp. Scrr. Byz. Bonn. 1828ss. P. XIXs.) Documents in *Mansi* vol. XXVs.

II. *Petavius*, de theol. dogmatib. vol. I. l. I. c. 12s. *Engelhardt*, de Hesych. Erl. 1829. 4.

Mount *Athos*, with its dark forests, in which tradition says no creature of the female sex can exist, and looking far out upon the sea, had become, after the ninth century, covered with monasteries. These constituted a republic made up exclusively of monks, from which the Eastern Church was supplied with bishops. (*a*) In this place *Barlaam*, a classically educated monk from Calabria, found monastic saints who thought they could attain while yet in the body, by a perfect cessation of corporeal life, an intuition of the divine

a) *J. P. Fallmerayer*, Fragmente a. d. Orient. Stuttg. 1845. vol. II. Comp. Eustathius v. Thessalonich, ü. d. Mönchsstaud. from the Greek, by *G. L. F. Tafel*, Tub. 1847.

Light and Essence. The method they adopted appears to have produced a kind of magnetic clairvoyance. When Barlaam ridiculed these Quietists (Ἡσυχασταί) as navel-gazers (Ὀμφαλόψυχοι), *Gregory Palamas* maintained that the divine light might be intuitively contemplated, and referred to the newly created light which surrounded our Lord on Mount Tabor. Barlaam rejoined that nothing but God could be uncreated, and consequently that his opponent had made out that there were two Gods. A synod convened in Constantinople (1341) decided in favor of the monks of the sacred mount, and Barlaam passed over into Italy and to the Roman Church. At Constantinople the controversy was carried on with reference to various pointed questions, and with many interferences from the court, until it reached the conclusion (1350): that God's essence and energy were distinguishable; that there is an uncreated energy, like the light on Tabor, which is inseparable from God, and that this was denominated Deity by the fathers, although it is subordinate to the divine essence. Platonism, whose gospel was proclaimed by Gemistus *Pletho* at the time of the Synod of Florence, generally maintained its pious trust in opposition to the worldliness of Aristotle, but its radical principles were deeply fixed in an affectionate attachment to Greek antiquity. It was therefore accused of being a new form of heathenism by those who defended Aristotle, whose system, on the other hand, had now become adapted to the requirements of the Church. (*b*)

§ 304. *Attempts at Union. Cont. from* § 235.

Leo Allatius, Graecia orthod. Rom. 1652. 1659. 2 vols. 4.

While the Latins possessed the imperial authority, a reconciliation between the two Churches was impossible, on account of the political abuses of which the Greeks complained, and the exorbitant demands of the dominant Church. But when Constantinople again became the capital of the Greek empire and of the Greek Church, the emperors were anxious to effect a reconciliation, or at least the semblance of one, because during the thirteenth century they were apprehensive of another crusade from the West, and after the fourteenth century they were desirous of aid against the Turks. At the Council of Lyons (1274), therefore, *Michael Palaeologus* allowed his representatives to subscribe the Roman confession of faith, reserving only the old established usages of his Church, (*a*) and at the Synod of *Florence* (1439) the union of the two Churches was consummated by the Greek emperor and the Patriarch himself. (*b*) But the people were entire strangers to any such union, and when the throne of the Palaeologi was threatened, the popular party betook themselves to the Comneni at Trebizond. The learned men on the Greek side defended their Church by proving its agreement with ecclesiastical antiquity, and those of the Latin party de-

b) *Pletho*, de Plat. atque Arist. phil. differentia. Par. 1541. *Georg. Trapezunt.* Compar. Ar. et Plat. Ven. 1523.— *W. Gass*, Gennadius u. Pletho. Bresl. 1844. The 2d part contains both treatises.

a) *Raynald.* ad ann. 1267. N. 72ss. *Mansi* vol. XXIV. p. 60. 67ss.

b) *Labbei* et *Cossartii* Concc. vol. XIII. p. 510ss. *Sylv. Sguropuli* vera Hist. unionis non verae inter Gr. et Lat. s. Conc. Flor. narratio. Gr. et Lat. ed. *R. Creyghton*, Hag. Com. 1660. 4. On the other side *Leo Allat.* Rom. 1665. 4.

fended theirs after the example of *St. Thomas*, (*c*) by forged original documents and false constructions of the Greek fathers. Once more, when the Turkish bastions had been already erected against the walls of Constantinople, a reconciliation was celebrated in December, 1452, and a Roman cardinal legate held mass in the Church of St. Sophia. But the only effect of this was that the consciences of the people were fretted, and their love was alienated from the emperor himself. The only true union of the Churches took place in the social circle of the Platonist Cardinal *Bessarion* (d. 1472), Archbishop of Nicaea, who, after the Synod of Florence, abandoned a cause which he regarded as desperate. By his interest in the cause of his native land and her exiled children, he subsequently proved that he was not a deserter, but a mediator between two nations and two mental kingdoms. (*d*)

§ 305. *End of the Greek Empire.*

After *Phranza*, *Ducas*, and others, *Crusius* Turco-Graecia. Bas. 1584. f. *J. v. Hammer*, Gesch. d. osman. Reichs. Pesth. 1827ss. vol. I. p. 509ss. vol. II.

Abandoned by Western Europe, after one more glorious struggle on May 29, 1453, New Rome was stormed by the Turks, and the church of St. Sophia was desecrated and converted into a mosque. The family of the Palaeologi retired to the Peloponnesus, and there wasted away until it became extinct (1460). The Comneni indulged the vain hope that they could obtain deliverance by the surrender of Trebizond (1462). (*a*) One Christian hero, *Scanderbeg*, who had formerly attained the highest dignities among the Mohammedans, but, late in life, had forsaken them all to become a Christian, now effected the deliverance of Epirus, for more than twenty years withstood the whole power of the Ottomans, and finally may be said to have been overwhelmed rather than overcome (1466). (*b*) His *Albanians* became more properly the allies than the subjects of the Porte, and generally adopted a false kind of religion intermediate between that of Christ and that of Mohammed. The *Mainots* and the *Thieves* remained independent tribes of Christians in the mountains. The remnant of the Grecian nation was allowed by *Mohammed II.*, the conqueror of Constantinople, to continue under a mild form of servitude and in the free enjoyment of their religion. *Gennadius*, who had been chosen patriarch by order of this sultan, presented to him the confession of faith of the Oriental Church, in which were embraced all those important particulars in which Christianity is distinguished from Islam. (*c*) One half of the churches remained in possession of the Christians until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Sultan *Selim* appropriated as many of them as he thought needful to the use of the Mohammedans. The patriarch, being regarded as a high political officer, receives his confirmation

c) Opusc. contra errores Graecorum ad Urban IV.

d) *A. Bandini*, de vita et reb. gestis Bess. Rom. 1774. 4. *H. Hase*, Bessarion. (Hall. Encycl. vol. IX.)

a) *Fallmerayer*, Gesch. d. Kaiserth. Trapezunt. Munich. 1827.

b) *Marinus Barletius* de vita Georgii Castrioti l. XIII. Argent. 1537. f. to be modified by *Gibbon & Hammer*. *c*) *Gass*. Abth. II. p. 3ss.

or deposition according to the will of the sultan. He has a permanent synod of bishops and notables to act as his council and judicial court, in connection with which he is the arbitrator and judge of his people. The administration of justice in civil matters, and generally with respect to minor offences, is performed in the episcopal courts. These have, it is true, no power but that of arbitrators, yet the fear of being excommunicated by them is so great that this is sufficient. (*d*) The Greek Church was compelled to share the depressed fortunes of its people. It now undertook the vocation of consoling a people overwhelmed by misfortunes, and of preserving its own peculiar institutions until a brighter day should dawn upon it.

d) *G. Geib.* Darst. d. Rechtszust. in Griechenland wahrend d. turk. Herrshaft, Heidelb. 1835.

MODERN CHURCH HISTORY.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

For Gen. History: Correspondenz K. Karls V. ed. by K. Lanz, Lps. 1844ss. 3 vols. *Guicciardini* (p. 238). *P. Giovio*, Hist. sui temp. (1498–1513. 1521–27.) Flor. 1550s. & often. *De Thou*, Hist. sui temp. (1543–1607.) Frcf. 4 vols. f. & often. *Khevenhiller*, Ann. Ferdinandei, 2 ed. (1578–1637.) Lps. 1716ss. 12 vols. f. *Goldast*, Imp. Rom. Frcf. 1607. f. & Constt. Imp. R. Frcf. 1615. 3 vols. f. *Koch*, Samml. d. Reichsabschiede. Frcf. 1747. 4 vols. f.—*Sastrow*, (1595) Herkommen, Geburt u. Lauf s. Lebens, ed. by Mohnike, Greifsw. 1823s. 3 vols.—*Robertson*, Hist. of the Emp. Charles V. Lond. 1769. 3 vols. 4. ed. by Frost, 1 vol. 8. New York. 1840. Uebers. v. Remer, Brnsch. 1792. 3 vols. F. v. *Bucholtz*, Ferd. I. Vienna. 1832–8. 9 vols. [*S. A. Dunham*, Hist. of the Germanic Empire. Lond. 1834–5. 3 vols. 8. *W. C. Taylor*, Anc. & Mod. Hist. New York. 1846. 2 vols. 8. *W. Smith*, Lectt. on Mod. Hist. &c. 2 vols. 8. Lond. 1841. *W. Russell*, Hist. of Mod. Europe to 1763. 3 vols. 8. New York. *F. Kohlrausch*, Hist. of Germany, transl. by Haas. New York. 1847.]

D § 306. *General View.*

The necessity of a reformation, now universally recognized, was the principal legacy bequeathed by the preceding age. This work now commenced among the people simultaneously in Saxony and in Switzerland. It was the result, not of literary improvement, though in connection with it, nor of contests with the papacy, although much of its success was owing to the arrogance and the corruptions of that system, but principally of the fear which pious persons felt lest true repentance and salvation should be utterly lost sight of in the eager chase after indulgences and human merit. It was not until the Reformation was decidedly opposed by the hierarchy, that the Church was compelled by the inevitable force of circumstances to divide. It was then that the principle of Protestantism which had previously been subordinate, led its friends to establish an independent Church, that Christianity might there find an appropriate development. This was accomplished in Switzerland in the midst of isolated struggles among republican parties, and in the interior of Germany, in the midst of learned controversies, solemn imperial transactions, popular commotions, and mercenary wars. Both reforming parties justified their views by appealing to the Scriptures, and

expected salvation wholly from the grace of God through Christ; both seriously misunderstood each other, not indeed at first, but at a very early period, and both were German in their national characteristics, although, as was to be expected in a border country, the Helvetic Church partook at an early date of a French admixture. The Reformation now began its course around the world. Political interests, foreign to its true objects, in some instances interrupting and in others promoting its progress, became involved in the conflict, but the ecclesiastical interest never ceased to be prominent. In consequence of the very opposition it had received, Catholicism renewed its energies, and Western Europe became divided into two great hosts, which, in the very country where the Reformation originated, contended with earthly weapons for the existence of Protestantism. Its rights, however, were finally purchased at the expense of the devastation and disunion of Germany. Both Churches, while agitated by the highest excitement of opposition, were finally obliged to leave each other in peaceable possession of what each actually occupied. The development of this contest, and its results in the contending Churches, constitute the central object of our history during this period, and supply the peculiar conditions according to which the topical arrangement will be formed.

CHAP. I.—THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

§ 307. *Original Authorities and Literary History.*

A. I. Writings of the Reformers § 308. 313. *Spalatini* Ann. Ref. (till 1543.) ed. by Cyprian. Lps. 1718. *F. Myconii* Hist. Ref. 1518–42. ed. by the same. Gotha (1715.) 1718.—*J. Cochlaeus*, Cmtr. de actis et scrr. Lutheri 1517–47. Mog. 1549. f. & often. *L. Surius*. Chronicon 1500–66. Col. 1567.—*J. Sleidanus*, de statu rel. et reip. Carolo V Caes. Cmtrr. Arg. 1555. f. complete 1557. & often. ill. *am Ende*, Frcf. 1785s. 3 vols. Uebers. v. Stroth, Hal. 1770ss. 4 vols. Contin. usq ad 1564. *Londorp.* Frcf. 1619. 3 vols. 4. [Hist. of the Ref. of the Church. 1517–62. from the Latin of J. Sleidanus, by *E. Bohun*, Lond. 1689. f.]—Collections: *F. Hortleder*, Handlungen u. Ausschreiben v. d. Ursachen d. dt. Kriegs wider d. Schmalk. Bundts-Verw. (till 1555.) Frkf. 1617s. 2 vols. f. Gotha. 1645. f. *H. v. d. Hardt*, Hist. litter. Ref. Frcf. et L. 1717. f. *B. Löscher*, vollst. Ref. Acta. (1517–19.) Lpz. 1720ss. 3 vols. 4. *J. Kapp*, Nachlese z. Ref. Gesch. nützl. Urk. Lps. 1727ss. 4 vols. *Strobel:* Miscell. Nürnb. 1778ss. 6 Th. Beitrr. z. Lit. 1784ss. 2 & 5 vols. *Johannsen*, die Entw. d. Prot. Geistes, e. Samml. d. wichtigsten Dokumente v. Worms. Edict. b. z. Sp. Prot. Kopenh. 1830. *C. G. Neudecker:* Urkunden a. d. Ref. Zeit. Cass. 1836. Actenstücke. Nürnb. 1838. Neue Beitrr. Lps. 1841. 2 vols. *C. E. Förstemann*, Neues Urkundenb. z. Gesch. d. KRef. Hamb. 1842. 1 vol. 4. *J. K. Seidemann:* Erläutt. z. Ref. Gesch. Drsd. 1844. Beitrr. z. Ref. Gesch. Drsd. 1846. 2 Th. Vitae quatuor Reformator. Luth. a *Mel.* Mel. a *Camerario*, Zwingl. a *Myconio*, Calv. a *Beza*. Praef. est *Neander*. Ber. 1841. 4. *M. Adami* Vitae Germanor. Theologor. Heidelb. 1620.—II. *P. Sarpi*, (*P. Soave Pol.*) Ist. del. Conc. di Trento. Londr. 1619. f. & often. Hist. Conc. Tridentini, Lond. 1620. Lps. 1690. 2 vols. 4. & often. Uebers. v. *Rambach*, Hal. 1761ss. 6 vols. *v. Winterer*, Mergenth. 1839. 4 vols. *Pallavicini*, Ist. del Conc. di Tr. Rom. 1646. 2 vols. f. Mendrisio. 1836ss 10 vols. lat. redd. *Giattino*, Antu. 1670. 3 vols. f. & often. Uebers. v. *Klitsche*, Augsb. 1836. 8 vols. *Bossuet*, Hist. des variations des Egl. prot. Par. 1688. 2 vols. 4 & often. 1734. 4 vols. *L. Maimbourg*, Hist. du Lutheranisme. Par. 1680. 4. & often. *K. Riffel*, KGesch. d. neuesten Zeit. Mainz. (1841ss.) 1844–7. 3 vols.—*V. L. de Seckendorf*, Cmtr. hist. et apol. de Lutheranismo. Frcf. et L. (1688. 4.) 1692. f. Uebers. u. vrm. v. *Frick*, Lps. 1714. 4. Ausz. u. Forts. v. *Junius*, Frkf. u. L. 1755. 4 vols. vrb. v. *Roos*. Tüb. 1788. 2 vols. *Tentzel*, hist. Ver. v. d. Ref. z. Erl. Seckend. ed. by *Cyprian*, Lps. 1718. 2 vols. *C. A. Salig*, Gesch. d. A. Conf. (1517–62.) Hal. 1730ss. 3 vols. 4. *C. J. Planck*, Gesch. d. Enst. Veränd. u. Bild. uns. prot. Lehrbgr. b. z. Concord. Lps. (1781ss. 3 vols.) 1791–1800. 7 vols. *Woltmann*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Deutschl. Alt. (1801ss.) 1817. 3 vols. *Marheineke*, Gesch. d. teutsch. Ref. b. 1555. (1817. 2 vols.) 1831ss. 4 vols. *C. A. Menzel*, Ref. Gesch. (Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschl. 12 vols.) Brsl. 1826. 8 vols. *L. Ranke*, deutsche Gesch. im

Zeita. d. Ref. Berl. 1839–43. 3 ed. 1852. 5 vols. & 1 ed. 6 vols. Sources: [Hist. of the Ref. in Germ. transl. by *Mrs. Austin*, 2 vols. 8. Lond. 1845.] *K. Hagen*, Deutschl. lit. u. rel. Verh. im Ref. Zeits. Erl. 1841–44. 3 vols (2 & 3 vols.: Geist d. Ref. u. s. Gegensätze.)—*J. G. Müller*, Denkw. a. d Gesch. d. Ref. (Reliq. alter Zeit. vol. 3.) Lps 1806. Ref. Almanach, ed. by *Keyser*, Erf. 1817. 1818. 1820. 1821. *Rotermund*, ern. Andenken d. Männer die für u. gegen d. Ref. Luth. gearbeitet haben. Brem. 1818. 1 vol. *C. G. Neudecker*, Gesch. d. ev. Prot. in Deutschl. d. a. unsre Tage. Lpz. 1844s. 2 vols.

B. I. Writings of the Reformers § 332. 346. *V. Anshelm*, Berner Chronik till 1526. ed. by *Stierlin & Wyss*, Bern. 1825ss. vol. Vs. *H. Bullinger's* Ref. Gesch. (till 1532.) ed. by *Hottinger & Vögeli*, Frauenf. 1838ss. 3 vols.—Ref. Chronik d. Karthäus. Georg. uebers. durch K. Buxtorf, Bas. 1849.—*J. G. Füssli:* Beytrr. z. Erl. d. K. R. Hist. d. Schweizerl. Zür. 1741ss. 5 vols. Epp. ab Ecc. Helv. Reformator. vel ad eos scr. Tig. 1742. *J. J. Simler*, Sml. alt. u. neu. Urk. Zür. 1757ss. 6 vols.—II. *Maimbourg*, Hist. du Calvinisme. Par. 1682.—*Bayle*, Critique gén. de l'H. du Calv. Rott. 1684. 2 vols. 12. & Lettres de l'auteur de la Critique R. 1685. *J. Basnage*, Hist. de la Rel. des égl. réformées. (Rot. 1690. 2 vols. 12.) Haye 1725. 2 vols. 4. *J. J. Hottinger*, helv. KGesch. Zür. 1698ss. 4 vols. 4. *A. Ruchat*, H. de la Réf. de la Suisse. (Gen. 1727s. 6 vols. 12.) Nyon. 1835–8. 7 vols. *J. de Beausobre*, Hist. de la réf. (till 1530.) Ber. 1785. 3 vols. *L. Wirz & M. Kirchhofer*, neuere helv. KGesch. Zür. 1813–19. 2 vols.—*A. Sculteti* Ann. Ev. renovati. Hdlb. 1618. *Gerdes:* Introd. in Hist. Ev. renovati. (1516–86.) Gron. 1744ss. 4 Th. 4. Scrinium s. Miscell. ad Ref. spect. Gron. 1748ss. 8 Th. 4. *K. R. Hagenbach*, Vorless. ü. Wesen u. Gesch. d. Ref. Lps. (1834. 2 vols.) 1851. *J. H. Merle d'Aubigné*, Hist. de la réf. d. 16 siècle. Par. 1835s. 4 vols. [Hist. of the Ref. of the 16th cent. by J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, transl. by H. White. Edinb. & New York. 1847–1853. 4 vols. 12. *H. Stebbing*, Hist. of the Ref. 2 vols. 12. Lond. 1836. *G. Waddington*, Hist. of Ref. on the Continent. 3 vols. 8. Lond. 1841.]

C. de Villers, Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la réf. de Luth. Par. 1802. ed. 5. 1851. [Essay on the Ref. of Luther by Villers, transl. by *S. Miller*, 1 vol. 12. Phil. 1833.] N. d. 2 ed. Uebers. v. *Cramer*, m. Beil. v. *Henke*, Hamb. (1805.) 1828. v. *Stampeel* m. Vor. v. Rosenmüller, Lps. (1805.) 1819.—*Robelot*, de l'influence de la Réf. de Luth. Lyons. 1822. Mayence. 1823. *J. Döllinger*, d. Ref. ihre Entw. u. Wirk. im Umfange d. Luth. Bekenntn. Ratisb. 1846–8. 3 vols.—*K. G. Bretschneider*, d. deutsche Ref. Lps. 1844.

The events of the Reformation were produced principally by published writings, which, in subsequent times, needed only to be collected. The accounts left by *Spalatin* (d. 1545) and *Myconius* (d. 1546) are valuable merely as the testimony of those who actually witnessed what they related. A more comprehensive picture is presented in the work of *Cochlaeus* (Dobnek, d. 1552), although colored by the peculiar views of his party. In opposition to his abusive representations the learned statesman, *Sleidanus* (Philipson, d. 1556), showed by original documents that the Reformation was a work of Providence, in which the whole human race was interested, and that it had important relations to general history. In the contest waged against *Maimbourg's* elegant but malignant representation, *Seckendorf*, on account of his access to the archives preserved by the State, is entitled to a place among the original authorities. Among the historical writers, the Reformation has been described by *Sarpi*, a real Protestant under a monk's cowl, and by *Pallavicini*, with all the advantages and the prejudices of a cardinal. *Bossuet* has more particularly noticed the gradual development and the human elements, as well as the variations and arbitrary character of the Reformation. The work of *Planck* is impartial, but sometimes altogether too full of minute details, while that of *Marheineke* is popular, and yet, in consequence of its documentary character, possesses much of an antiquarian aspect. *Woltmann* has bestowed special attention upon the rights of those who were opposed to the Reformation. A vast amount of original authorities, especially from the records of the German empire, has been brought forward in an intelligent manner by *Ranke*, who has interspersed in his narrative many admirable reflections, and in a style of almost dramatic interest has contrived to exhibit not only general characters and incidents, but the most insignificant agents in

their utmost efforts against the more prominent historical personages. Luther's cause has been described with much less precision by *Hagen*, as the result of a general effort at a compromise, and as an early departure from its own original principles. The Helvetic Reformation does not so clearly present a common centre, and the development of great characters in the midst of great events. With the sympathies of an actor in the scenes which he describes, *Bullinger* has simply, clearly and faithfully narrated in the Chronicle of his own times and vicinity (1519–32) not only those incidents which were important, but many which were of but trifling consequence connected with the glorious transactions of his native land. As *Bayle* had previously vindicated the Reformation in opposition to Maimbourg's passionate shrewdness, so *Basnage* in a skilful and spirited manner defended it against the ingenious declamation of Bossuet. The historical materials were collected with honest diligence by *Hottinger*, and more perfectly and more skilfully by *Ruchat*, but both were under the influence of a powerful party spirit. From a position in which he happily combines practical with contemplative views, *Hagenbach* instructs and consoles the painfully excited age in which he lives, by holding up before it a vivid picture of preceding times, and yet preserves a proportionate representation of the whole Reformation. In the lofty and attractive picture presented by *Merle d'Aubigné*, the author seems conscious of a perfect agreement with the reformers in their theological views, and yet avails himself of all the resources of modern literature.

I. Establishment of the Lutheran Church, till 1532.

Luther. Literature: *Fabricii* Centifolium Luth. Hamb. 1728ss. 2 vols. *Ukert*, L. Leben. Gotha. 1817. 2 vols. *E. G. Vogel*, Bibl. Biographica Lutherana. Hal. 1851. Works: Lat. Vit. 1545ss. 7 vols. f. Jen. 1556ss. 4 vols. f. German, Witt. 1539ss. 12 vols. f. Jena 1555ss. 8 vols. f. Altenb. 1661ss. 10 vols. f. ed. by *J. G. Walch*, Hal. 1737–53. 24 vols. 4. According to the orig. language by Plochmann & Irmischer, Erl. 1826–50. 68 vols. (Selections by *Pfizer*, Frkf. 1837ss. *O. v. Gerlach*, Brl. 1841ss. by *Zimmermann*, Frkf. 1846s.) Letters ed. by *De Wette*, Brl. 1825–28. 5 vols. Life: *Melancthon*, Hist. de vita et actis L. Vit. 1546. den. ed. *Augusti*, Vrat. 1817. Uebers. v. *Zimmermann* m. Anm. v. *Villers*, Gött. (1813.) 1816. *J. Mathesius*, Hist. v. L. in 17 Pred. Nürnb. 1565. 4. & often. M. Anm. v. *Rust*, Brl. 1841. The MS. Hist. of *Rutzeberger*, ü. L. u. s. Zeit edit. by *Neudecker*, Jena, 1850. II. *Walch*, v. L. (Werke, vol. XXIV.) *F. S. Keil*, Lps. 1764. 4 vols. 4. *Schroeckh*, Lps. 1778. *Spieker*, Gesch. L. u. d. KVerb. Berl. 1818. 1 vol. *Gust. Pfizer*, L. Leben. Stuttg. 1836. (*Audin*, Hist. de la vie de L. Par. (1838.) 1841. 2 vols.) *M. Meurer*, L. Leben. a. d. Quellen erzählt. Dresd. (1843ss. 3 vols.) 1852. M. L. der deutsche Ref. In bildl. Darst. v. *G. König*, in gesch. Umrissen v. *H. Gelzer*, Hamb. 1851.—*K. Jürgens*, L. Leben. (1483–1517.) Lps. 1846s. 3 vols. [*Bower*, Life of L. & early Prog. of the Ref. 8. *M. Michelet*, Life of L. New York, 1846. 12. *J. E. Riddle*, L. & his Times, &c. Lond. 1837. 12. *J. Scott*, L. & the Luth. Ref. New York, 1833. 2 vols. 12. *Lawson*, Autobiog. of L. Lond 16mo.]

§ 308. *Luther's Youth.*

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben an hour before midnight on the 10th of November, 1483. His father, John, was a respectable miner belonging to a peasant Thuringian family in Moehra, (*a*) and afterwards the proprietor of some foundries and a councillor in Mansfeld. He was in early life subjected to a severe discipline. Having spent some time with the Nullbrethren at Magde-

a) *J. C. Ortmann*, Moehra d. Stammtort Luth. Salzung. 1844. *Nobbe*, Stammb. d. Familie M. L. Grimma. 1846. Comp. (*J. C. S. Thon,*) Schloss Wartburg. Eis. 1826. p. 148s.

burg, and as a current scholar (*b*) at Eisenach, where he was supported for a while by the charity of a matron interested in his earnest style of singing and praying. With the view of preparing himself for the legal profession he became a student (1501) in the University of Erfurt, where his principal studies were the Dialectics of the Nominalists and the Latin Classics. He there also became Master of Arts and commenced reading the Physics and the Ethics of Aristotle. But, full of anxiety for the salvation of his soul, alarmed by the sudden death of a friend, and haunted by terrors respecting his own death, on the night of the 17th of July, 1505, he fled to the Augustinian convent, where, in spite of many remonstrances he became a monk, and in 1507 a priest. But all the austerities of a conscientious monastic life, all the humiliations of a mendicant friar, together with the most intense study of the scholastic writers, especially Thomas, Occam, and d'Ailly, only increased the dejection of a mind which had nothing to do but to consume its energies in a course uncongenial to its nature. The Vicar General of his order in Germany, *John* of *Staupitz*, who had entered into Augustine's doctrine of faith and of election, with all the ardor of a sincere love to God and man, now gained his confidence, foresaw his future greatness, and strove to cheer his spirit. (*c*) Gradually Luther found consolation by discovering in the Scriptures, and in the writings of Augustine and Tauler, a doctrine which had been overlooked by Scholasticism and Monasticism, but which taught him that man is to be saved, not by his own works, but by faith in the mercy of God in Christ. It was not, however, until he had been transferred by Staupitz to Wittenburg (1508) that he began to find rest in a more abundant and unrestrained activity. He soon discontinued his lectures upon Dialectics and Physics, turned his attention to Theology, acquired a knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, took delight in religious disputations, and finally ventured, though with great reluctance, to preach. In 1510 he took a journey to Rome as a pilgrim, (*d*) and on some business of his order. During his brief residence there the glories of Roman antiquity and art had no attractions for him, but with all the zeal of a devoted Catholic he visited every church and grotto there, and was offended by nothing but the levity of the inferior clergy with whom alone he then became acquainted. His call to become a Doctor of the sacred Scriptures, and the oath he was then required to take (Oct. 18, 1512), raised his thoughts to higher objects than any suggested by his monastic vow. (*e*) His conscience now compelled him freely to investigate and make known the truths of Christianity. But though he preached Christ instead of the fables of the saints, and the grace of God instead of any merit acquired by human prescriptions, he was even then full of wrath at the obstinacy of heretics. (*f*) His literary efforts were directed

[*b*) Current scholars are such as get their living by alms as they wander through the town and sing and pray at the doors of the principal citizens.]

c) Von d. Nachfolgung des will. Sterbens Chr. 1515. Lib. de exsecut. aet. praedestinationis. 1517. Von d. holds. Liebe Gottes. Lps. 1518.—*G. H. Götze*, de Staup. Lub. 1715. 4. *C. L. W. Grimm*, de Staup. ejusque in sacrorum instaurat. meritis. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1837. vol. VII. H. 2.) *A. D. Geuder*, Vita Staup. Gött. 1837. 4. *Ullmann*, Reff. vor. d. Ref. vol. II. p. 256ss.

d) *Jürgens*, vol. II. p. 269ss.

e) Liber Decanor. Fac. th. Vit. ed. *Foerstemann*, Lps. 1838. p. 146. *Walch*, vol. XVI. p. 2061.

f) *Jürgens*, vol. III. p. 200ss.

not merely against the Pelagian external holiness, but the logical forms which Scholasticism then sanctioned, and these occupied his attention quite as much as his expositions of the Scriptures, especially of the Psalms and of the Epistle to the Romans. But the University had already abandoned Aristotle and submitted to the authority of Augustine. (*g*)

§ 309. *The Ninety-Five Theses.*

Albert of *Mentz* authorized the sale of indulgences in Germany for the erection of St. Peter's church, on condition that one half of the profits should be his. When the Dominican *Tetzel* carried on this trade with the utmost effrontery in the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, *Luther* found at his confessional that much injury was done by it to the practice of true Christian repentance. He therefore preached against it, and wrote to the neighboring bishops (*a*) against it, but when he saw that he was despised, (*b*) on the eve of All-Saints' Day, 1517, he affixed to the gate of the Castle-Church of Wittenberg (*c*) ninety-five propositions, which he proclaimed himself ready to defend against any man who might assail them. They asserted: That God alone could bestow true absolution, and the pope, like any other bishop and pastor, can only dispense this divine absolution to penitents and believers; that absolution might indeed be beneficial, but could not be indispensable to the recipient, nor should it be esteemed higher than works of piety and mercy; that it referred only to ecclesiastical punishments, and that it was then so much abused by those who traded in indulgences, and was so misunderstood by the people, that if the pope knew what was going on, he would prefer to see the Church of St. Peter reduced to ashes than to have it built by such means.—Even if Luther really thought that in all this he was maintaining nothing prejudicial to the interests of the Church and of the papacy, he certainly must have been aware that he had thrown out a challenge to the most powerful prelates and monks.

§ 310. *Interference of the Pope.*

Tetzel now raised against Luther the helpless outcry of an inquisitor, (*a*) and the learned *Sylvester Prierias*, a high officer in the papal palace, defended the cause of his brother Dominican with a stately indifference. (*b*) Both of them, however, founded all their arguments upon the infallible authority and absolute power of the pope. In his reply, and especially in opposition to the quotations from St. Thomas, Luther avowed that he, like St. Augustine, recognized no authority as infallible but that of the sacred Scriptures. (*c*) The Dominicans made every effort to arouse the people against him.

g) *De Wette* vol. I. p. 57.

a) *J. J. Vogel*, Leben d. päpstl. Gnaden-Pred. T. Lps. (1717.) 1727. *J. E. Kapp*, Schaupl. d. T. Ablasskrames. Lps. 1720. and Samml. hierhergehor. Schrr. Lps. 1721. *F. G. Hofmann*, Lebensb. T. Lps. 1844. *b*) *Jürgens* vol. III. p. 463ss.

c) Disputa Dr. M. Lutheri pro declarat. virtutis indulgentiar. Printed in *Löscher* vol. I. p. 488ss. *Walch* vol. XVIII. p. 254ss. Comp. *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 1703.

a) *Löscher* vol. I. p. 484. Wimpina in favor of Tetzel.

b) Dial. in presumptuosas Luth. conclusiones de potestate Papae. (*Löscher* vol. II. p. 11ss.)

c) Resp. ad Prier. (*Löscher* vol. II. p. 389ss.)

But in spite of all their endeavors, his well-tempered discourses and writings convinced the people that what he had taught them respecting repentance and the abuses of indulgences was true. (*d*) His theses flew with astonishing celerity into every part of Germany, and were commended by many honest and learned persons, but the silence or the displeasure of the prelates lay heavily upon him, and he became alarmed at the consequences of what he feared might be his own rashness. But in the midst of all his internal and external conflicts, the conviction became more and more settled in his mind that he was contending not for his own cause, but for that of Christ, and that while he was at peace with his beloved Redeemer, he had nothing to hope for or to fear from the world. (*e*) He himself had sent a copy and a defence of his theses to pope Leo X., (*f*) accompanied with a letter in which he expresses a firm consciousness of possessing the truth, but unconditionally submits his person to his superiors. (*g*) He was summoned (Aug. 7, 1518) to appear at Rome, but the Elector of Saxony obtained a concession that he should be examined in a paternal manner at Augsburg by Thomas de Vio, of Gaeta, the cardinal legate. Luther appeared (Oct. 1518), under the safe conduct of the emperor and the city of Augsburg. *Cajetanus*, a learned scholastic of severe manners, expected to refute Luther's propositions respecting indulgences by sentences from St. Thomas and the Decretals, but frightened at this German beast with piercing eyes and strange speculations in its head, he soon bade him go away and never return until sent for. Luther privately departed on the 20th Oct., having entered an appeal to the pope when better informed. As, however, he soon after became more and more satisfied that he could expect no justice from a court of Rome, and when a Bull had been issued which solemnly confirmed the controverted doctrine of indulgences, he changed this appeal and directed it to a General Council. (*h*)

§ 311. *Amicable Negotiations.*

In the letter which Cajetan sent to the elector, he demanded that Luther should be sent to Rome, or at least into banishment. Luther justified his conduct before his sovereign (at Augsburg) by pleading that it was his duty to yield only to the truth, entreated that his master would not act towards him the part of a Pilate, and declared that he was ready to wander forth into exile. (*a*) But *Frederic* the *Wise* was personally a friend of the people, and as a prince, was distinguished for his caution and his piety toward the Church. (*b*) Though he had once gone on a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre, and expended much money in the purchase of sacred reliques, he now prohibited the preaching of indulgences within his dominions. He became conscious of an increasing attachment to the evangelical principles maintained in the writings of Lu-

d) Sermon v. Ablass. u. Gnade. Nov. 1517. (*Löscher* vol. I. p. 468ss.)

e) *Walch* vol. XIV. p. 470. *De Wette* vol. I. p. 118.

f) Resolutiones disput. de virt. indulgg. (*Löscher* vol. II. p. 183ss.)

g) *De Wette* vol. I. p. 119.

h) Augsb. Acta in *Löscher* vol. II. p. 435ss. *Walch* vol. XV. p. 544ss. *De Wette* vol. I. p. 142ss.—*Börner*, de colloquio L. c. Caj. Lps. 1722. 4.

a) *De Wette* vol. I. p. 174ss.

b) *G. Spalatin*, Leben u. Zeitgesch. Fr. d. W. (from his MSS.) Jena. 1851

ther, although he was always undecided and distrustful of his own judgment in spiritual matters. He was at least averse to all violent measures, and was fearful of the injury which his university at Wittenberg might sustain should he sacrifice its most distinguished instructor. (*c*) He therefore replied, that Luther's demand to be arraigned before an impartial tribunal in Germany appeared to be nothing more than was reasonable. The pope was under obligations to the elector, and was anxious by some favors to secure his influence to prevent the German crown from being bestowed upon his grandson, Charles of Spain, by which the supreme power in Italy and Germany would once more be committed to the same hand. A Saxon nobleman, *Charles* of *Miltitz*, and a chamberlain in the papal court, was sent to Saxony for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. During his journey through the cities of the empire, this legate found that public opinion was already so decided in behalf of Luther, that he acknowledged his utter inability to take Luther to Rome at that time, even if an army were present for his assistance. In a respectful manner he summoned Luther in Jan., 1519, to appear at *Altenburg*. He conceded that the abuse of indulgences was wrong, and avowed that he had already expressed his displeasure at Tetzel, but he entreated at the same time that the Church might not for such a reason be distracted by a schism. Luther promised that he would maintain silence respecting indulgences as far as his opponents would do the same; that he would receive instruction respecting any errors into which he might have fallen from any German bishop whom the pope might appoint for that purpose; that he would publish letters in which he would admonish all persons to be obedient and respectful to the Roman Church; and finally, that he would write to the pope, and assure the Holy Father, that although he had been unduly severe in some of his writings, he had never thought of infringing upon the privileges of the Roman Church. (*d*) Accordingly he indited the promised letter, in which his language was full of expressions of humility, and the Roman Church was exalted above every thing but Christ himself. (*e*)

§ 312. *The Disputation at Leipsic. June* 27–*July* 16, 1519.

Acta colloq. Lps. in *Löscher* vol. III. p. 203ss. *Walch* vol. XV. p. 954ss. *Luth.* Account in *De Wette* vol. I. p. 284. 290ss. 307ss. *Melancth.* Account in *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 87ss.—*J. G. Stickel*, de vi, quam colloq. Lips. habuerit ad promov. reform. Jen. 1827. *C. G. Hering*, de disp. Lipsiae a. 1519. habita. Lps. 1839. *J. K. Seidemann*, d. Lpz. Disp. Dresd. 1843.

Luther had already agreed in Augsburg with his learned friend, Dr. (Mayr von) *Eck* of Ingolstadt, that the controversy of the latter with Carlstadt (Andr. Bodenstein) should be decided by a disputation. But in the polemical writings sent forth by Eck, Luther perceived that he was himself the object of this treacherous attack, and he therefore deemed it indispensable that he also should take part in the debate. (*a*) The apprehensions of

c) Comp. his Letters to Duke John, 1520–23, in *Forstemann's* new Urkundenb. vol. I. p. 1ss.

d) *Löscher* vol. I. p. 552ss. vol. III. p. 6ss. 820ss. *De Wette* vol. I. p. 207ss.—*Seidemann*, K. v Milt. Chronolog. Unters. Dresd. 1841. *H. E. Apel*, quae C. Milt. c. Luth. Altenb. egerit. Alt. 1852s. 2 P. 4.

e) *De Wette* vol. I. p. 233ss.

a) *Eccii* Obelisci. Lutheri Asterisci. (*Löscher* vol. II. p. 333ss.)

those who shrunk from the new agitation were allayed by their confidence in the brilliant talents of Eck, (*b*) and the disputation was held before a highly respectable assembly in the Pleissenburg at *Leipsic*. At its commencement and at its close, *Carlstadt* maintained that the natural man is totally unable to perform any thing good, and that even in a state of grace no action could be meritorious. (*c*) He had Augustine, and Eck had the ancient fathers and all the scholastic writers in his favor, but both of them appealed to the Scriptures. In his theses, Eck had ventured upon the assertion, that even before the time of Sylvester the Roman Church held rank above all other churches, and that whoever was in possession of the chair and the faith of St. Peter, was always recognized as Peter's successor and the universal vicar of Christ. This declaration was assailed by *Luther*, and the controversy was soon pressed to the assertion that the pope was not by divine right the universal bishop of the Church. Luther adduced arguments for this position from the Scriptures and from history, but Eck threw upon him the reproach of holding to a Hussite heresy, and urged him to express a doubt of the infallibility of councils. The glory of a victory was not indeed obtained by Luther in this contest, but the controversy had now become universal, and Luther, finally freed from all feelings of sacred awe with respect to the Roman Church, now saw with astonishment that the truth had been uttered long before his time, and that all the spirits of opposition had become collected within his bosom.

§ 313. *Melancthon. General Affairs.*

I. Opp. Bas. 1541ss. 5 vols. rec. *Peucer*, Vit. 1562ss. 4 vols. f. Selection by *Köthe*, Lpz. 1828s. 6 vols. Complete ed. begun in the Corpus Reformator. ed. *Bretschneider*, post. Bretsch. *Bindseil*, Hal. et. Brunsu. 1834–53. 19 vols. 4. *Camerarius*, de Ph. M. ortu, totius vitae curric. et morte narratio. Lps. 1566. ed. *Strobel*, Hal. 1777. *Augusti*, Vrat. 1817.

II. Old Lit. in *Strobel's* ed. of Camerar. s. 569ss. *A. H. Niemeyer*, M. als Praeceptor Germaniae. Hal. 1817. *M. Facius*, M. Leben u. Characteristik. Lps. 1832. *L. F. Heyd*, M. u. Tübingen. Tüb. 1839. *F. Galle*, Characteristik M. als Theologen u. Entwickl. s. Lehrbegr. Hal. 1840. *K. F. Matthes*, M. s. Leben u. Wirken. Altenb. 1841. [*F. A. Coxe*, Life of P. Mel. from a Lond. ed. Bost. 1835. 12.]

A young man accompanied Luther to Leipsic, who brought to the aid of the Reformation vast treasures of learning, and the scientific reputation of the second humanist of his age. This was *Philip Melancthon*, the son of George Schwartzerd, a skilful armorer, at Bretten, in the Palatinate of the Rhine, where he was born Feb. 16, 1497. His great-uncle Reuchlin was much delighted with the early development of his precocious mind. Having finished his preparatory studies at Pforzheim and Heidelburg, after 1512, he passed through the whole course of the sciences taught at Tubingen, published his Greek Grammar in 1513, and after 1514 gave lectures as a Master of Arts upon the classics and the original philosophy of Aristotle. He was no sooner called to *Wittenberg* than he declared that the course of instruction for youth must be improved (Aug. 29, 1518), and gave to it a humanistic Greek tendency. He soon became intimate with Luther, not only on account

b) *Eccii* Epp. Ep. de rat. studior suor. Ingol. 1543. 4. (*Strobel*, Misc. H. III. p. 95ss.) *Rotermund*, erneu. Andenken. vol. I. p. 251ss.

c) *A. G. Dieckhoff*, de Carolst. Luth. de servo arbit. doctrinae defensore. Gott. 1850.

of the high esteem which both felt for each other, but because both were with equal zeal laboring to explain and establish the authority of the Scriptures, against which nothing was looked upon as of any avail. He was gentle only when compared with Luther, for he was really impetuous and easily excited. He was timid and sometimes yielding from his anxiety lest in the excitement of controversy Christianity itself should be lost sight of, (*a*) and because he could make proper allowance for the position of an opponent, while Luther dashed onward to his conquests without looking to the right or to the left. He had more learning and eloquence, but less strength of character, less depth of feeling, and less creative enthusiasm than Luther. The position which he assumed, and which nature seemed to have designed for him with respect to Luther, was that of a trusty counsellor and assistant. There were seasons when he felt lonely in Saxony, (*b*) and was wounded by Luther, but there was something in the latter which he reverenced as almost divine, and which he never ventured to restrain. (*c*) Although he was confessedly the first among the theologians of his party, he often betook himself fondly to his classics, and Luther found it necessary to hold him firmly to his theological Lectures. (*d*) The division of the Church produced a pang of the most intense grief in his guileless spirit. (*e*)

§ 314. *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.*

The German knighthood formed a kind of third estate, which took rank after the princes and the bishops, and was determined to maintain freedom for themselves, if not for the common people. At the head of this order in respect to power at that time, stood *Francis* of *Sickingen* (d. 1523), a man violent in assault, but a shield to all who were oppressed. (*a*) In respect to intellectual influence, however, no one was superior to *Ulrich* of *Hutten* (d. 1523), the knight that never rested, that never hesitated to oppose every form of injustice, and long before Luther's appearance had boldly attacked popes and monks with his utmost satirical power. This bold knight now gave his hand for the assistance of Luther in the great contest with the kingdom of Antichrist, believing that in doing so he was struggling for the liberty of Germany. (*b*) It was to the German nobles, many of whom offered either an asylum or their swords to the reformer, as the genuine representatives of his people, that Luther addressed his pamphlet on the improvement of Christian morality. (*c*) In the introduction he pointed out how the Romanists had intrenched themselves against the Reformation within three walls: Threaten them with the secular power, they cry out, "The spiritual power is superior!" Ply them with arguments from the Scriptures, they exclaim, "The

a) *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 898. 918. *b*) *Ib.* vol. I. p. 859.
c) *Ib.* vol. I. p. 211. *d*) *Ib.* p. 606s. 677. *De Wette* vol. II. p. 508.
e) *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 1110.

a) *Hub. Leodii* L. de reb. gestis et calamitoso obitu Fr. de Sick. (*Freher* vol. III. p. 295). *E. Münch*, Fr. v. S. Stuttg. 1827ss. 3 vols.

b) Werke ed. by *Münch*, Brl. 1821ss. 5 vols. Selection and Trans. Lps. 1822s. 3 vols.—*L. Schubart*, U. v. H. Lps. 1791. *Mohnike*, Jugendleben H. Greifsw. 1816. *Wagenseil*, U. v. H. Nürnb. 1823. *E. v. Brunnow*, U. v. H. 1842s. 2 vols. Comp. Hist. pol. Bl. 1839. vol. IV. H. 5s. 8s.

c) Aug. 1520. In *Walch* vol. X. p. 296ss.

pope alone can explain the word of God!" Appeal to a general council, and they reply, "None but the pope can summon or preside over it!" He then proceeded to break through these walls with the assertion that every real Christian belonged to the spiritual order, and appealed to the great body of Christians as the real sovereigns in each congregation, to whom he presented the articles of the reformation, for which they should contend as for a national interest. These were: The reduction of the luxuriant extravagance of the papal court, security against the gradual exhaustion of the German people by Roman avarice, the independent appointment of Germans to ecclesiastical offices in Germany, the final decision of all trials before German courts, the abolition of the servile oaths which bishops were required to receive, the surrender of all secular power then held by the pope, so far as it was founded upon pretended donations and usurpations, the limitation of the orders of mendicant friars, the restoration of the convents to their original design as simple Christian schools, the abolition of compulsory celibacy, reconciliation with the Bohemians on reasonable conditions, the abrogation of the canonical law, the discontinuance of the idolatrous homage generally paid to Aristotle, and of the worship of the saints, and finally the improvement of the course of academic studies and of popular education. With the grief of a Christian and the indignation of a German heart, the pope was here called to account for teaching by his indulgences a noble and sincere nation to practise deception and perjury, and the Germans are exhorted to hunt out all papal messengers with their merchandise, and expel them from the country. Indeed, this pamphlet was a public disruption from Rome, and a general summons to the nation to do the same. With terrible eloquence the national feeling was aroused by a relentless exposure of all those indignities which had been endured for centuries with a German good nature, but which had only provoked derision at Rome. The revolutionary character of the reformation was decided by this little work. Luther, however, in the most absolute manner declined all offers of the sword which were made to him by the knights. As the world had been created and the Church had been originally established by the word of God, he had no doubt that a restoration of the Church could be effected by the same means. (*d*)

§ 315. *The Babylonian Captivity and Christian Freedom.*

Luther's army was his ever fresh and always interesting writings, and these he sent forth with a rapid development of mental power. The book which he called the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (*a*) commences with an expression of thanks to his opponents for assisting him so much in his attainment of truth, and an announcement that he must now reject what he had in the beginning of the controversy conceded. In the course of the debate it had become evident to him that indulgences were nothing but a roguish trick of Roman sycophants, that the papacy itself was not even a human, but a devilish institution, that the cup in the sacrament belonged to the people,

d) *Seckend.* I. § 83. p. 193.

a) Oct. 6, 1520. Opp. Jen. Tom. II. p. 259ss. *Walch* vol. XIX. p. 1ss.

that the mass was not a sacrifice nor a good work, and that the newly-discovered doctrine of transubstantiation, or any view which asserted a real connection between the consecrated bread and the divine body, was not necessary to faith. The only sacraments allowed to be of divine institution were baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper. In opposition to a reliance upon the outward Church and its forms, he introduced the doctrine of the saving power of faith alone. Christian liberty, therefore, ought not to be fettered by any statutes and arbitrary vows like those which required fastings, donations, pilgrimages, and monasticism. This declaration he said might be considered as a part of the recantation which had been demanded of him. And yet, at an interview with Miltitz at Lichtenburg (Oct. 12, 1520), Luther once more allowed himself to imagine that a reconciliation was possible, (*b*) and that he might lay a foundation for it, he wrote a treatise on Christian Freedom, in the spirit of the old mystics, exalted above the pending controversy, but with the whole reformation in his heart. (*c*) A Christian man was represented as a free lord of all things by a faith which commits his soul to Christ, and as a king and priest, subject to no law and dependent upon nothing external. And yet this Christian man was a servant of all things, since from a regard to the divine will he endeavored to be useful to all around him. From kindness of heart, and not as a matter necessary to piety or salvation, he might even comply with the innumerable mandates of the pope, just as Mary conformed to the custom of purification, as Paul circumcised Timothy, and as Christ paid tribute. Such was the discourse which Luther sent to Leo X., accompanied with a letter (*d*) full of expressions of personal regard, but with sentiments of a lofty self-respect. He at the same time exhorted Leo, as St. Bernard once did his Eugenius, to remember that he was as a lamb in the midst of wolves, or as Daniel sitting among the lions, and to avoid the catastrophe which could not much longer be delayed, by a reformation of his infected court and of the general Church. The noble Medici was delighted with the fine talents displayed by brother Martin, but was disposed to regard the whole controversy as a mere quarrel among the monks. (*e*)

§ 316. *The Fire Signal.*

The opinion, however, prevailed at Rome, that this perilous controversy could be annihilated by a sudden blow. (*a*) A bull was issued on June 16, 1520, in which forty-one propositions taken from Luther's writings were condemned, his works were ordered to be burned wherever they were found, and he himself was excommunicated unless he recanted within sixty days, after which every Christian magistrate was required to imprison him and

b) *De Wette* vol. I. p. 496. *J. G. Droysen*, Ref. Gesch. (Zeitsch. f. thür. Gesch. 1853. II. 2.)

c) De libertate chr. Vit. 1520. 4. (Opp. Jen. Th. I. p. 646.) Von Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. Witt. 1520. 4. (*Walch* vol. XIX. p. 1206.)

d) After Oct. 13, dated back to Sept. 6, 1520. Ep. Lutheriana ad Leo X. Witt. 1520. 4. published at the same time in German. *De Wette* vol. I. p. 497ss.

e) After Bandelli *Gerdes*, II. Ev. ren. vol. I. p. 205.

a) Literae *cujusdam* (Pirckheimer) e Roma. (*Riederer*, Nachrr. z. K. Gel. u. Büchergesch. Altd. 1764. vol. I. p. 179ss.) *Sarpi*, H. Conc. Trid. vol. I. p. 15s. *Pallavic.* H. Conc. Trid. I, 20.

deliver him at Rome. (*b*) This bull was brought to Germany by Eck as a token of his victory. The heart of Luther now became strong as he saw that the die was cast, and he no longer doubted that the pope was antichrist. His works were burned in Mentz, Cologne, and Louvain, but in many cities those who endeavored to execute the bull met with severe abuse, and in the electorate of Saxony, in accordance with the precedent given by the University, it was rejected. (*c*) Luther published a pamphlet in opposition to this bull of Antichrist, renewed his appeal from the pope as from an obdurate heretic to an independent Christian council, (*d*) and on the 10th Dec., 1520, at the head of a procession of students, he went out of the city by the Elster-gate, and threw the bull, together with the book of the canon law, into the flames. At the same time he offered up thanks for the burning of his own writings, and declared his present act the fire-signal of his irrevocable renunciation of the papacy. Other books of his opponents were also committed to the same flames by other hands. (*e*)

§ 317. *Political Relations until* 1521.

In the legal condition in which the German empire then was, common measures either for good or for evil were equally difficult. The chivalrous emperor *Maximilian*, that he might effect a reformation, had at one time seriously entertained the strange idea of becoming a pope himself. (*a*) It was not therefore consistent for him to attempt any thing rashly against one who was contending against Roman abuses. After his death (Jan. 12th, 1519), nothing of a violent nature could be undertaken against Luther while the elector of Saxony was the imperial regent in Lower Germany. *Charles I.* and *Francis I.* were candidates for the German crown. The influence of the pope was secretly opposed to France, and as long as he had hope of success he openly protested against Spain. Frederic the Wise declined accepting the crown when it was offered to him, on the ground that the power of his house was insufficient to maintain it. It was principally through his influence that Charles was elected. The Emperor Charles V., on his way to his first Diet at Worms, was saluted with splendid promises if he would in the spirit of the German people place himself at the head of the movement for the establishment of a national Church. His mind, however, was now occupied with preparations to contend with Francis I. for the sovereignty of Italy. The natural policy of the pope with respect to this contest was openly to attach himself to the party of him who might for the time be victorious, and yet secretly to support the vanquished. The conduct of the emperor with regard to Luther depended very much upon his interest and policy in this struggle. Just as he was about to form an alliance with the pope, whose assistance he needed in Spain, he was compelled to pay deference to the feel-

b) Exsurge Domine: Bullarum ampl. Col. ed. *Coquel*, P. III. vol. III. p. 487ss. With *Hutten's* Anm. in *Walch* vol. XV. p. 1691ss.

c) *Riederer*, Gesch. der durch Public. d. Bulle gegen Luth. erregten unruhen. Altd. u. Nürnb. 1776. 4.

d) *Walch* vol. XV. p. 1732ss. 1909ss. *e*) *Ib.* p. 1925ss.

a) *Sal. Cyprian*, de Max. I. Pontificatum M. affectante. (Dss. varii. arg. Cob. 1755. 4.)

ings of Frederic the Wise, who continually demanded that Luther should be tried before an impartial tribunal. Hence even a second bull of excommunication issued against Luther (Jan. 3d, 1521), the object of which was to deprive him and his followers, reproachfully called Lutherans, of all the privileges of men and Christians, produced no effect whatever. (*b*) *Spalatinus*, the learned and sincere friend of the elector as well as of Luther, (*c*) at the request of his master made every effort to moderate the rapidity of Luther's course. The attempt, however, was without success, and the reformer only asked that his sovereign would allow him to proceed at his own peril, as he had no fear that the power of God would be impeded.

§ 318. *The Diet at Worms*, 1521.

I. Acta Lutheri in comitiis Wormat. ed. *Pollicarius*, Vit. 1546. (Opp. Jen. vol. II. p. 436ss.) *Walch* vol. XV. p. 2052ss. vol. XXII. p. 2026s. *Förstemann*, new Urkundenb. vol. I. p. 27ss. *Spalatin*. Ann. p. 38ss. *Sleidan*. l. III. p. 31ss.—*Cochlaeus* (Col. 1568.) p. 55ss. Parody: Passio Martini Luth. secund. Marcellum. (*Gerdesii* Monum. vol. II. N. 5.)

II. *Boye*, L. z. Worms. Hal. (1817.) 1824. *Zimmer*, L. z. W. Heidelb. 1821.—*Nonweiler*, Wiedererinn. an L. u. d. Ref. Mainz. 1821.

The legate *Aleander* demanded of the states of the empire at Worms, that in order to carry out effectually the papal excommunication, Luther should be placed under the ban of the empire. The demand, however, that he should be condemned without a hearing, was regarded as inconsistent with German usage. The states made a distinction between the opinions which he entertained respecting the constitution of the Church and those which were opposed to the faith of their ancestors. With regard to the former, they were disposed to deal very leniently with him even if he should refuse to retract what he had published, but with regard to the latter they were willing to take his case into consideration. (*a*) On receiving a citation and a pledge of safe conduct from the emperor, *Luther* came to Worms, though he regarded his situation much like that of Huss at Constance. On the 17th and 18th of April he stood before the emperor and the imperial diet. At the close of a discreet defence, in which he showed why he could not retract what he had written, either with respect to the word of God in the Holy Scriptures, or against the ungodly conduct of the pope, or yet against the wicked advocates of the pope, his last words were, "Unless I am refuted and convinced by proofs from the Holy Scriptures, or by plain, lucid, and evident argument, I yield my faith neither to the pope nor to the councils alone, for it is clear as the day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Until so convinced, I can and will retract nothing, for it is neither safe nor expedient to act against conscience. Here I stand, I can do nothing else; God help me! Amen." In subsequent communications with a committee of the princes, when it was proposed that he should intrust his cause to the diet or to a council, he remained constant to his

b) *Raynald*. ad a. 1521. N. 1ss. *Walch* vol. XV. p. 2030.

c) *Spal*. hist. Nachlass. u. Briefe, ed. begun by *Neudecker* and *L. Preller*, 1. vol. Jena. 1851. (§ 311. n. *b*.) *Wagner*, G. Spal. Altenb. 1830. *Perthel*, G. Sp. in emend. sacrr. merita. Jena. 1840.

a) *Ranke* vol. I. p. 376s.

avowal that he could yield to nothing but the Holy Scriptures or to reasonable argument, and since the cause in which he was engaged was not his own, but the cause of God, he could not commit it to the hands even of his dearest friends. (*b*) The promise of the emperor to afford him a safe conduct was sacredly fulfilled. On the 26th of May, when many of the states had left the diet, sentence was pronounced against Luther and all his adherents, and permission was given to any one to assault their persons and seize upon their property. (*c*) But Luther's heroic confession had won the hearts of the people more than ever to himself, and the very members of the diet who condemned him in compliance with the requirements of law, presented to the same assembly 101 articles of complaint against the Roman See. (*d*)

§ 319. *The Wartburg, and the Tumult at Wittenberg*, 1521, 1522.

De Wette vol. I. 1–137.—*Augustini Antonii* Ds. de Patmo Luth. Hal. 1696. and often. *C. Köhler*, Luth. a. d. Wartburg. Eisen. 1798. 4.

On the 4th of May, while Luther was on his journey homewards, he was seized by a company of horsemen, who, according to a previous understanding with the elector, conveyed him to the fortress of the *Wartburg*. Here he lived under the name of Yonker George, often sick, depressed in spirits, and lamented in all parts of Germany as lost. The bold publications, however, which he sent forth from his retreat until after the middle of summer, against the necessity of auricular confession, masses for the dead, monastic vows, and the new idol of the archbishop of Mentz, gave unequivocal evidence that Luther was still alive. The Elector *Albert* of Mentz humbled himself under the severe reproof administered by the condemned monk. (*a*) Meanwhile, the brethren of his order connected with a monastery in Wittenberg, shut up their convent and abolished the practice of private masses. A few of the priests renounced celibacy and were married. (*b*) On Christmas day the Lord's Supper was administered by *Carlstadt* in both kinds and in the German language. These proceedings were approved by Luther and tolerated by the elector, who only required that no innovations should be introduced until all had become united and satisfied with respect to them by means of written and oral discussions and sermons. (*c*) But when Carlstadt proceeded so far as to disturb public worship, demolish the images of the saints, and commit other wild acts of violence, and when prophets came from *Zwickau* with menaces according to their caprice against Church, and State, and Science, Luther could no longer be restrained by his friends. In the beginning of March, 1522, he left the Wartburg, amused himself in the course of his journey with his knightly incognito, (*d*) and in the sublime

b) *Hier. Vehus*, ü. s. Verhandl. m. Luther, ed. by *Seidemann*. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 1.)

c) *Goldast*, Constt. Imp. vol. II. p. 143ss. *Walch* vol. XV. p. 2264s. Dated back to May 8.

d) *Walch* vol. XV. p. 2058.

a) *De Wette* vol. II. p. 112ss. *Walch* vol. XIX. p. 656ss.

b) *J. G. Walter*, prima gloria Clerogamiae restitutae Luthero vindicata. Neost. ad. O. 1767. 4 *Veesenmeyer* in Stud. u. Krit. 1831. II. 1.

c) *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 550.

d) Helv. Alman. 1808. p. 119ss. *Bernet*, Jo. Kessler, genannt Ahenarius. S. Gall. 1826. p. 27ss.

calmness of one who felt that he was acting by divine direction, (*e*) wrote an heroic letter to the elector from Borne. He then preached daily during a whole week in *Wittenberg*, in behalf of the supreme power and liberty of the spirit, in those immortal words of Christian mildness by which he won the hearts of his hearers in favor of a peaceable development of a reformation founded upon voluntary conviction and the evident letter of the sacred Scriptures. (*f*)

§ 320. *System of Doctrines and the Scriptures.*

The scientific representation of the religious principles of the Reformation was furnished by *Melancthon* in his *Theology*, (*a*) a work which grew out of his Lectures upon the Epistle to the Romans. It had its origin in that deep consciousness of human impotence on account of sin, which is exhibited in the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. For this sin of the human race Christ has made complete satisfaction to divine justice. Hence salvation is to be found in *faith* alone, *i. e.* in the surrender of the whole spirit to Christ, and the ordinances of the Church and all kinds of works are profitable only so far as they proceed from faith. If this grand but simple system of faith was sufficient to vindicate the reformation in the opinion of literary men, the opposition of the Roman Church to the word of God in the *Scriptures* was its most successful plea in the minds of the common people. In his solitude in the Wartburg, *Luther* had translated the New Testament principally from the original text into the German language. After revising it in company with Melancthon, he published this work in 1522. A translation of each of the books of the Old Testament afterwards appeared, in composing which he was assisted by the counsel of his friends. It displays a strong prejudice in favor of that which had before been regarded as the true rendering, but it is no less distinguished for its extreme conscientiousness. They thus succeeded, in 1534, in printing the whole Sacred Scriptures, a master-piece of the German language and heart, and forming the basis on which were established the Scriptural phraseology and spirit of the people for many generations. (*b*)

§ 321. *The Diet at Nuremberg*, 1522, 1523.

Walch vol. XV. p. 2504ss. *Raynald.* ad ann. 1522.

The emperor was busy in Spain with his war against France, his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, was threatened by the Turks, and at the head of the empire stood a regency chosen by the states. The execution of the edict of Worms was therefore left to the will of each state. Leo was succeeded by *Hadrian VI.*, an honest native of the Netherlands, who had been educated in the scholastic manner, and was as thoroughly convinced of the ne-

e) *De Wette* vol. II. p. 137ss.

f) *Walch* vol. XX. p. 6ss.

a) Loci communes rerum theol. Wit. 1521. and often. *Strobel*, Vrs. e. Literaturgesch. von Mel. Loci. Altd. u. Nürnb. (1776.) 1782.

b) Last edit. with Luther's corrections, 1546.—*Luth.* Sendbr. v. Dollmetschen der H. S. (*Walch* vol. XXI. p. 316ss.) *Mathesius*, 13th Pred.—*Panzer*, Gesch. d. Bibelübers. L. Nürnb. (1783.) 1791. *Marheineke*, d. rel. Werth d. Bibelübers. L. Brl. 1815. *H. Schott*, Gesch. d. Bibelübers. L. Lps 1835. *G. W. Hopf*, Würdig. d. Luth. Bibelverdeutsch. Nürnb. 1847.

cessity of a reformation as of the heretical nature of Luther's doctrines. (*a*) Hence his legate *Chieregati*, at the Diet of *Nuremberg*, on the one hand demanded that the edict against Luther should be executed as though it were against a second Mohammed, and suggested that the insurrection now directed against the spiritual, would soon be turned against the civil rulers; and on the other, acknowledged the necessity of a reformation, and promised that it should be effected in a lawful manner in the head and members of the Church. The estates fastened upon the second part of this communication, and hastened to bring forward a hundred articles of complaint against the papal see. (*b*) It was owing to these abuses they declared that Luther possessed such power, and a general rebellion would therefore be the probable consequence of any violent measures for his destruction. They therefore urged that a free Christian council for the removal of these grievances should be held within a year in some German city, and argued that until it might be assembled nothing should be taught but the pure gospel, with mildness and according to the explanation generally received by the Church. Hadrian had nothing to offer at this turn of affairs except lamentations, yet he was really zealous for a reformation, and actually commenced it in his own court. But a pope who was obliged to regard the rights and wrongs on which his own power was based, was necessarily more inefficient in this matter than a professor who had nothing to think of but eternal truth and public opinion.

§ 322. *Introduction of the Reformation.*

The divine power which attended Luther received the co-operation of the Humanists with all their worldly wisdom, and the Reformation was looked upon as a struggle for the liberty of Germany. Its opponents were ridiculed as blockheads or threatened as traitors. Even the imitative arts came to the assistance of the struggling Church. (*a*) The Wittenberg Nightingale also now announced the opening of spring, (*b*) and all the liberal-minded youth gave in their adherence to the new party, which, however, professed to be merely returning to the God of ancient times. (*c*) From the success of the movement the princes expected the forfeited property of the Church, the priests expected wives, and the people freedom. (*d*) It was, however, the pure enthusiasm of Luther and the introduction of a new form of the Christian spirit, which drew these favorable influences into his triumphal march,

a) *J. F. Buddeus*, de Pontiff. R. qui ref. frustra tentarunt. Jen. 1718. 4. p. 29ss. *C. Burmann*, Hadr. VI. Traj. ad Rh. 1727. 4. *J. T. L. Danz*, Analecta crit. de Adr. VI. Jen. 1838s. 2 P. 4.

b) Die 100 Beschwerden d. Deutschen Nation, m. Anm. v. *G. M. Weber*, Frkf. 1829. comp. *Ranke* vol. II. p. 40ss.

a) *Walch* vol. XIV. p. 210ss. vol. XV. p. 930ss. German Litany: *Walch* vol. XV. p. 2175ss. Caricatures: *Sleid.* l. XVI. p. 261. *Pallavic.* I, 25. *Spieker*, p. 657. Carnival plays: *De Wette* vol. I. p. 561. Mute comedy: *Majus*, Vita Reuchl. Durl. 1687. p. 546s. Papal ass and Munich calf: *Walch* vol. XIX. p. 2403. *J. Voigt*, Pasquille, Spottlieder, u. Schmähschr. a. d. 1. Hälfte d. 16. Jahrh. (*Raumer's* hist. Taschenbuch. 1838. p. 320ss.) *Piper*, Mythol. d. chr. Kunst. vol. I. p. 316s.

b) *Hans Sachs:* Wittenb. Nachtigall. 1523. Disputacion zw. e. Chorherrn u. e. Schuhmacher. 1524. 4.—*E. J. Kimmel*, de J. Sachsio, quantum ad rempubl. christ. valuerit restaurandam. Ger. 1837.

c) Vom alten u. nüen Gott, Glauben u. Ler. 1521. 4.

d) *J. Marx*, Ursachen d. schnellen Verbreit. d. Ref. Mainz 1834.

and which was alone able to shake the yet colossal power of Catholicism, without exhausting in the struggle the strength to form a new ecclesiastical establishment. The introduction of the Reformation in particular localities generally took place in the following manner: some individuals in the congregation, by means of Luther's writings, were led to perceive the inconsistency of the existing state of the Church with genuine Christianity; then some preacher, probably an Augustinian, possibly a Franciscan monk of the same views, would draw the multitude after him; then the sacrifice of the mass would be discontinued in spite of much opposition from the spiritual or the secular authorities, and finally, divine worship in the language of the people would be commenced, with a strange confusion, at first, of various usages. The people were seized with a horror of the papacy, and in almost every place where the popular will prevailed, as in the imperial cities, the Reformation was triumphant. Instead of guiding these great popular movements, the princes were rather borne along by them. *Frederic* the *Wise* died (May 5, 1525) trusting to the grace of God through the righteousness of Christ. His brother and successor, *John* the *Constant*, a mild and sincere ruler, was devoted with all his heart both to the cause and to the person of Luther. *Philip*, the youthful Landgrave of Hesse, after the Diet of Worms, joined the party of the Reformation, became a personal friend of Melancthon, and declared (1525) that he would rather part with his lands and subjects than to abandon the word of God. As a leader of his party he was crafty but at the same time upright, fond of novelties, a pious Christian, and a firm friend of the Bible, but either independent of the theologians, or with a singular scrupulosity bringing them to his terms, full of confidence not only in divine aid, but in the worldly means by which a spiritual revolution was to be effected, intelligent, and in his best days powerful. (*e*) In *Prussia*, where the German order was already despised, the gospel entered under the most favorable circumstances. *George* of *Polentz*, Bishop of Samland, having conducted himself at an earlier period of life as became a pious priest of noble blood, now placed himself at the head of the reforming party, and on Christmas day, 1523, in the cathedral at Königsberg, proclaimed with great joy that the Saviour had been once more born for his people. The Grand Master, *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, gave to all princes and bishops the example of a successful secession from the Church and the empire, by receiving the hereditary dukedom of Prussia as a fief from the Polish crown (1525). (*f*) In the South, the Dukes of Bavaria, in consequence of the spirit which prevailed in their university at Ingolstadt, and the favor of the pope, enjoyed nearly all the political advantages of the Reformation, and formed a wall of defence for the old faith. (*g*) In the North, *George*, Duke of *Saxony*, was personally

e) *Ch. v. Rommel*, Philipp. d. Grossm. Giessen. 1830. 3 vols. Neue Beitrr. z. Gesch. Phil. ed. by *Duller*, Darmst. 1842. *W. Münscher*, Gesch. d. hess. ref. K. Cass. 1850. *F. W. Hassenkamp*, hess. KGesch. im Zeita. d. Ref. Marb. 1852. vol. I. Comp. Theol. Briefwechsel zw. Phil. v. H. u. Georg v. Sachsen. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1849. II. 2.)

f) Conciones sacrae G. Polentis, ed. *A. R. Gebser*, Regiom. 1843. 4. *J. Voigt*, Briefw. d. berühmt. Gelehrten m. Albrecht v. Pr. Königsb. 1841.—*Rhesa*, de primis sacror. reformatoribus in Prussia. Regiom. 2 P. 1825 et 1827. *A. Lambeck*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Westpr. Thorn. 1850.

g) *V. A. Winter*, Gesch. d. ev. Lehre in u. durch Baiern. Münch. 1809s. 2 vols.

anxious for a reformation, but one which should be founded upon old catholic grounds, and conducted by the legitimate authorities, and not by a cloistered monk. (*h*) The complete accomplishment of the Reformation sometimes occasioned much inconvenience to those who adhered to the ancient Church, and such as resided in convents especially were driven forth upon the wide world; but in general the Reformation necessarily triumphed by the power of an unbiassed conviction. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, protected all its established possessions not only by calumnies upon Luther's doctrines, but by a rigorous censorship, by restraints upon literary investigations, imprisonment, banishment, and other violent measures. Some were even deprived of life. Luther praised the Lord that even this glory of the apostolic Church was now restored to the world. (*i*)

§ 323. *Commencement of the Division in Germany*, 1524–1526.

Clement VII. perceived the impending danger and made every exertion to avert it. At the Diet of *Nuremberg* (1524) his legate, *Campeggio*, declared that the list of grievances which had been presented was regarded at Rome as the work of a few evil-minded persons, but the utmost that he could obtain was the promise that the edict of Worms should be executed as far as was practicable for each state of the empire. It was at the same time decided that the empire itself would soon after at a diet appointed at Speyer (Spire) undertake the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. (*a*) The legate also succeeded in forming at *Ratisbon* an alliance between Ferdinand of Austria, the Dukes of Bavaria and most of the bishops in the south of Germany, by the terms of which an apparent reformation was accepted of under his sanction, and they agreed not only to abolish some of the grossest ecclesiastical abuses, but, by a decree of July 6th, 1524, to exclude the Wittenberg innovations from their respective countries, and sustain each other in every danger which might result from such a course. (*b*) The emperor wrote letters threatening all who would not execute the edict of Worms, and forbade the assembly at Speyer. At a diet held at *Dessau* (June 26, 1525), the opponents of the Reformation among the princes of Northern Germany also consulted about the attitude which they could most properly assume in opposition to the Lutheran heresy, but the extent of the danger from this meeting was much exaggerated. (*c*) In consequence of these proceedings the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony met together at Gotha and pledged themselves to assist each other with all their power against every assault on account of the word of God. The original document was ratified at *Torgau*,

h) *A. M. Schultze*, Georg u. Luth. Lps. 1834. *L. Fischer*, H. Georg, Luth. u. d. verjagten Leipsiger. Lps. 1839. *Seidemann*, d. Ref. Zeit in Sachsen, 1517–39. Dresd. 1846.

i) *Walch* vol. XXI. p. 39ss. 94ss. 173ss. *Rubus*, Hist. d. Heiligen, Auserwählten Gottes Zeugen zu diesen unsern letzten zeytten. Strassb. 1554. verm. 1571. 2 vols. f. Acta martyrum, qui hoc saec. in Gallia, Germ. Angl. Flandria et Italia constans dederunt nomen Ev. Gen. 1556. *Heckel*, die Märtyrer d. ev. K. Nürnb. 1828.

a) *Pallavic.* II, 10. *Walch*, vol. XV. p. 2666ss. *Ranke*, vol. II. p. 111s.

b) *Walch*, vol. XV. p. 2699ss. *Strobel*, Misc. St. II. p. 109ss. *Goldast.* Constitt. Imp. vol. III. p. 487ss.

c) *De Wette*, vol. III. p. 22. *Seidemann* d. Dess. Bündn. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1847. H. 4.)

(March 4, 1526.) (*d*) This confederation was soon after strengthened by the accession of Luneburg, Anhalt, Mansfeldt, Prussia, and Magdeburg, but it always remained rather vacillating and undetermined, for Luther was exceedingly displeased that any one should set himself in opposition to the emperor, or think of defending the almighty word and providence of God by carnal weapons and worldly policy. (*e*)

§ 324. *The King and the Theologian.*

Henry VIII. of England, who coveted the reputation of a theologian and an ecclesiastical knight, either wrote or caused to be written in his name, a defence of the seven sacraments, (*a*) in the course of which he even impeached Luther's sincerity. So highly was this royal production extolled at Rome that it was declared that no one could have composed it without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and it was placed in the same rank with the writings of St. Augustine. But *Luther*, conscious that he was contending for a Monarch in whose presence all earthly sovereigns must stand confounded, hurled his words of wrath at the King of England, and hesitated not to call the royal disputant a liar and a knave. (*b*) In the midst of such a storm the king soon found that he was never intended for a theologian. Some years afterwards, through the influence of the Danish king, Luther became elated with the hope that Henry might be induced to decide in favor of the Reformation. He therefore became so regardless of his manly dignity while seeking only the interest of his cause, that he wrote an humble apology to the king, and offered to recall his offensive language. Henry made use of this letter publicly to mortify Luther, who found it difficult to regain the lofty tone which he had first used with respect to the scandalous lampoon of the King of England. (*c*)

§ 325. *The Peasants' War.* 1524, 1525.

I. Literature of the orig. Documents: *H. v. Aussess*, Anz. f. Kunde d. dt. Mittelalt. 1833. p. 301s. Collections: *Walch*, vol. XVI. p. 5ss. vol. XXI. p. 149ss. *Tentzel*, vol. II. p. 331ss. *Kapp*, Nachl. vol. IV. p. 561ss.

II. *Sartorius*, Gesch. d. dt. BK. Brl. 1795. *J. Ch. Schmid*, BK. (Hall. Encykl. vol. VII.) *Schreiber*, Bundschuh. Freib. 1825. *Oechsle* Beitr. z. Gesch. d. BK. in d. schwäb. fränk. Gränzl. Heilbr. 1830. *Wachsmuth*, d. dt. BK. Lpz. 1834. *W. Zimmermann*, allg. Gesch. d. grossen BK. Stuttg. 1841–3. 3 vols. *C. Hegel*, z. Gesch. u. Beurth. d. dt. BK. (Allg. Monatsch. f. Wiss. u. Lit. 1852. July s.)

The conspiracy of the nobility against the spiritual and secular princes, which had sought to strengthen and vindicate itself by the principles of the Reformation, had finally been put down by the overthrow of Sickingen. (*a*) But the long cherished discontent of the oppressed peasantry which had already broken forth on different occasions, (*b*) took occasion from a misunder-

d) *Hortleder*, VIII. 2–6. *e*) *Kapp.* vol. II. p. 571ss. *De Wette*, vol. III. p. 454ss. 526ss.

a) Adsertio VII. Sacrr. adv. *Luth.* Lond. 1521. Walch, vol. XIX. p. 158.

b) Contra Henr. Regem Martinus Luth. 1522. Walch, vol. XIX. p. 295.

c) *De Wette*, vol. III. p. 23ss. Walch, vol. XIX. p. 468ss.

a) *Rommel*, vol. III. Abth. I. p. 282ss. *Ranke*, vol. II. p. 81ss. Hist. pol. Bl. 1839. vol. IV. II. 9–12.

b) *Wachsmuth*, Aufstande u. Kriege d. B. im MA. (Raumers hist. Taschenb. 1834.)

standing of some sermons on Christian liberty and the powerful popular movements connected with the Reformation, to rise in open rebellion against the secular and spiritual nobility, that they might secure their rights as Christians and as men. This took place, too, at a time in which an evangelical preacher condemned not only all loans upon interest, and the possession of wealth, but the owning of any permanent property as inconsistent with Christianity and the word of God. (*c*) Its first appearance was in Suabia (1524), but soon extended to Franconia, and along the Rhine to Thuringen (1525). These peasants in justification of their course appealed to their 12 Articles, (*d*) the Scriptures, and the writings of Dr. Luther. In the opinion which *Melancthon* expressed, the articles of the peasantry were condemned without reserve, and the people were enjoined unconditionally to obey, and to submit to their grievances without resistance. (*e*) But Luther had a heart which sympathized with the sufferings of the people. In his exhortations to peace he acknowledges that most of their articles were reasonable, and admonishes the princes as well as the peasants to concede whatever was equitable. (*f*) But when the latter maintained their cause with fire and slaughter, proceeded to the bold design of completely remodelling the government of the empire, received as their leaders enthusiastic persons like *Thomas Munzer*, who in the character of a prophet with the sword of Gideon, and in the terrific language of the Old Testament proclaimed universal equality; when they introduced a community of goods and published abusive libels upon what they called the unspiritual and luxurious carnality of the people of Wittenberg, (*g*) Luther's wrath was inflamed, and fearing that the purity of his cause might be polluted and confounded with the abominations of this rebellion, he enjoined, in his pamphlet against the plundering and murderous peasants, (*h*) that they should be slaughtered like so many mad dogs. The advice was literally followed by the princes of both the Catholic and the Protestant parties. But even this did not prevent the enemies of spiritual liberty from ascribing to it those abuses which were committed in its name, and the people imagined that they saw in Luther's exhortation to engage in this crusade against the peasants more of the courtier than of the popular reformer. (*i*) It was at this time that an element which had sprung up in Luther's mind after his return from the Wartburg became decided, and gave a character to the whole future progress of the Reformation. In connection with the importance of the inner life and of faith, was introduced the necessity of an external Church, the bold process of demolition was modified by a regard for history, and amid the ruins scattered around them, the reformers now commenced the work of forming a new ecclesiastical establishment.

c) *Strauss*, Hauptst. u. Art. chr. Lehr. wider d. unchr. Wucher gepredigt zu Eisenach 1523. 4. *Strobel*, Miscell. vol. III. p. 88s. *d*) *Walch*, vol. XVI. p. 24ss.

e) *Ib.* p. 82ss. *f*) *Ib.* p. 58.

g) *Förstemann*, neues Urkundenb. vol. I. p. 228ss. *Melancthon*, Hist. Th. Münz. (*Roths* vol. I p. 2s8. *Walch*, vol XVI. p. 199.)—*Strobel*, Leben, Schrr. u. Lehren Th. M. Nürnb. 1795. *Seidemann*, Th. M. Dresd. 1842.

h) *Walch*, vol. XVI. p. 91ss. *i*) *Ib.* p. 99ss.

§ 326. *Erasmus and Luther. Cont. from* § 283.

E. Lieberkühn, de Erasmi ingenio et doctr. quid valuerint ad instaur. sacrorum. Jen. 1836. *Chlebus*, Er. u. Luth (Zeitschr. f. Hist. Th. 1845. P. 2.)

Although Luther always discovered in the writings of Erasmus more of the human than of the divine element, more argument for error than revelation of truth, and more love for peace than for the cross, with an humble admiration of his talents he had still sought (1519) his friendship. (*a*) In pleasant but serious terms Erasmus commended Luther's cause to Frederic the Wise, for he could not but see its justice even from the faults of its opponents. (*b*) He also proposed terms of compromise in which the papacy was treated simply as an equal party. (*c*) But in consistency with his character he disapproved of carrying a controversy which might arouse any amount of passion among the people so far as to threaten a division in the Church and the empire, and he trembled for his literary world and for his learned leisure. But for these very reasons, as well as from his regard for higher intellectual affinities, he maintained silence in spite of the solicitations of prelates and kings. (*d*) It was finally the friends of the Reformation themselves, who sometimes boasted that he belonged to their party, and sometimes reproached him for what they called his cowardly silence, that compelled him to speak. (*e*) In writing, however, against Luther, he did not attempt to defend the superstitions of the mendicant friars, nor the absolute power of the pope, but to adduce the proof which Luther had demanded from the Scriptures of the freedom of the moral will. (*f*) The great champion of intellectual freedom, in consistency with the logical requirements of his system, did not hesitate in a passionate reply to contend for the innate bondage of the will, (*g*) for he disposes of those Scriptural passages which imply the freedom of the will by asserting that God secretly intends the reverse of what he expresses in his revealed will, and that the apostles spoke of such a freedom only by way of irony. Erasmus showed that such an assertion was arbitrary, and contrary to all scientific rules. (*h*) But while Erasmus, dreading the reproach of semi-pelagianism to which he was justly obnoxious, concealed and anxiously guarded his own views, his opponent avowed and defended what he regarded as infallible truth with bold confidence. Luther therefore appeared to the literary men of his own party triumphant, and to the people the whole controversy was completely unintelligible. After this dispute Luther committed Erasmus to the judgment of Christ as an epicurean, an atheist, and an enemy to all religion. (*i*)

a) *De Wette* vol. I. p. 39ss. p. 52. vol. II. p. 49s.—Vol. I. p. 247ss.

b) *Spalatin*, Ann. p. 28s. *Seckend.* Additt. l. I. p. 111ss.

c) *Erasmi* Epp. (ed. *Cleric.*) XIII, 30. *Burigny* vol. I. p. 386ss.

d) *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 688. 692.

e) *Erasmi* Epp. XVIII, 23. *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 674.—*Ulrici ab Hutten* Expostulatio cum Erasmo. Argent. 1522.—*De Wette* vol. II. p. 489. Unschuld. Nachr. 1725. p. 545.

f) *Erasm.* de libero arbitrio Diatr. 1524. Walch vol. XVIII. p. 1962.

g) *Luth.* de servo arbitrio ad Erasm. 1525. Walch vol. XVIII. p. 2050.

h) Hyperaspistes Diatr. adv. servum arb. Luth. P. II. 1526s. (Opp. vol. X. p. 1249. 1335.) Comp. Epp. XXI, 28.

i) De Wette vol. III. p. 427. vol. IV. p. 497. Walch vol. XXII. p. 1612ss.

§ 327. *Luther's Domestic Life and his Colleagues.*

Luther remained longer than any of his companions with the prior of the deserted monastery, and did not lay aside his monk's habit until some time in Dec. 1524. His marriage with *Catharine* von *Bora* (June 13, 1535), a nun belonging to the disbanded Cistercian convent of Nimptsch, was neither the result of an ardent passion, nor a part of his policy as a reformer, but it belonged rather to his private life, and in view of the disturbed state of the times was entered upon with some hesitation, but with little consultation. It proceeded from a general inclination, encouraged by the wishes of the parents, for the happiness of domestic life, the joys and the sorrows of which he afterwards experienced. (*a*) Indeed about this time he was frequently oppressed by sickness, and prepared for a sudden death by reports of conspiracies against his life, but as a general thing he sat very pleasantly in the circle of his friends, enjoying with a keen relish not only the holier and higher pleasures of religion, but the innocent amusements of music, song, and many a bold jest. (*b*) His extreme kindness and honesty of heart fitted him to be the comforter and assistant of all who were distressed. His moderate circumstances were precisely such as his disposition and position rendered suitable. (*c*) *Staupitz*, who was in 1519 in the service of the Cardinal of Salzburg, and in 1522 Abbot of the Benedictines (d. 1524), about 1521 withdrew himself from Luther, being alarmed at the storm raised around the reformer. Luther looked upon Staupitz as cold and pusillanimous, but the man who first kindled in his bosom a love for the gospel was never forgotten. (*d*) His colleagues faithfully assisted him in his labors: *Nicolas* of *Amsdorf* (d. at Eisenach, 1565), who adhered to Luther's words with Luther's own vehemence; (*e*) *Justus Jonas* (d. at Eissfeld, 1555), who had been a jurist, and was therefore appointed provost of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, an eloquent and skilful man, (*f*) and the gentle *Bugenhagen* (d. at Wittenberg, 1558), who, in spite of his Pomeranian dialect and prolixity, was in the highest degree dignified, adapted to govern a church, disinterested, and a comforter to Luther in evil times, but entirely under his influence. (*g*) These were all frequently engaged in various ways in ecclesiastical affairs beyond the limits of Saxony, and were scattered in the time of the German war. *Carlstadt* for a long time persevered in advocating a destructive process as the only proper method of reform, and was anxious to introduce into ecclesiastical and civil affairs an

a) De Wette vol. II. p. 646. vol. III. p. 1ss. 10ss. yet p. 21. *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 754s. Walch vol. XXIV. p. 132ss. 826ss. *Veesenmayer*, ü. gleichzeit Schrr. gegen L. Verheir. (KHist. Arch. 1825. vol. III. P. 2.) *F. Walch*, Cath. v. B. Hal. 1751ss. 2 vols. *W. Beste*, Gesch. C. v. B. Hal. 1843. *F. G. Hofmann*, K. v. B. 1845.

b) *Luth.* Tischreden, (Memoirs of his friends,) collected by Aurifaber. Eisl. 1566. f. & frequently in zweif. Redaction s. Walch vol. XXII. ed. by Förstemann & Bindseil. Lps. 1844–8. [Luther's Table-Talk. Lond. 12mo. & with Life by *Burkhardt*, Lond. 8vo.] *Michelet*, Mémoires de L. écrits par lui-même. Par. 1835. 4 vols.

c) *Pallavic.* IV, 14. 12. *De Wette* vol. III. p. 495s. vol. V. p. 767. *Walch* vol. XXI. p. 270. vol. XXIV. p. 57s. 198ss.—*Götz* de paupertate L. Lub. 1719. 4. *Ukert* vol. I. p. 347ss.

d) § 308. nt. *b*. *e*) *G. Bergner*, de Nic. d. Amsd. Magd. 1718ss. 2 Pgg. 4.

f) *Knapp*, Narr. de Justo Jona. Hal. 1817.

g) *Zietz*, J. Bugenh. Lps. 1829. *Kraft*, de J. Bug. in res ecc. meritis. Hmb. 1831. 4.

unconditional adherence to the obvious and literal construction of the Scriptures. By such a course he necessarily came into collision with the Reformation, and approached very near the brink of spiritual apostasy, but at last he found peace and moderation for his agitated spirit in Switzerland (d. at Basle, 1541). (*h*) With the jurists also Luther had some misunderstanding for a while, on account of his burning of the canon law. But as he could not prevent others from studying it, and finally commenced the study of it himself, (*i*) we find that even at Worms Dr. *Schurf* came forward as his faithful advocate.

§ 328. *Religious Liberty and the Protestation.*

The emperor finally succeeded in destroying the French army near Pavia, and in taking their king a prisoner. The latter at the peace of Madrid (Jan. 14, 1526) purchased his liberty, though on difficult terms, which he never intended to fulfil. Clement VII. soon after absolved him from his oath, and became the prime mover of a confederacy against the exorbitant power of the emperor. This made the emperor willing to suspend the execution of the edict of Worms, but his brother in Germany was reluctant at such a time to embitter the feelings of the members of the Catholic league by such a step, and accordingly the diet at *Speyer* (Aug., 1526) was unanimous in the decree, that until the meeting of a general council, every state should act with respect to the edict of Worms as it might venture to answer to God and his imperial majesty. (*a*) The vile notification by Otho von Pack, that the Catholic princes had combined together for the overthrow of the Protestant powers (1528), was the occasion not only of bringing out the warlike spirit of Hesse and of Electoral Saxony, but of showing how far the peace of Germany itself was endangered by the controversies with respect to religion. (*b*) The army of the emperor, urged on by the zeal of the Lutheran foot soldiers, stormed and plundered the city of Rome (May 6, 1527). After many vicissitudes in the fortune of the war, the sovereignty of Italy was secured to Charles in the spring of 1529, and the pope himself acquiesced in the arrangement. Charles V., however, was obliged to pay some deference to the feelings of his Catholic subjects in his hereditary dominions. A Catholic majority was therefore obtained at the Diet of Speyer, which enacted that the edict of Worms should continue to be enforced in those states which had hitherto acknowledged its authority, but that no innovations should be required in the remaining provinces, that none should be obstructed in celebrating the mass, and that the privileges of every spiritual estate should be respected. Against this Recess of the imperial diet, by which the Reformation would have been condemned by its own friends to a fatal stagnation, Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Luneburg, Anhalt, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and fourteen imperial cities, presented a *Protestation* (April 19, 1529) and an appeal (April 25)

h) *Füssli*, Lebensgesch. A. Bodenst. v. Karlst. Frkf. u. L. 1776. *M. Göbel*, A. B. v. Karlst. (Stud. u. Krit. 1841. P. 1.)

i) *De Wette* vol. III. p. 433.

a) The orig. documents in *Bucholtz*, Ferd. I. vol. III. p. 371ss. *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 243ss. *Ranke* vol. II. p. 278ss.

b) *Hortleder* vol. I. Book II. *Ranke* vol. III. p. 29ss.

to the emperor, to a general or German council, and to all impartial Christian judges, not only on the ground of the prior and clear decision at Speyer, but on the principle that in matters which relate to the honor of God and the salvation of souls, the authority of a majority was not to be regarded. This was done not only in behalf of themselves, but also of their people, and of all who then or afterwards might believe in the word of God. (*c*)

§ 329. *Synod of Homberg*, 1526. *Saxon Church Visitation*, 1527–1529.

The Reformation had been introduced in various forms according to the circumstances of the different places where it prevailed. The jurisdiction of the bishops had been in fact abolished, and yet no other government had been substituted for it. A synod was therefore convened by the Landgrave at *Homberg*, composed of all who could be considered according to the old or the new views the proper representatives of the Church in Hesse. Monks and prelates were silent under the glowing eloquence of the exiled Minorite, *Lambert* of Avignon (d. 1530), and a synodal constitution based upon democratic principles was adopted, according to which every congregation was competent to the whole duty of ecclesiastical discipline. (*a*) The Elector of Saxony, on the urgent solicitation of the pastors in his dominions that he would take up the same subject for their churches, appointed ecclesiastical and lay commissioners, who formed a directory for divine worship and popular instruction on the basis of Melancthon's *Book of Visitation*, (*b*) the first Confession of the evangelical faith. This had the effect of harmonizing the practice of all the churches, evangelical preachers were appointed by these commissioners in all places, and arrangements were made with those who possessed the titles to spiritual endowments by which these were abolished. Superintendents were appointed to exercise ecclesiastical supervision, and decide cases relating to marriage. (*c*) The ignorance of the people and of their teachers which Luther discovered during this visitation affected him very deeply, and reflecting that intellectual freedom can be endured only by an intelligent people, and that children are the true sovereigns of the future, he composed (1529) two *Catechisms*, in which divine mysteries are presented in simple popular language, and in a form suitable for children. (*d*) The ecclesiastical Constitution which was the result of this Saxon visitation, became the common model to which the other German churches in the country were conformed.

c) *J. J. Muller*, Hist. v. d. ev. Stände Prot. u. App. Jena. 1705. 4. *J. A. H. Tittmann*, d. Prot. d. ev. Stände m. hist. Erläut. Lps. 1829. *A. Jung*, Gesch. d. Reichst. zu Sp. 1529. (Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. Ref. 1830. vol. I. Abth. 1.) For the orig. documents there quoted: *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 1067s.

a) Ref. Eccl. Hassiae. (*Schminke*, Monn. Hass. Th. II. p. 588.) *Lamb.* Ep. ad Colon. ed. *Draud*, Giess. 1730. 4.—*Martin*, Nachr. v. d. Syn. zu Homb. Cass. 1804. *Rommel* vol. III. Abth. I. p. 329ss. *Bach*, Gesch. d. Kurhess. KVerf. Marb. 1832. *J. W. Baum*, Fr. Lamb. Strasb. 1840. *Philipp's* Hess. KRef. Ordnung, ed. by *K. A. Credner*, Giess. 1852.

b) Unterricht d. Visitatoren an die Pfarh. (Lat. 1527.) M. Luth. Vorr. Vuitt. 1528. 4. edit. in Latin & German by *Strobel*, Altd. 1777.

c) *Kapp*, Nachlese. vol. I. p. 173ss. *Rosenberg*, v. d. ersten Kirchenvis. Brsl. 1754. 4.

d) *Walch* vol. X. p. 2ss. *Augusti*, hist. krit. Einl. in beide Haupt-Kat. Elbrf. 1824. *Illgen*, Memoria utr. Cat. Luth. Lps. 1828ss. 4 P. 4.

§ 330. *The Diet of Augsburg*, 1530.

I. Pro rel. chr. res gestae in comitiis Aug. a. 1530. (*Cyprian*, Hist. p. 87ss.) On the other side: *Brück*, Gesch. d. religionshandl. zu Augsb. (*Förstemann*, Archiv. Hal. 1831. vol. I. P. 1.) A report which was presented at Augsb. 1530, contributed by *Moeller*. (Stud. u. Krit. 1850. H. 3. before in Luth. Werke by *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 873. 912ss. as if from Spalatin, comp. *Gieseler*, Stud. u. Krit. 1851. H. 2. *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 734ss. *Förstemann*, Urkundenbuch z. Gesch. d. Reichst. zu A. Hal. 1833–5. 2 vols. *Corp. Ref.* vol. II. p. 50ss.—*Chytraeus*, H. d. A. C. Rost. 1576. 4. Lat. Fref. 1578. 4. and often. *Coelestini* Hist. Comitior. Aug. celebr. Fref. ad V. (1577.) 1597. f. *Veesenmayer*, kl. Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. K. zu A. Nürnb. 1830. 16.

II. *Cyprian*, Hist. d. A. C. Goth. (1730.) 1736. *Rotermund*, Gesch. d. zu A. überg. Bekenntn. Hann. 1829. *M. Facius*, Gesch. d. Reichst. zu A. Lpz. 1830. *Fikenscher*, Gesch. d. Reichst. zu A. Nürnb. 1830. *C. Pfaff*, Gesch. d. Reichst. zu A. Stuttg. 1830.—*G. G. Weber*, Gesch. d. A. C. Frkf. 1788. 2 vols.

A peace had been concluded by the victorious Charles V. with France and Rome. In the spring of the year 1530 he crossed the Alps, resolved either to lead back to the Church those who had wandered from it, or to avenge the ignominy heaped upon Christ. At his request the protesting states drew up a statement of their faith and of the abuses discarded by them. This *Confession*, composed by Melancthon, approved by Luther, and signed by the States, presented the ultimate points to which they could go in the way of concession for the sake of peace. On the 25th of June, it was read in German by the Chancellor of Saxony before the Diet at *Augsburg*, and afterwards committed to the hands of the emperor in Latin and German. As the object of this paper was religious, practical and political, the peculiar development of Protestantism is not made so prominent in it as the points in which that system agreed with the ancient Catholic faith, and the opposition to abuses which were generally acknowledged by all intelligent persons of that period. A few of the prelates avowed themselves ready to dip their pens in their own blood to answer it, but some of the princes and lords were brought by it to perceive that they had hitherto been incorrectly informed respecting the new doctrine, and the Protestants themselves attained by it an established centre for their own unity. By the command of the emperor, a *Confutation* was composed by Eck, Faber, Cochlaeus, and Wimpina, and read (Aug. 3) in the diet, but it was so pitiful an affair that it only raised the courage of the Protestants. On the 22d of Sept., however, when the States presented their Apology, the emperor refused to receive it, and had a decree passed which asserted that the Confession was opposed to the unquestionable principles of the Sacred Scriptures. Melancthon, offended at such abuse, once more revised his *Apology*, and published it even during the session of the diet as an appeal to the age in which he lived, as well as to subsequent times. The recess of the diet, passed Nov. 19th, threatened after a brief period of indulgence utterly to exterminate the new sect. The protesting princes, esteeming the favor of Christ far more than the displeasure of the emperor, after presenting their Protest, took their leave of the city.

§ 331. *League of Smalkald and Peace of Nuremberg.*

The danger of the Protestants became evident at Augsburg. The imperial council, to which was committed the task of executing the recess of the diet, next commenced a legal process against the Protestant States for hav-

ing confiscated the property of the Church. When, therefore, the divines of Wittenberg had acknowledged that the imperial states were justified as magistrates in protecting their subjects from unjust aggressions, (*a*) these Protestant powers assembled together at *Smalkald* on Christmas, 1530, and formed a well-organized league in 1531, for mutual defence by force of arms, embracing the princes and the most powerful cities of Upper and Lower Germany, with the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave as the leaders of the confederacy. (*b*) All those who were dissatisfied with the imperial government, among whom was Bavaria itself on account of its displeasure at the appointment of Ferdinand to be king of the Romans, placed themselves under the protection of this formidable power. As the Sultan Solyman was threatening to invade Germany, and especially Austria, the emperor was obliged to purchase internal peace and efficient aid against the Turks at any price. Even his confessor advised him to give up the vain fancy of saving men's souls, and content himself with winning back his obedient subjects. (*c*) A religious peace was therefore concluded at *Nuremberg* (July 23, 1532) (*d*) through the mediation of the Elector of Mentz and the Elector Palatine, by the terms of which both parties agreed to abstain from mutual hostilities until the meeting of a general council. This could be regarded only as an acknowledgment on the part of the Catholics that they were yet unprepared to become assailants, and on the part of the Protestants that they were restrained by conscientious scruples. This peace embraced only those who had already professed adherence to the Confession of Augsburg. The emperor pledged himself that the suits in religious matters should in the mean time be suspended.

II. Establishment of the Reformed Church until 1531.

J. v. Müller's u. R. Glutz-Blotzheim's Geschch. Schweizer. Eidgen. (5 vols.) cont. by *J. J. Hottinger*, 6. 7. vol. till 1531. Zür. 1825–9.

§ 332. *Youth and Doctrine of Zwingle.*

I. Opp. ed. *Gualther*, (Tig. 545s.) 581. 4 vols. f. *M. Schuler* et *J. Schulthess*, Tig. 1828–42. 8 vols. (1st and 2d vols. the German, vols. 3–8. the Lat. original, and the former in a Lat. transl.) Ausz. v. L. Usteri & Vögelin. Zür. 1819s. 2 vols. Selections from the pract. Works (and translations in the Germ.) v. *R. Christoffel*, Zür. 1843s. 8 vols. *Oecolampadii* et *Zwinglii* Epp. l. IV. Bas. (1536. f.) 1592. 4. Before this edition: *Osw. Myconii* Ep. de Vita et obitu Z. Respecting the Letters of Z.: Arch. f. KGesch. 1815. vol. III. St. 3.

II. (*Nüscheler*) Z. Lebensgesch. Zür. 1776. *J. C. Hess*, vie d'U. Z. Par. et Gén. Transl. into Germ. with obs. by *L. Usteri*, Zür. 1811. Suppl. in Archiv. f. KG. 1813. vol. I. St. 2. II, 3. *H. W. Rotermund*, Leben Z. m. Abriss d. schw. Ref. Brm. 1818. *J. M. Schuler*, Z. Gesch. sr. Bildung z. Reformator. Zür. 1819. *Sal. Hess*, Ursprung, Gang. u. Folgen d. durch Z. in Zür. bewirkten Ref. Zür. 1820. 4. *J. J. Hottinger*, H. Z. u. s. Zeit. Zür. 1843. [Life of Zwingle, transl. from Germ. of J. H. Hess, by *Lucy Aiken*, 8vo. Lond. 1812. In Blackwood's Mag. for 1828. and Littell's Rel. Mag. vol. II. for 1828. Miscell. of Tract. Soc. vol. S. p. 289–320. Life of U. Z. and Sketch of Oecol. publ. by Pres. B. of Publ. Philad. 18. *E. Zeller* has announced a work on the theol. system of Zwingle.]

Huldrich Zwingli, the son of the amman of Wildhaus (b. Jan. 1, 1484),

a) *Walch* vol. X. p. 660ss. comp. 656.

b) *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 2142ss. *Hortleder* vol. I. l. VIII, 7ss.

c) Briefe an K. Karl V. v. s. Beichtr. Mitgeth. (from the Span. Imp. Archives, by *G. Heine*, Brl. 1848.

d) *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 2182ss. *Hortleder* vol. I. I, 10.

became versed in classical learning, and received a liberal theological education in the city of Basle. He was for some time no stranger to the pleasures of the world, and was especially skilful in playing upon the lute, but he gradually became (after 1513) deeply interested in the study of the original text of the New Testament, that he might learn the will of God from the divine word itself. After spending ten years as the pastor of a church in *Glarus*, he was appointed preacher in the convent of *Einsiedlin* (1516), where he took occasion, from the crowds which thronged as pilgrims to the miraculous image of Mary, to preach that prayer should be offered not to Mary, the pure handmaid of the Lord, but to Christ the only mediator. In consequence of his evangelical preaching he was invited to become a chaplain at *Zurich*, where on New Year's morning, 1519, his powers of popular eloquence were exerted in the cathedral itself in defence of the reformation both in Church and in common life. The Swiss Confederacy was in legal form still a member of the German empire, and at that time the recollection of those glorious deeds by which liberty had been restored to their mountains was by no means lost in the hearts of the people, but the honesty and unanimity of the olden times had already become much impaired by numerous enlistments of the people as mercenaries in the wars of foreign nations. As an earnest republican, Zwingle was zealously opposed to the oligarchy, to their annuities from foreign princes, and to their trade in Christian blood. (*a*) Conscious of their own independence, the people had set bounds to the exorbitant claims of the spiritual courts (p. 288). But the idle and warlike youth fought the battles of the pope for his money, and when this could not be obtained, Julius II. paid them with ecclesiastical gifts and preferments. In the fidelity of his Swiss guards the vicar of Christ found a security for his body against the fickle spirit of the Roman people. From a papal nuncio residing at Zurich, Zwingle annually received fifty florins, with which he purchased books. Bernardin *Samson*, a Franciscan from Milan, opened a traffic in indulgences among the inhabitants of the Alps (1518). Zwingle preached against him, but the Bishop of Constance himself persuaded the city of Zurich to close its gates against him, and when complaint was made to the pope respecting the mischief caused by the traffic, Leo X. promised to call the trader to an account. Zwingle was acquainted with some of Luther's writings, but although very unlike that great reformer in religious profundity and genius, in consequence of his demand that every thing should be set aside which could not be proved from the Scriptures, he was induced by the independent study of those Scriptures much more suddenly and unconditionally to break loose from the ancient Church. (*b*) It was for this reason also, that although nothing was dearer to him than truth, many errors which had long been perceived, were not distinctly condemned. (*c*) His faith mounted upward in bold speculations, though it always returned to the path which an intelligent judgment approved, and which was favorable to spiritual improvement. In opposition to a righteousness by mere external works, he

a) *Bullinger*, Reformationsgesch. vol. I. p. 41s. 48s. 51.
b) Proofs in *Nüscheler* p. 157ss. *Schuler*, p. 119. 333.
c) E. g. *Hottinger*, H. ecc. p. XVI. P. II. p. 207.

also saw that justification was to be obtained entirely through the merits of Christ. But original sin was in his estimation a mere disease, the moral will was subject only to Providence, and he looked upon Hercules, Socrates, and the Catos, as belonging to the communion of the blessed, though they could be saved only through Christ. (*d*)

§ 333. *Introduction of the Reformation.*

Through Zwingle's influence the great Council of Zurich gave orders that all preachers should confine themselves to what was contained in the divine Scriptures, but maintain silence with respect to non-essential innovations and institutions (1520). (*a*) For the sake of those who were opposed, and that the truth might be more publicly known, he determined to defend in the municipal hall at Zurich sixty-seven propositions which he had formed against the whole external polity of the Catholic Church. When, however, he publicly announced them (Jan. 29, 1523), only a few objections were presented by *Faber* of Constance. (*b*) In a second disputation (Oct. 26–28), a decision was given against the use of images and the sacrifice of the mass. (*c*) An easy victory was obtained for the Reformation when the principle was once adopted, that every thing must be proved by the Scriptures, interpreted only by the Scriptures themselves. *Leo Juda*, Zwingle's colleague in office, in the spirit of the Reformed Church translated Luther's New Testament into the Swiss-German dialect (1525), and the Old Testament from the original text (till 1529). Zwingle looked upon every local church, in proportion as its opinions were based upon the Holy Scriptures, as completely justified in contending against the whole hierarchy. The Great Council, regardless of the protests of the Bishop of Constance, but sustained by public opinion, introduced the new constitution into the Church (1524ss). The established church of *Appenzell*, beyond the Rhone, resolved that preachers who taught what could not be proved from the Sacred Scriptures should be denied support and protection. (*d*) *Berthold Haller* (d. 1536) preached, though with caution, in behalf of the Reformation in Berne, (*e*) and *Manuel*, in a Carnival play, exposed to public derision the avarice of the clergy and their fear of the gospel. (*f*) *Oecolampadius* (d. Nov. 23, 1531), the learned friend of Erasmus, and in ordinary matters a timid and peaceable man, but kept in perpetual agitation in such stormy times for his advocacy of the cause of his Lord, was the principal instrument in directing the minds of the people of Basle into the path of the Reformation, although a knowledge of its elements had been previously acquired from the general perusal of Luther's writ-

d) Com. de vera et falsa rel. Tig. 1525. Fidei ratio ad Car. Imp. Tig. 1530. 4. Chr. fidei brevis et clara exp. ad Regem chr. (ed. *Bullinger.*) Tig. 1536. De providentia. (vol. I.)—*Zeller*, de theol. System Zw. (Th. Jahrb. 1853. H. 1s.)

a) *Füssli*, Beitrr. vol. II. p. 287. *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 32.

b) Conclusiones. (Opp. vol. I. p. 1s.) Explanatio. (*Ib.* p. 3ss.) Acta disput. (vol. II. p. 607ss.) *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 84ss. 97ss.

c) Acts in Zwingle's Works. vol. I. p. 539ss. *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 126ss.

d) *Klaarer's* account in Simler, vol. I. Part III. p. 803ss.

e) *Kirchhofer*, B. Haller u. d. Ref. v. Bern. Zür. 1828.

f) *C. Grüneisen.* Niclaus Manuel, Leben u. Werke. Stuttg. 1837.

ings. (*g*) The inhabitants of those places which were favorable to the Catholic Church, hoping to overcome their opponents by their favorite weapons, and relying upon the talents and skill of Dr. Eck, appointed a day for a public disputation at *Baden* (May, 1526). As Zwingle had reason to fear for his safety should he venture to be present in that city, Oecolampadius was the principal opponent of Eck in this disputation. The subjects which engaged their attention were the presence of Christ's sacred body in the sacrament, the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of saints, the use of images, and the doctrine of purgatory. On the part of Eck there was great blustering, while Oecolampadius contended only by arguments, but both claimed the credit of a victory. (*h*) *Berne* endeavored to keep aloof from the agitations of the controversy, and its council gave orders that some of the more obvious and serious abuses should be removed, and that preaching should be conformed both to the Scriptures and to the ancient faith. (*i*) But such partial measures were by no means adequate to the exigencies of the times. No sooner had the great council once more assumed the supreme power, than both parties were invited to a public discussion, which was attended by all the leaders of the Reformation in the country (Jan., 1528). The result was so decisive, that soon after a public decree was issued by the council, in which the jurisdiction of the bishops was entirely renounced, and the idolatrous worship of Rome was abolished. (*k*) In *Basle*, the Reformation became victorious in consequence of the triumph of the municipal guilds (1529). (*l*) The city of *St. Gall* embraced the evangelical doctrine (1528), the abbot fled, and the friends of religion became organized into a community under the protection of Zurich and Glarus. (*m*) For in *Glarus*, where it was decided after a severe contest that every congregation should choose for itself, the majority were in favor of the Reformation. *Schaffhausen*, after considerable hesitation, gave in its adhesion to it (1529), and in *Soleure* neither party obtained the ascendency. In every place where the new doctrines prevailed, every thing opposed to them was rigorously put down. The altars were destroyed and the idols were burned. In the *Gray League* alone (the Grisons), after the disputation at Ilantz (1526), the law allowed every one to take his choice between the old and the new faith. And yet when Schlegel, the abbot of St. Luke, contrived a treasonable conspiracy with the Castellan of Musso for the overthrow of the heretics of *Coire*, he was beheaded (1529). (*n*) The popes, who stood in need of Swiss soldiers, and could do nothing against the will of a republican people, preserved for a long time little more than the semblance of peace. (*o*)

g) *Grynæus* et *Capito*, de vita et obitu Oec. before his and Zwingle's Epp.—*S. Hess*, Lebensgesch. J. Ock. Zür. 1793. *J. J. Herzog*, d. Leben J. Oek. u. d. Ref. zu Basel. Bas. 1843. 2 vols

h) *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 361ss. Edit. of the Acts of the Reformers, by *Murner*, (Lucerne, 1527. 4.) incorrectly regarded by the Reformers as inaccurate. *i*) *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 110ss.

k) *Ib.* vol. I. p. 305ss. 426ss. *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 2008.—*G. Fischer*, Gesch. d. Disp. u. Ref. in Bern. Bern. 1828. *Kuhn*, d. Reformatoren Berns. Bern. 1828. Respecting the other Jubilee publications: Stud. u. Krit. 1828. P. 4. p. 901ss. (*C. L. v. Haller*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Rev. o. prot. Ref. d. Kantons B. u. d. unlieg. Gegend. Luc. 1836. *l*) *Bullinger* vol. II. p. 37ss. 81ss.

m) *Ib.* vol. II. p. 250ss. *Simler* vol. I. p. 115ss. *Vernet*, Kessler, (§ 312. nt. *d.*)

n) After Kampell and de Porta: *L. Truog*, Gesch. d. Ref. v. Graub. Coire. 1819. p. 29ss. 39. *Bullinger* vol. II. p. 34s. *o*) E. g. *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 83s.

§ 334. *Division of the Swiss Confederacy.*

The evangelical doctrines of the Reformation agitated all the cantons of the confederacy, but the rural population of the mountainous districts being displeased, under the influence of the priests, with the political demands of Zwingle, were especially distinguished for their adherence to the ancient faith. Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne, pledged their faith to each other in a diet at Lucerne (1524), that they would defend the faith of their fathers, but they availed themselves of the opportunity to forbid the sale of indulgences, to improve the manners of the clergy, to limit the revenues of the Church, and to extend the jurisdiction of the courts in ecclesiastical affairs. (*a*) In those places which were under the direct government of the whole confederacy, it was impossible to avoid the clashing of parties. The burning of images, and sometimes even of monasteries, was of course exceedingly painful to the Catholic authorities, especially when it occurred in places subject to their control. They therefore took an oath, that every one who treated the saints or the mass in a contemptuous manner should be punished. It soon became evident, from the maimings and public executions they inflicted, that their oath was no idle threat. (*b*) A Christian compact was now formed among the Reformed cities, into which even Strasburg and Constance were admitted. The five Catholic cantons also formed an alliance with Ferdinand of Austria for the protection of the faith. An irruption was made by the inhabitants of Unterwalden, to sustain an insurrection of the people in the upper part of Berne against the Reformation which had been forced upon them. (*c*) Zwingle now demanded war; the cities brought into the field a powerful army, and the five cantons purchased peace (June 24, 1529) by conceding: that each party should be permitted to adopt what faith it pleased, all slanderous speeches should be punished, and in every congregation under the government of the general confederacy, a majority of votes should decide upon religious matters. The articles of compact with Austria were then torn in pieces, and with respect to free preaching, general promises were sufficient to give satisfaction. (*d*) But it was never the intention of the Catholics to fulfil these promises in the sense in which they were understood by the people of Zurich, as the calumnies alluded to were nothing but the expression of a universal feeling. When the authors of these calumnies were therefore allowed to remain unpunished, the cities next forbade all supplies and intercourse with the mountainous districts. (*e*) To save themselves from starvation, the five cantons now betook themselves to the sword. Against this the cities were not prepared, and the Catholic host fell upon an advanced outpost of the army of Zurich at *Cappel* (Oct. 11, 1531). *Zwingle*, who, during the last years of his life, had been threatened in various ways, was full of melancholy, and had singular presentiments of his approaching end. With the least possible confidence in man, and the highest in God and in his cause, he accompanied the standard of the city as the pastor of his people. Zurich lost the battle, and Zwingle was left on the field, surrounded by the bodies

a) *Bullinger* vol. I. p. 142ss. 213ss. *b*) *Ib.* vol. I. p. 145ss. 182ss.
c) *Ib.* vol. II. p. 21ss. 48ss. *d*) *Ib.* vol. II. p. 163ss. 185ss.
e) *Ib.* vol. II. p. 358ss.

of the choicest portion of the friends of the Reformation in the city. (*f*) The superior strength of the cities was indeed soon after brought into action, but the confidence of victory and unity was on the side of the Catholic army. The religious peace which was soon afterwards concluded (Nov. 16), recognized the right of each canton freely to make its own arrangements respecting its religious affairs, but in those portions which were under the general government, and in those cantons which were hitherto undecided, the old Church was almost universally restored by violence. (*g*)

§ 335. *The Sacramentarian Controversy.*

Walch vol. XVII. p. 1880ss. vol. XX. (*Selnecker* and *Chemnitz.*) Hist. d. Sacramentsstr. Lpz. 1591. 4. *Löscher*, complete Hist. motuum, between Luth. and the Ref. Frkf. and Leip. 2 ed. 1723. 3 vols.—*Lud. Lavater*, H. controv. sacramentariae. Tig. (1563.) 1672. Zür. 1564. *Hospiniani* H. sacram. Tig. (1598.) 1602. 2 Th. f. Zür. 1611. 4.—*A. Ebrard*, d. D. v. h. Abendm. Frkf. 1846. vol. II. p. 1–858.

In the spirit of Erasmus, and with a proper sense of his own independence, Zwingle always protested against being numbered among the adherents of Luther. (*a*) He could discover nothing in the Lord's Supper but a sign of commemoration and fellowship. Even Luther was obliged to reject the doctrine of transubstantiation together with the priesthood, (*b*) but the depth of his sensuous mysticism needed a spiritual presence of Christ's body in the sacred ordinance. *Carlstadt*, during his iconoclastic fury, had put forth the assertion that Christ pointed to his living body when he instituted the supper. In consequence of this, a controversy, embittered by the personal relations of the parties, sprung up (after 1524) between him and Luther. (*c*) The Swiss, respecting whose position the divines at Wittenberg were for a long time indistinctly informed, undertook in their own way (after 1525) the defence of the severely-persecuted Carlstadt. Zwingle translated "this is" by the words "this signifies," and Oecolampadius regarded the bread when called the body, simply as the symbol of the body. These different views led to a dispute between Luther and Zwingle at the head of their respective parties. (*d*) The Swiss Confederacy adhered to Zwingle, and the imperial cities of Upper Germany were disposed to do so, but the doctrine of Luther found a trusty and influential advocate in Suabia in the person of Brentz, a man who would listen neither to the fathers nor to Aristotle, but to Christ alone. (*e*) Luther appealed with absolute confidence to the letter, Zwingle to the sense of the word of God. The first was boisterous and sometimes ludicrous, while the latter was more polished but bitter. When Zwingle referred to the nature of a body, Luther endeavored to show

f) Kurze Beschr. d. 5 kath. Orte Kriegs. (*Balthasar*, Helvetia. vol. II. p. 186ss.) *Bullinger* vol. III. p. 116ss.—(*H. Gelzer*) Die Schlacht d. Kappel. Zür. 1831.

g) *Bullinger* vol. III. p. 247. *Hottinger* vol. II. Commencement.

a) Explanation of the 18th article. 1523. (vol. I. p. 255.)

b) *De Wette* vol. II. p. 577.

c) *Walch* vol. XV. p. 2422ss. vol. XX. p. 186ss. Comp. *Göbel* in Stud. u. Krit. 1842. II. 2. 1843. II. 3.

d) *Zw.* Amica exegesis. Tig. 1527. 4. *Luth.* Dass die Worte Christi: das ist m. Leib., noch feststehn. Weder die Schwarmgeister. Wit. 1527. and others.

e) Syntagma Suevicum. 1525. Comp. *J. Hartmann* and *K. Jäger*, J. Brentz. Hamb. 1840. vol I. p. 139ss.

that the body of Christ was omnipresent in consequence of its inseparable union with the Deity, and the assertion of his opponent seemed to him equivalent to a denial of Christ. This controversy, therefore, inasmuch as it had its origin in the peculiar mental character of these great leaders, and yet was not of much importance to the interests of piety itself, became finally so prominent as to produce a complete misunderstanding between the disputants. In vain did the Landgrave endeavor to effect a reconciliation, reminding them that their common danger should keep them united. (*f*) At the meeting which took place between them at *Marburg* (Oct., 1529), Zwingle was induced by the strength of his convictions with tears to offer Luther his fraternal hand, even if the principal point of difference should remain undecided, but this was rejected. (*g*) The principal points of their common faith were, however, arranged in fourteen articles on the basis of the Confession of Augsburg. With regard to the memorable fifteenth article, which asserts that Christ's body and blood are corporally present in the Lord's Supper, both parties promised to exercise Christian charity so far as the conscience of each would permit. The Landgrave now became a member of the league of the reformed cities (April, 1530). Although Strassburg, Constance, Meiningen, and Lindau presented their separate confession at Augsburg (July 11, 1530), (*h*) they acknowledged in it that the souls of believers were nourished by the true body of Christ. The pliant *Martin Bucer* reconciled matters by introducing the acknowledgment of a presence of Christ also for the hand and the mouth. (*i*) By this means the cities of Upper Germany were induced to adopt the Confession of Augsburg, and enter into the League of Smalkald. (1531).

III. Establishment of the Lutheran Church until 1555.

§ 336. *Articles of Smalkald.*

As the only method by which peace could be secured, the emperor now demanded that the pope should call a general council. It was, however, feared at Rome that the complaints of the several nations might in a general assembly of the Church unite with the voices of the Protestants, or that the latter might be so used by others as to compel the papacy to make some general concessions. *Clement VII.* held out promises which were intended only to prevent the calling of a national council in Germany, and *Paul III.* sent forth a call for a council in May, 1537, to assemble at Mantua, at a time when such a council was hardly possible in Lombardy on account of the war with France. A confession was laid before the league at Smalkald, signed (Feb. 15, 1537) by the theologians there present, and intended to be presented to the general council, or otherwise to remain a new monument of their

f) *De Wette* vol. III. p. 465ss.

g) Acts in *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 2361ss. *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 1095ss. *Bullinger* vol. II. p. 223ss.—Die 15 Marb. Artikel nach d. Orig. veröffentl. v. *H. Heppe*, Marb. 1848. 4. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1848. II. 1.)—*L. J. K. Schmitt*, d. Religionsgespr. zu Marb. Marb. 1840.

h) Conf. Tetrapolitana. Arg. 1531. 4. (*Niemeyer*, Col. Conff. Lps. 1840. p. LXXXIII. 174ss.

i) *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 2491ss.

unanimity. (*a*) These *Articles of Smalkald* were composed by Luther when violence was no longer to be apprehended, and reconciliation was impossible, and they present the doctrines opposed to the Romish Church in the strongest terms. In addition to this, by request of the League, a tract was prepared in Latin by *Melancthon*, in which it was proved from historical facts that neither the primacy of the pope nor the jurisdiction of the bishops had been instituted by divine authority. This treatise was designed to be the first formal attempt to justify those who solemnly renounced all papal and prelatical sway. But its author had the courage to subscribe Luther's articles, with the remark that for the sake of general peace, a superiority over those bishops who had been created by human authority might be voluntarily conceded to the pope if he allowed the gospel to be preached in its purity. Luther, overwhelmed by sufferings caused by the gravel, left Smalkald with these parting words: "May God fill you with hatred for the pope! He knows his people, and feels like them!" The confederates were unanimous in the conclusion that they were bound to decline a council which met in Italy, and which contained a condemnation of their cause in the very terms in which it was called together. (*b*)

§ 337. *Progress and Political Power of the Reformation.*

In Electoral Saxony, *John Frederic* the *Magnanimous*, a conscientious, sincere, and truly pious prince, with a mind somewhat contracted, but heroic in purpose and in endurance, succeeded his father (1532). *Philip* of Hesse, on his own responsibility, but sustained by the power of the Protestant League, in a sudden expedition reinstated (1534) *Ulrich*, Duke of Wurtemberg, who had been driven from his possessions, which had been given to Austria by the Suabian League. Ulrich's refractory spirit had in misfortune found consolation in the gospel, and the Reformation which had for a long time been kept down by violence, after a little vacillation suddenly became victorious in *Wurtemberg* under the direction of Brentz, a man who possessed the same views as Luther. (*a*) A *Holy League* was formed (1538) at Nuremberg, composed of the Archbishops of Mentz and of Salzburg, the Duke of Bavaria, George of Saxony, and Henry of Brunswick. But the power of the emperor continued to be much restrained by his foreign wars. A considerable support was obtained for the Protestant League in the Northern kingdoms, and splendid promises were held out to it by Henry of England and Francis of France. *George* of *Saxony*, whose spirit became every year more and more embittered toward Luther and the age in which he lived, struggled in vain against what seemed to be his destiny, for he was obliged to leave his possessions to a Protestant heir. His brother *Henry* already belonged to the

a) *M. Meurer*, d. Tag. zu Smalk. u. d. Schm. Artikel. Lps. 1837.

b) *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 2426ss. *Corp. Ref.* vol. II. p. 962ss 982ss. *Aonii Paleurii* de Conc. univ. et libero Ep. ed. ill. *Illgen*, Lps. 1832. 4.

a) *Schnurrer*, Erläut. d. Würt. K. Ref. u. Gelehrten-Gesch. Tüb. 1798. *J. C. Schmidt* & *F. E. Pfister*, Denkw. d. würt. u. schwab. Ref. Gesch. Tüb. 1817. (*Grüneisen*) Denkblatt d. Ref. in Stuttg. Stuttg. 1835. *J. Hartmann*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Würt. Stuttg. 1835. *Hartmann* u. Jäger, J. Brentz, Hamb. 1842. vol. II. *L. F. Heyd*, Ulr. H. zu Würt. Tüb. 1841–4. 3 vols.

League of Smalkald, and on the festival of Pentecost, 1539, Luther and the Reformation entered the city of Leipsic in triumph. (*b*) The *Elector* of *Brandenburg* compelled his wife to fly from his residence that she might live in the enjoyment of her faith, and exacted an oath from his sons that they would cleave to the ancient faith in opposition to modern innovations. But *Joachim II.* (1535) allowed the word of God to have free toleration in his dominions, and in 1539 partook of the Lord's Supper according to the forms of the Evangelical Church, although he preserved an independent position unconnected with the League. That body, however, was soon after (after 1545) strengthened by the accession of the *Electoral Palatinate.* (*c*) When the bishopric of *Naumburg* became vacant, *Julius von Pflug*, the provost of the cathedral, a learned and at the same time a mild divine, (*d*) was elected by the chapter, but the elector could not resist the temptation to provide for it an apostolic bishop. *Nicolas* von *Amsdorf*, by an act of arbitrary power was invested with the office of a bishop, but with the salary of a pastor, and Luther boasted that he and his friends had been guilty of the sin of consecrating a bishop without chrism, and even without suet, lard, tar, grease, incense, or coals. (*e*) An electoral officer was appointed to administer the secular affairs of the diocese. *Henry* of *Brunswick* and the Protestant princes, assisted by Luther, assailed each other by pamphlets, in which all the proprieties not only of princely dignity but of human life were violated, and when Henry threatened Goslar, he was attacked by Saxony and Hesse with a powerful army, driven from his dominions (1542), and finally made a prisoner (1545). (*f*) Among the secular princes *Bavaria* was the only power which continued to support the papacy, and even there much difficulty was experienced in resisting the opposition of the people and the states. (*g*) *Herman*, the Elector of *Cologne*, commenced with a Catholic reform, but he finally assumed a Protestant position, and the archbishop was informed of his plan of reformation according to a form drawn up by Bucer and Melancthon (1543). (*h*) Cardinal *Albert* of *Mentz* allowed the Reformation to go forward in his Chapters of Magdeburg and Halberstadt as long as the states were willing to assume the payment of his debts (1541). All bishops were tempted to go over to the Protestant side by the prospect of becoming hereditary princes. King *Ferdinand* himself, influenced by the writings of Luther, and by a father confessor, who, on his deathbed, repented of his whole ecclesiastical life and actions as a deception, now promised to compromise

b) *Nobbe*, Heinr. d. Fromme, Lps. 1839. *G. B. Winer*, de Facult. theol. ev. in Univ. Lips. originib. Lps. 1839. 4. *K. W. Hering*, Gesch. der im Markg. Meissen u. d. dazu gehör. thür. Kreise erf. Ref. Grossenhain. 1839. *H. G. Hasse*, Abriss d meissneisch-albert. säsch. KGesch. Lps. 1847. vol. II.

c) *Ad. Müller*, Gesch. d. Ref. in d. Mark Brandenb. Brl. 1839. *J. Schladebach*, d. Uebertr. d. Kurf. Joach. z. luth. K. Lps. 1840.—*H. Alting*, H. Ecc. Palatinae. (Monn. piet. et lit. Fref. 1701. 4.) *B. G. Struve*. Ber. v. d. Pfälz. K. Hist. Frkf. 1721. 4. *K. F. Vierordt*, Gesch. d. Ref. im Grossh. Baden. Karlsr. 1847.

d) *C. G. Müller*, de meritis Julii Pflugii. Lps. 1812.

e) *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 81ss. especially 122ss. *Förstemann*, Neue Mitth. hist. antiq. Forsch. Hal. 1835. vol. II. P. 2. (*Lepsius*) Bericht u. d. Wahl u. Einführ. Nic. v. A. Nordh. 1835.

f) *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 154ss. *Hortleder* Buch. IV. *W. Elster*, Charakteristik Heinr. d. Jüng. Marb. 1845. *g*) *Winter* (§ 823. nt. *g*.)

h) *M. Deckers*, Herm. v. Wied. Erzb. v. Köln. Cologne. 1840.

matters with respect to religion, with the states at an imperial diet, and in accordance with Luther's counsel. (*i*) Aside from personal inclinations nothing but the necessity of adhering to Catholicism under which the House of *Hapsburg* was placed on account of its connection with Spain, Belgium, and Italy, was sufficient at that time to uphold that religion in any part of Germany.

§ 338. *Negotiations for Peace and Preparations for War.*

Once more was presented some prospect of preserving the Church from a division. Divines of both parties were appointed by the emperor at the Diet of *Ratisbon* (1541) to adjust measures for a peaceful accommodation. The pious *Contarini*, who was favorable to the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism as they were then maintained, had been appointed legate. (*a*) With his approbation a compromise was proposed by *Gravella*, in which it was asserted that salvation was founded upon faith in the merits of Christ alone, and not upon our own works or deserts. The divines were therefore agreed with respect to the four Articles of Original Righteousness, Original Sin, Human Liberty, and Justification, which Luther had always maintained as the fundamental principles of Christianity. With reference to other subjects on which no agreement was yet attained, and with respect to which the proposed scheme conceded every thing which could be given up by the Catholics of that period without renouncing their distinctive character, the emperor required that until the decision of a general council could be obtained, all should exercise fraternal forbearance toward each other. The Landgrave and the Elector of Brandenburg were entirely agreed, and *Julius Pflug* and *Melancthon* were just on the point of extending to each other the hand of reconciliation. But Luther and the Elector of Saxony saw nothing in all these concessions but a snare; the King of France, alarmed at the prospect of a reconciliation in Germany, complained of treachery to the Church; and the legate, threatened from Rome for having transcended his powers, made a retrograde movement. (*b*) This result was only the manifestation of opposing principles in the person of their advocates, and in this failure of a reconciliation which seemed so near, all became distinctly conscious that the schism was irreconcilable. The emperor concluded at Crespy (1544) an honorable peace with France, and the Roman King a five years' armistice with the Turks. In the League of Smalkald the cities began to complain of the princes, and unkind feelings were produced in various ways. *Maurice*, a keen ambitious young man, had succeeded (1541) his father in the dukedom of Saxony. Although he regarded the Reformation in the light of an historical necessity he felt no enthusiasm in its behalf, and while personally disputing with the elector he

i) *Ferd.* an Luth. 1. Febr. 1537. in *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 2424.

a) *Contareni* Tr. de justificatione. Par. 1571. *Beccatello*, Vita del C. Cont. With his Letters in: Epp. Regin. Poli, ed. *Quirini*. vol. III.—*Kiesling*, ad Quir. Ep. de Cont. purioris doctr. de justif. teste et confessore. Lps. 1749.

b) Acta Colloquii in Comitiis Ratisponae habiti. (ed. *Bucer.*) Argent. 1541. 4. Acta in Conventu Ratisb. (ed. *Melanethon.*) Wit. 1541. 4. Comp. *Hortleder* vol. I. I, 37. *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 695ss. *Corp. Ref.* vol. IV. p. 1198s. In opposition to Bucer: *Eckii* Apol. pro Principibus cath. Ingolst. 1542.—*Raynald.* ad ann. 1541. *Seckend.* III, 23. *Ranke*, Päpste. vol. I. p. 155ss. *Bretschneider*, ü. d. K. Gespr. angef. zu Worms, fortg. zu Reg. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. vol. II. P. I.)

abandoned the League of Smalkald (1542), and secretly pledged himself to the emperor that whatever might be the issue of the war, the imperial authority should in no respect be impaired. (*c*) The Council which was opened at Trent (1545) was rejected by the Protestants. Legal proceedings by order of the emperor, and on complaint of the Chapter of Cologne, were instituted against the archbishop of that see. It was soon evident from the execution of some evangelical preachers in the Netherlands that he was in earnest. He, however, persuaded himself that his conduct sprung more from a reference to liberty than to Lutheranism, and to the property than to the doctrine of the Church. Indeed, the complicated condition in which the material interests of all parties were placed, stood very much in the way of an amicable adjustment of other things. But when it had become apparent that the position of the respective parties at the diet rendered the adoption of any general measures almost impossible, and when the decision of the imperial council which treated the proceedings respecting ecclesiastical property as a mere matter of spoils, had been rejected by the Protestants, it was evident that the empire was indeed divided, and that the peace of the country was destroyed.

§ 339. *Luther's Death and Public Character.*

The last years of Luther's life were spent in great exhaustion and protracted sickness. He was so much offended at the immorality and luxury which prevailed at Wittenberg, that he left that city (1545) and returned only on the urgent request of the University and the elector. He foresaw that troublous times were approaching his native country, and he longed to depart in peace. His last days, however, were illuminated by some beams of his former power, and he still indulged in bold, childlike pleasantries, even in the midst of sublime conceptions. (*a*) Having been invited to Eisleben to act as umpire between the Counts of Mansfeld, he gently and devoutly fell asleep on the night of the 18th of February, 1546. (*b*) The sudden changes which took place during his career, and in which he was obliged to act as a leader, produced marked contrasts between different periods of his life. The pope was regarded by him at one time as the most saintly, and at another as the most fiendish father. When he was excited with passion his feelings changed in the most boisterous manner. His whole life was devoted to the promotion of intellectual freedom, and yet he was zealous in behalf of the letter. Relying wholly upon spiritual influences while giving laws to the most turbulent storms of revolution, he nevertheless occasionally advised that the pope with all his menials should be cast into the Tyrrhene Sea. (*c*) His opinions were always expressed with absolute sincerity, and he was an utter stranger

c) *G. Arnold*, Vita Maur. (*Menken.* vol. II.) *Brandt*, Vindiciae Mauritianae. Jen. 1617. 4. *F. A. v. Langenn*, Moritz, Herzog u. Kurf. zu Sachs. Lps. 1841. 2 vols. *H. B. Brandes*, Beitrr. z. Charakter. d. H. u. Churf. M. Lps. 1853.

a) Especially his Letters to Catharine: De Wette vol. V. pp. 783. 787. 789.

b) *J. Jonā* u. *M. Cölii* Bericht v. Lutheri Absterben. Besides other records of his death in Walch vol. XXI. p. 274ss. *J. Jonas*, Schr. an Joh. Fr. ü. Luth. Lebensende, hrsg. v. *Kreyssig*, Meiss. 1847. —*Mohnike*, L. Lebensende. Strals. 1817. *K. A. Credner*, L. Tod u. Bedeutung. Frkf. 1846.

c) Walch vol. XVII. p. 1396ss.

to every form of earthly interest. By a vigorous sensuousness of disposition he stood firmly rooted in the earth, while his head reached into the heavens. No one of his age equalled him in creative power, his style was frequently rougher than even that rough period seemed to have allowed, but in popular eloquence he had no superior in all Germany. The eagerness and passion which he always felt in the midst of his conflicts, supplied him with the enjoyment which he needed in them. Wherever he discovered injustice he saw nothing but hell itself. His services, however, did not consist so much in his destroying and breaking loose from what was wrong,—for many others extricated themselves from the ancient Church with much more facility and decision,—as in his constructive power, and in the exuberance of his warm faith and love. And yet there were some periods of great trial in his life, when the temptations of the devil made him fear that he should be bereft of God and Christ, and every thing dear. (*d*) He had no hesitation even in the presence of his opponents freely to avow the deliberate conviction of his heart, that he was well known in heaven, earth, and hell, as the chosen instrument of God for the accomplishment of the divine purposes, and yet this seemed to have nothing to do with his individual person. He never wished to hear of Lutheran doctrines, (*e*) and his sublime confidence in God never appeared to assure him of his own deliverance from danger, but simply to convince him that God was able to raise up every day ten such men as *Dr. Martinus*. (*f*) The time in which such a man should be vilified by absurd reproaches, or defended by illiberal vindications, has now passed away, and he should be regarded, not as the property of an individual party, but of the German nation and of Christianity.

§ 340. *The Smalkaldic War.* 1546, 1547.

Hortleder vol. II. book III. and page 1618ss. *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 1817ss. *Camerarii* Comm. belli Smalc. gracce. scr. (*Freher* Th. III. p. 457.) Literary hist. of the accounts of the war in *Ukert* vol. II. p. 196.—*J. G. Jahn*, Gesch. d. schmalk. Kriegs. Lps. 1837.

An edict was proclaimed by the diet (July 20, 1546), in which the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were declared guilty of high treason against the emperor and the empire. Although the emperor was very careful not to give his expedition the name of a religious war, Paul III. openly proclaimed a crusade for the extermination of heretics, and called for offerings from the Church for this purpose. An army was hastily assembled by the Protestants on the borders of Suabia and Bavaria, which was much superior to that of the emperor posted at first near Ratisbon, and afterwards occupying a strong position near Landshut. But as many persons had an equal right to command, and many things were presented for consideration, the hour for successful action was allowed to pass, and time was afforded for the emperor to collect around him his forces from Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. Even then, however, the forces were nearly equal, but the Protestant princes shrunk from the blow which was to decide their fate. Just at that time news was received that Duke Maurice had taken possession of the

d) *Walch* vol. XII. p. 2270s. *Matthesius*, 12. Predigt p. 138s.
e) *Walch* vol. X. p. 420. vol. XV. p. 1989. *f*) *De Wette* vol. V. p. 787.

Electorate of Saxony under the pretence of preventing a similar act by the King of the Romans. This induced the elector to hasten back to Saxony; late in the fall the allied army was disbanded, and one city after another implored pardon from the emperor, or purchased it with various offerings, until the victory on his side was by no means difficult. The Elector of Cologne, excommunicated by the pope, menaced by the emperor, and abandoned by his estates, laid aside his office (Feb. 25, 1547). (*a*) By the commencement of the succeeding spring the whole of Southern Germany had been reduced to submission without a single blow. John Frederic had in the mean time taken possession of his own dominions as well as those of his cousin with the exception of Dresden and Leipsic, but he was not blind to the fate impending over him. And yet even in this extremity the princes did not think of the only means of deliverance now remaining to them, which was an appeal to the people to rise in defence of their faith. (*b*) While the elector was surrounded only by the vassals and mercenaries which composed his ordinary army he was surprised by the emperor in the forest of Lochau near *Muhlberg* (Apr. 24, 1547), and compelled to run the chance of a battle. His army was completely destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner. His life was purchased by the surrender of Wittenberg and the abdication of his crown. The electorate and a part of the dominions of Ernest were bestowed upon Maurice. The landgrave surrendered at discretion (June 19), and contrary to his own expectation, and in spite of the security given by his son-in-law, he was retained in close confinement. (*c*) The other members of the League, with the exception of a few cities of Lower Germany, now also submitted.

§ 341. *The Interim.*

Biek, d. dreifache Interim. Lps. 1721. *J. Schmid*, Hist. interimistica. Ilmst. 1730. *Spieker*, Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. Augsb. Int (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 3.)

The emperor allowed of no interruption of the forms of worship adopted in the several countries which he had conquered, (*a*) and appeared anxious to make good his previous assurance that he had no design to interfere in matters of faith. This policy may have originated either in his desire to force the pope to enter upon a general reform, or in his conviction that such subjects were beyond his jurisdiction. The only thing which he demanded was that all should agree to submit to the authority of a general council at which he engaged that all should receive reasonable and Christian treatment. But with the view of re-establishing by his own authority the unity of the Western Church, he published at *Augsburg* (March 15, 1548) an imperial edict, in which directions were prescribed respecting the way in which all matters relating to religion should be arranged until the decision of the council. (*b*)

a) *Deckers*, Herm. v. Wied. p. 148ss.

b) Comp. *Rommel*, Philipp. Urkundenb. p. 225.

c) For evidence of deception: *L. G. Mogen*, H. Captivitatis Ph. Frcf. 1766. *Rommel* vol. IV. p. 330ss. In favor of a misunderstanding: *Raumer* vol. I. p. 547ss. Gesch. Eur. Lps. 1832. vol. I. p 547ss. For an intentional deception: *Ranke* vol. IV. p. 408ss. Comp. *Rommel* in d. Monatbl. z. Allg. Zeitung, April, 1846.

a) Comp. *Bugenhagen*, Wie es vns zu Wittenberg gegangen ist in d. vergangnen Krieg. 1547. 4.

b) *Biek*, p. 266ss. Form sacror. emend. a J. Pflugio proposita, ed. *C. G. Müller*, Lps. 1803.

This *Interim*, which had been composed by Julius von Pflug, with the assistance of Agricola, the court preacher of Brandenburg, and was originally intended by the emperor for the Catholic as well as for the Protestant states, conceded the marriage of the clergy, the use of the cup in the sacrament, and some indefinite constructions of particular doctrines of the Catholic Church. Such concessions were regarded by the emperor as of vital importance, and yet their value was much impaired by the condition that the property of the Church was not to be restored until the terms were agreed upon in an amicable settlement. Only two of the inferior princes ventured openly to oppose this proceeding in the diet itself, and John, Margrave of Brandenburg, with a lofty earnestness and a bitter raillery, avowed his disgust at the noxious compound thus prepared for them. (*c*) In many of the cities of Upper Germany the Interim was carried into effect by violence and threats, but its general execution would have required another war, and one too in direct opposition to the people. Those who had formerly preached the reformed doctrines were now compelled to wander abroad, and in some instances they were persecuted. (*d*) John Frederic, who now displayed a heroic constancy and devotion in his confinement, rejected not only the authority of the Interim, but that of the council also. The answer of Maurice, so far as it related to his subjects was evasive, but he exhorted his states and the divines to concede all that could be given up with a good conscience. It was principally in consequence of this advice that the *Leipsic Interim* was drawn up under the direction of Melanethon, in which every thing decidedly contrary to evangelical doctrine was declined, but the greater part of the Catholic ritual was conceded, on the ground of its being indifferent (Adiaphoron). The power of the pope and of the bishops was to be acknowledged so long as they used it for the edification, and not for the destruction of the Church. (*e*) This form was accepted by many of the states, and was generally executed in the midst of strenuous opposition on the part of many congregations and pastors, and at the expense of the expulsion or imprisonment of the latter. Both Interims, however, were despised by both Catholics and Protestants.

§ 342. *Maurice.* 1552.

Hortleder vol. II. book V. Camerarii Or. in memor. Maur. (*Menken*, Scrr. rer. Germ. vol. II.) *Bartenstein*, de bello Imperatori a Maur. illato. Arg. 1710. 4. *Langenn.* (p. 394.)

The German cities still remained in the possession of the foreign mercenaries, the consciences of the people were disturbed by the operation of the Interim, or were threatened by the action of the general council, to which the Elector of Brandenburg had already professed his submission. (*a*) Germany appeared about to become a mere province of Spain by the accession of the imperial prince Philip, which the emperor now demanded, and the word which the young elector had pledged for the liberation of the land-

c) *Wegener*, Lebensgesch. d. Markg. Johannes v. Br. Brl. 1827. His "Kleiner Catechismus" is given by *Spieker*, p. 380ss.

d) E. g. *Hartmann*, J. Brentz, vol. II. p. 137ss. *Ranke* vol. V. p. 51ss.

e) *Biek*, p. 105ss. 361ss.

a) *Raynald.* ad a. 1551. N. 41s.

grave was entirely disregarded. Maurice perceived that nothing could restore his honor in the estimation of the German people but some bold and decisive step. He therefore resolved that he would achieve the freedom of the empire and of the Church by one bold stroke. A secret treaty was formed by him with Mecklenburg, the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, and the sons of the landgrave, and an alliance was formed, in opposition to the advice of Melancthon, with France, by which he lost the possession of Mentz, Toul, and Verdun. (*b*) An occasion was afforded for the collection of an army by the pretence of executing the decree of outlawry which had been issued against Magdeburg, then the home of Protestant opposition. The suspicions of the emperor were allayed with consummate skill. On the 20th of March, 1552, he left Thuringia, overthrew one after another the garrisons of the emperor in the several cities, and on the 22d of May presented himself before Innspruck. The emperor, though at that time enfeebled by sickness, was obliged to escape by night, and the council fled with precipitation before him. By the courage exhibited in this martial expedition, it was shown that the existing religious innovations could never be put down by force. In July (16. 29), the *treaty of Passau* was formed under the guaranty of the empire, (*c*) by the terms of which the landgrave was set at liberty, the imperial council was to be open to those who professed the new creed, and a diet was promised in a short time for the removal of the grievances with respect to violations of the laws of the empire, and for the settlement of religious differences. Only one clause in these articles, providing for a permanent peace at least for all those who sympathized with the Augsburg Confession, or at all events for all who were not connected with sects condemned by the recess of the imperial diet, was seriously resisted by the emperor. The two illustrious *martyrs* were received by their people with great joy and many tears. Maurice now turned his attention to an expedition against the Turks.

§ 343. *Religious Peace. Sept.* 25, 1555.

I. *Lehmann*, Acta publ. de pace rel. d. i. Reichshandl. u. Protocolle d. RF. Frkf. (1631. 4.) 1707. Suppl. 1709. f.

II. *G. Litzel*, Gesch. d. RF. Frkf. 1755. As to the spirit of the RF. (*Henke's* Mag. vol. III. p. 596ss.) *Ranke* vol. V. p. 276ss.

Maurice, while young and victorious, fell in battle (July 11th, 1553) for the peace of Germany. After numerous hindrances, the promised diet assembled at *Augsburg*. Both parties were now convinced by bitter experience that no peace could be maintained in the empire without mutual forbearance. The imperial council was composed of an equal number of members belonging to the old and to the new faith, all of whom were to take their oath only upon the law of the empire and the word of God. The right to reform the Church was conceded to the *imperial states*, in spite of the continual protests of the papal court in opposition to it, and it was agreed that they should never be oppressed, molested, or contemned on account of the faith, ecclesi-

b) *Hortleder* vol. II. p. 1008ss. *c*) *Hortleder* vol. II. p. 1037ss.

astical usages, or regulations which they had established, or might afterwards establish. It was conceded that the *states of the empire* had a right to reform the Church, although Rome never ceased to protest against it. The only condition conceded to *subjects* was, that when they were oppressed on account of religion, they had the right without obstruction to leave the country. (*a*) With respect to *individual countries* to which the Catholic party were unwilling to concede religious liberty, the King of the Romans promised to see that none of those states which had already professed adherence to the Augsburg Confession should suffer oppression on account of it. But while it was acknowledged that the actual possession of any church or of any ecclesiastical property, whether by spiritual or lay persons at the precise time of the treaty of Passau was valid, the Catholics demanded that all spiritual states of the empire which should subsequently go over to the Augsburg Confession should by that very act forfeit all their offices and possessions. All parties perceived that the very existence of the Catholic Church in Germany depended upon this. This article, which was called the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, because the states could come to no agreement respecting it, was proclaimed by the Roman king as an actual ordinance of the diet, (*b*) and became the germ of future sanguinary contests. The peace was regarded as applicable only to those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg and to the votaries of the old religion, but it was looked upon as absolute until the several parties in religion finally came to an understanding. The emperor Charles took no further part in these negotiations, and was already preparing to lay aside his crown and to withdraw from the world.

IV. Establishment of the Reformed Church until 1564.

§ 344. *The Concordium of Wittenberg. Cont. from* § 335.

The doctrine which had been especially established at Strasburg, affirming a true though a spiritual participation in the body of Christ, appeared to be consistent with all the formulae Luther had used, and could be distinguished from them only by the assertion that such a participation could be enjoyed by none but believers. On the basis of this a plan was formed by Bucer and Capito, by which they hoped to effect a union of the Swiss and the Wittenberg divines. They went personally to Wittenberg, and there suffered their orthodoxy to be severely tested. They finally subscribed a *Concordium* composed by *Melanethon* (May 25, 1536), the phraseology of which was so strictly Lutheran that it could be reconciled with their own faith only by some peculiar and private explanation, (*a*) which sometimes confounded together and sometimes distinguished between the unworthy and the unbelieving. But as Luther did not object to these explanations, the Concordium was accepted by most of the Swiss, and the different parties were

a) *Rudolphi*, de emigr. subditorum et expuls. Erl. 1756. 4.

b) *Frick* (pr. *Haeberlino*), de reservato ecc. ex mente Pacis rel. ejusque effectibus ac fatis. Hlmst. 1755. 4.

a) *Corp. Ref.* vol. III. p. 75ss. *Ebrard* vol. II. p. 382ss. *Nitzsch*, Urkundenb. d. Ev. Union. Bonn. 1853. p. 60s.

regarded as united. (*b*) But Luther was convinced that there was no real union, and as he felt utterly averse to the whole Zwinglian school, and suspected Melancthon himself, (*c*) he once more renewed the controversy in the most violent manner. He was now fast tending to the grave, and he was therefore anxious that his testimony against these fanatics and soul-destroyers might be left unimpaired. (*d*) In this manner the schism between these two great parties of the Reformation was restored. (*e*) There is no apparent foundation for the common report, that in his last days he felt any apprehensions that he had been too violent in his opposition to the people of Zurich. (*f*)

§ 345. *Italian Switzerland.*

J. Sennebier, H. lit. de Génève. Gen. 1786. *Stäudlin* im KHist. Arch. 1824. vol. II. P. II. *Kirchhofer*, Leben Wilh. Farels. Zür. 1831s. 2 vols. *Ch. Schmidt*, Etudes sur Farel. Strasb. 1834. 4. *Ch. Chenevière*, Farel, Froment, Viret Réformateurs religieux. Gen. 1835. *Jaquemot*, Viret, Réformateur de Lausanne. Strasb. 1836. 4. *Ruchat* and *Merle d'Aubigné*. [Hist. of the Ref. in Switz. and France. New York. 1847. 12. (p. 360.) *I. Spon*, Hist. of the City and State of Geneva, &c. coll. from MSS. &c. Lond. 1687. f.]

The reformed faith had been preached after 1527 on the borders of Savoy and France. The people of Geneva regarded the bishops appointed over them by the Dukes of Savoy as the uniform and stanch enemies of their municipal rights. After many severe disturbances, however, the influence of Savoy was finally overthrown by means of an alliance with Berne, the Reformation was triumphantly successful, and Geneva became a member of the Swiss Confederation (1535). After the victory of the people of Berne in the Canton de Vaud, the Reformation triumphed there also, and subsequently to a religious conference at Lausanne (Oct. 1536) was formally introduced. At the head of this religious movement stood *Farel* (d. 1565), a native of Dauphiné. He had been educated in liberal studies, but to only a limited extent, under the instruction of Faber, and had taken part in all the controversies respecting the Reformation in the surrounding country. In word and in deed he may be said to have been an Elias, who, though often in danger of death, overthrew an ecclesiastical system which he regarded as idolatry. In comparison with his style of speaking, the vigorous eloquence of *Viret* had the appearance of only a mild persuasion. The constitution of Geneva, however, still continued unsettled, the morals of the people dissolute, the people themselves uncultivated, and even the higher degrees of education corrupt.

§ 346. *John Calvin. July* 10, 1509–*May* 27, 1564.

I. Epp. et responsa. Gen. 1576. f. Opera. (Gen. 1617. 12 vols. f.) Amst. 1671. (1667.) 9 vols. f. *Calvini, Bezae, Henr.* IV. aliorumque literae quaedam. ed. *Bretschneider*, Lps. 1835. L'hist. de la vie et mort d. J. Calv. par *Theod. de Bèze*, Gen. 1564. 4. 1565. Lat. in the Epp. and often. Epigrams: *Bolsec*, Hist. de la vie de Calv. Par. 1577. and often. Gen. 1835. [Beza's Life of C. transl. by *F. Gibson*, and notes by an Am. Ed. Philad. 1836. 12.]

b) *De Wette* vol. V. p. 83ss. *c*) *Walch* vol. XVII. p. 2529ss. p. 2627ss.

d) Kurzes Bek. v. h. Sacr. Witt. 1544. 4. (*Walch* vol. XX. p. 1001ss.)

e) *Corp. Ref.* vol. V. p. 475.

f) At first in the Responsio ad narrat. Würtemburgensium de colloq. Maulbrun. Hdlb. 1565. On the other side: *K. Ströbel*, die Legende v. Luth. Uebertritt z. Calvinism. (Zeitsch. f. Luth. Theol u. K. 1840. H. 2.)

II. *Bretschneider*, Bildung u. Geist C. u. d. Genfer K. (Ref. Alm. 1821.) *P. Henry*, Leben C. Hamb. 1835. 44. 3 vols. [Life of Calvin, transl. from the Germ. of P. Henry by *H. Stebbing*. Lond. 1852. 2 vols. 8.] *J. A. Mignet*, d. Einf. d. Ref. u. d. Verf. d. Calvinism in Genf. A. d. Fr. v. *Stolz*, Lpz. 1843. [*J. Mackenzie*, Life of C. Lond. 1851. 12. *T. Smyth*, Obss. on the Life and Char. of C. Philad. 1835. 18. Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. III. and VII.]

Calvin (Cauvin) was a native of Noyon in Picardy, and was always ardently attached to France. He was originally educated for the Church, and even when a boy had the charge of a congregation. At a later period he acquired some distinction as a jurist, and finally, under the influence of the Reformation, became a theologian. In consequence of a bold declaration in behalf of the Reformation, which he made through the Rector of Paris, he was obliged to become a fugitive (1533), and published at Basle his Institutes of the Christian Religion, in which his object was to vindicate the Reformation from the aspersions cast upon it in France. This work was even then complete with respect to Christian doctrine, but by subsequent revisions it became the noblest scientific vindication of evangelical Augustinism which has ever been given to the world, and is full of profound religious sentiments in connection with a bold, relentless carrying out of his principles to their utmost logical consequences. (*a*) From the very fact of the absolute omnipotence of God and the absolute dependence of men, he inferred that God had by an eternal decree created some for salvation and others only equally guilty for destruction. With respect to the Lord's Supper, he struck out an intermediate scheme, according to which believers spiritually though really partake of the very body of Christ which was exalted to the right hand of God. His representation of the controversy was mild, and the position which he gave to Luther was far superior to that which he assigned to Zwingle. (*b*) Having wandered for some time without any fixed residence in various parts of Italy and France, Calvin was authoritatively stopped by Farel in the name of God as he was passing through Geneva (1536). As he believed himself by nature too much inclined to tenderness and timidity, he fortified his powerful mind by a faith as severe against others as himself. He gradually became more and more austere toward those who opposed him, and shrunk not from making use of even the most formidable measures against them. (*c*) He was not destitute of profound sensibilities, but he was averse to all earthly enjoyments, indifferent to popular favor, and exercised a complete control over the minds of others by the awe inspired by the simple power of a firm will, and after a three years' banishment (1538ss.) by the terrors of an ecclesiastical discipline. His opponents, the *Libertines*, were partly those who had succeeded the Fraternity of the Free Spirit (Spirituels), and had embraced all the practical consequences of the doctrine of a sole universal Spirit, to whom all things and events were to be ascribed, (*d*) and partly of those who, with various degrees of moral character, were anxious to avoid the heavy yoke of the Reformation. (*e*) By the theocratic power

a) Institutio chr. religionis ad Reg. Franc. Bas. 1536. Argent. 1539. Gen. 1559. f. and oft. den. ed. *Tholuck*, Ber. 1834. 2 P. [Transl. into Engl. 2 vols. 8. Philad. 1841. and often.]

b) De s. Coena. 1545. at first in Fr. 1540. Comp. *Henry* vol. I. p. 270ss.

c) *Henry* vol. II. p. 425ss. 435ss. 439ss.

d) *Calv.* Instructio adv. fanaticam sectam Libertinorum 544.

e) *Henry* vol. I. p. 431ss.

which Calvin established over the state, but which sometimes wavered; by the public interest which he awakened in ecclesiastical affairs, and by the establishment of a representative constitution intimately connected with the civil power, he gave to his ecclesiastical system a strictly regulated freedom. By his published writings, by his personal counsels, by his public services, and by the theologians whom he educated, his influence triumphed over the Zwinglian school, extended itself far beyond the limits of Switzerland, and subjected even the people of Zurich to its power. (*f*) Through his influence Geneva became a republic, firmly established, governed by an oligarchy, pervaded by an ecclesiastical spirit, and renowned in the history of the world. Thither resorted all who during that age were persecuted for their faith, and it became the acknowledged centre of a *Reformed Church*. (*g*) His work was faithfully carried out by *Theodore Beza* (1519–1605), who had risen to maturity in the most brilliant circumstances in France, and as a promising Humanist had like Abelard enjoyed at one period the highest pleasures of science and of social life, but had at last found safety in the Reformed Church. He there became the faithful colleague of Calvin, but he was more beloved. With his reformatory views he combined his former humanistic culture, (*h*) and finally attained an extensive literary and ecclesiastical influence, which made him the patriarch of the Reformation to the succeeding generation. (*i*)

CHAP. II.—ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROTESTANT ORTHODOXY.

I. Lutheranism.

Schlüsselburg, Catalogi Haereticor. Frcf. 1597–9. 13 l. (7 vols.) *J. Musaei* Praell. in Epit. F. Conc. Jen. 1701. 4. *Löscher*, (§ 335.) fortges. v. *Kiesling*, (till 1601.) Schwab. 1770. 4. *J. G. Walch*, hist. u. theol. Einl. in d. R. Streitigkeiten. 2 ed. Jen. 1773. 3 vols. *Planck*: prot. Lehrbeg. 4-6 vols. and Gesch. d. prot. Th. v. d. Concordienf. b. Mitte d. 18. Jahrh. Gött. 1831. *H. Heppe*, Gesch. d. deutschen Protest. 1555–81. Marb. 1852s. (till 1574.) 2 vols.

§ 347. *Antinomian and Osiandrian Controversies.*

I. *Walch* vol. XX. p. 2014ss. *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 915ss. *Ratzberger*, p. 96ss. *Förstemann*, neues Urkundenb. vol. I. p. 291ss.—*C. L. Nitzsch*, de antinomismo Agr. 2 Pgg. Vit. 1804. 4. (De diser. revelat. Vit. 1831. Fsc. II. N. 9s.) *A. Wenetzer*, de antin. Agr. Strals. 1829. 4. *K. J. Nitzsch*, ü. Gesetz u. Ev. (Deutsche Zeitschr. 1851. N. 10.) *E. Elwert*, de antinomia Agr. Tur. 1837.—*B. Kordes*, Agr. Schrr. möglichst. vollständig verzeichnet. Altona. 1817.

II. Acta Osiandristica. Königsb. 1553. 4. *F. Funccii*, wahrh. Bericht, wie d. Spalt. v. d. Gerechtigk. d. Gl. sich im L. Preussen erhoben. Koen. 1553. 4. *J. Moerlin*, Hist. d. Os. Schwermerey. (Bruschw. 1554.) 4.—*Hartknoch*, Preuss. KGesch. Frkf. 1686. 4. p. 309ss. *F. C. Baur*, Inq. in Os. de justif. doctr. Tub. 1831. 4. *J. C. Lehnerdt*, de Os. vita et doctr. Ber. 1835. *Ibid.* Cmtt. de Os. 1835ss. 4 Pgg. *H. Wilken*, Os. Leben, Lehre u. Schrr. Abth. 1. Strals. 1844. 4.

Luther's fundamental doctrine of justification by faith *alone* was quite as much opposed to moral levity as to ascetic self-torture. It caused the mind to

f) Consensus Tigurinus. 1549. *Niemeyer*, Col. Conf. p. 191ss. cf. XLIss. Comp. *Hundeshagen*, d. Conflicte d. Zwinglianismus, Lutherth. u. Calvinism in d. Bernischen Landesk. Bern. 1842.

g) *Henke*, 12 Beil. zu Villers.

h) E. g. *Beza*, Icones, i. e. imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustr. Gen. 1850. 4.

i) *Fujus*, de vita et obitu Th. B. Gen. 1606.—*Schlosser*, Leben des Th. de Beza u. P. Martyr. Hdlb. 1809. *J. W. Baum*, Th. Beza. Lpz. 1843–51. 2 vols.

penetrate deeper into its own nature, and conveyed in itself the highest moral earnestness and the most cheerful energy of a new life in Christ. By its very nature, however, it was liable to be misunderstood by its friends as well as its enemies. *Agricola* of Eisleben, after 1536 a professor at Wittenberg, and after 1540 a court preacher in Berlin (d. 1566), contended, in opposition to Melancthon in 1527, and to Luther in 1537, that in the sphere of Christianity the law of God had no place, and hence that the gospel, which killed as well as quickened, should be the only theme of preaching. (*a*) He had reference to the Catholic doctrine of justification by works, and to the Mosaic law, which he confounded with the moral law, while Luther had reference to the law expressed in the Decalogue, and in the conscience as a perpetual schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. Agricola was probably influenced by an idle vanity as well as by this obscurity of views, but with all his talents, his cheerfulness and popularity, he humbled himself (*b*) when in an independent position before even the unjust reproaches of Luther, who contended that such an onset upon the divine law was dangerous to all moral seriousness. (*c*) In this controversy, however, was involved the deeper principle, that man still possessed sufficient moral goodness to apprehend what is best for him out of love to Christ, without the fear of the law or of hell. In this we may discover its affinity with various disputes respecting human works and divine co-operation, which have been several times renewed since 1556, but always with the same obscurity of views.—To guard against the dangerous error that Christ's merits merely cover our sinful nature, and are imputed to the believer in an external way, Andreas *Osiander*, the reformer of Nuremburg, and a man remarkable for his Scriptural knowledge, maintained that Christ becomes our righteousness in his divine nature and by dwelling essentially in the believer, and in general, that if man had never fallen, the incarnation would still have taken place to complete the divine image in human nature. (*d*) He even succeeded in producing some kindred expressions of Luther, which had been written in the spirit of the old mysticism, (*e*) and Luther, who was aware of his morbid sensibility, declined any controversy with him. (*f*) But when he was by the operation of the Interim driven from Nuremburg, and was placed by his friend Albert, Duke of Brandenburg, at the head of ecclesiastical affairs in Prussia; above all when he proclaimed his doctrine in its boldest contrast with the theological sentiments of Luther and the other reformers, in which justification was always represented as a judicial sentence of God with respect to the believer, (*g*) nearly every Lutheran divine denounced his position as a relapse to the Catholic amalgamation of divine grace with human merit. In Prussia, Osiander triumphed by driving his opponents into banishment. After his death (1552),

a) 18 Positiones. (*Förstemann* vol. 1. p. 313ss.)

b) *Förstemann* vol. I. p. 349.

c) 6 Disputationes. 1538. 40. (Luth. Opp. Jen. vol. I. p. 517ss.)

d) *Heberle*, Os. Lehre in ihrer frühesten Gestalt. (Stud. u. Krit. 1844. II. 2.)

e) Etliche schöne Sprüche v. d. Rechtf. d. Gl. d. Ehrw. Luther, verdolmetscht v. Osiand. Kön. 1551. 4. *f*) *De Wette* vol. IV. p. 486.

g) Disputt. II. una de lege et evang., altera de justif. Reg. 1550. 4. Von d. einigen Mittler u. Rechtf. Bekenntnuss. Kön. 1551. 4.

his son-in-law *Funck*, at the head of a party, sought and obtained reconciliation with those who belonged to Melancthon's school. But as all invasions of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical constitution were imputed to him who controlled the duke's conscience, a political party favored by the Polish feudal sovereign, combined with his theological enemies against him. The controversy was terminated by the execution of Funck (1566), and the condemnation of Osiander's doctrines as an essential heresy. (*h*)

§ 348. *Lutherans and Philippists. General Affairs.*

The controversy respecting the Lord's Supper had given to the Reformation a tendency toward the letter of the creeds. Luther had foreseen that this would become a pernicious source of theological quarrels, and yet he was among the first to commence them. Melancthon was the personal friend of Calvin, on whose breast he had often reclined his weary head. (*a*) A conciliatory impression had also been made upon Luther's mind by Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and both of these reformers had a high esteem for one another. (*b*) But in the exasperation which Luther felt in his last days toward the divines of Zurich, all who would not recognize the natural body of Christ in the sacred Supper were looked upon as belonging to the same general batch. In the later editions of the Confession of Augsburg, Melancthon unconsciously made some alterations in accordance with his own gradual development. These were confined principally to the tenth article, in which every thing inconsistent with the views prevalent in Upper Germany was obliterated. This "explanatory, and in some respects enlarged Confession" of 1540, (*c*) which even Calvin subscribed as the deputy from Strasbourg, became henceforth the general banner of the Reformation. Without noticing any essential change, men generally regarded it in the same light as the original confession, until an express ratification of it was called for at an assembly of princes at *Naumburg* in 1561. Here a declaration in favor of the *unchanged* Confession of Augsburg met with opposition from the Duke of Saxony, and gave occasion to the reproach that internal divisions prevailed among the Protestants. A new generation of princes therefore united together and put their seals to the old confession. (*d*) Although the path into which Melancthon was led by Luther was more elevated than what he would have followed if he had been left to himself, it was in some respects also uncongenial with his peculiar temperament. But even during Luther's last years, when he frequently expected to be sent from the University, and sometimes felt himself subjected by Luther's stubborn and imperious spirit to a rather dishonorable servitude, (*e*) he was actually exerting a supreme author

h) Historie v. Funk ex actis publ. (Acta Borussica. Kön. 1732. vol. III. p. 217. 311. 471ss.)—Corpus doctr. Prutenicum. 1567.

a) *Henry*, Calv. vol. I. p. 244ss. 368. 375.

b) *C. H. Pezel*, Erzähl. v. Sacramentstr. Brem. 1600. p. 137ss. What has been cited in *Henry*, Calv. vol. I. p. 265ss. and in *Ebrard*, Abendm. vol. II. p. 474ss. is more to be relied upon.

c) Libri Symb. s. Concordia. ed. *Hase*, ed. 3. p. IX. XIIss.

d) *G. P. Hoenn*, d. v. d. ev. Ständen zu Naumb. geh. Convents. Frkf. 1704. *J. H. Gelbke*, d. Fürstentag zu N. Lps. 1793. *Heppe* vol. I. p. 364ss.

e) *Corp. Ref.* vol. V. p. 474. 476s. 498.—vol. VI. p. 880.

ity at Wittenberg. The hearts of these excellent men, however, always affectionately returned to each other. (*f*) When the storm of war had passed away, the University was re-established under the auspices of Melancthon, and the system of doctrines which he had formed, referring every thing to man's moral and religious wants, was generally adopted. But so deep was the impression which Luther had left upon the spirit of the age, that many could find salvation only in the words and forms which he had sanctioned. Hence, when Melancthon was induced by his attachment to the new elector, and sometimes by his forgetfulness of his relations to the world at large in his extreme love of literary tranquillity, to seek for an easy method of establishing peace with the ancient Church by means of the Interim, Flacius resigned his professorship at Wittenberg (1548), and in Magdeburg invoked the spirit of Luther against Melancthon's perfidy to the Church. This proscribed city was then an asylum for those divines who felt oppressed by the weight of Melancthon's authority, and who entertained apprehensions for the purity of the Lutheran faith. Even when the adiaphoristic controversy had lost all practical importance, its agitation still lingered in the discussion of the question whether any but indifferent points were surrendered in the Interim, and whether even indifferent things may be surrendered to the enemies of the gospel. (*g*) To maintain an intellectual contest with the new electoral house and with Wittenberg, then suspected of being possessed by a Calvinistic devil, and to constitute a fortress for genuine Lutheranism in general, the University of Jena, with a charter from the emperor and the blessing of heaven, was founded (1548–58) by the sons of John Frederic, who in troublous times confided in the future. (*h*) Filled with anxieties for the harmony of the Church, Melancthon was finally delivered from this sophistic *saeculum*, and from the wrath of the theologians (April 19, 1560).

§ 349. *Synergistic Controversy.*

Luther opposed to the requirement of merely external works made by the Roman Church, and to the Pelagian notion of the merit of human acts, the doctrine that good works were not indispensable to salvation. To prevent the abuse which might be made of this assertion, *Melancthon* asserted in his revised Confession of 1535, that good works were truly necessary, but in no respect meritorious. Such an expression had been disapproved of by Luther, and when it was afterwards incorporated in the Interim, it was capable of an interpretation favorable to the necessity of good works in the Catholic sense. Hence, in opposition at first to *Major*, who used it to sup-

f) Luther in the Praef. to the 1st vol. of the Witt. Opp. and in his last Letters, Mel. in his Testament of 1540. (*Corp. Ref.* vol. III. p. 825.) and in his Funeral Disc.

g) Wieder d. schnöden Teufel, d. i. wider des Interim durch Carolum Azariam. 1549. 4. *Flacii* Serr. c. Interim et adiaphora edita. Magdb. 1550. Comp. Bick and Schmid. (§ 341.)—On Luther's side: *Ratzeberger*, Hist. arcana, given by Arnold in his KGesch., and last by Strobel, Altd. 1774, a falsification of the genuine work of the Physician to the Elector of Saxony. On the Philippist side: *J. Major*, Synodus avium. (Scripta publ. Acad. Witt. vol. III. Epit. by *C. E. Schwarz*, in Zeitsch.) f. unirte K. 1835. N. 18.

h) Melancth. Briefw. ü. d. Gründung d. Univ. Jena, zusammengest. v. *H. Weissenborn*, Jena. 1848.

port the Interim, *Amsdorf* maintained that justification by mere grace was in this way denied, and as long as the nature of good works, and the kind of connection which they must necessarily have to salvation, was not defined, he succeeded in proving with Paul that good works were pernicious to salvation, (*a*) just as he afterwards asserts the same thing of human learning. (*b*) This obscurity of thought and bitterness of feeling was only increased at a religious conference at *Altenburg* (1568). (*c*) *Luther* had at one time boasted much of the absolute omnipotence of God, and did not shrink from absolute predestination as the necessary inference from the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. But *Melanethon*, that he might avoid at the same time the terrors of this doctrine and those of Pelagianism, began to maintain in 1535, in more and more decided terms, that in conversion the will of man consented and conspired with the grace of God. Luther had been silent upon this subject, for his own heart was a witness to him against his system, and in behalf of the universality of divine mercy. In the Interim, this *Synergism* was incorporated as a concession to the Catholic Semi-Pelagianism. A work having been published at Leipsic by *Pfeffinger* in favor of this synergistic doctrine, Amsdorf publicly opposed it. (*d*) The professors at Wittenberg were obliged to defend Pfeffinger's party. On the other hand, those at Jena, led on by *Flacius*, took up the controversy and endeavored to prove that the natural man could never co-operate with the divine influence in the heart, but was always in opposition to it. In accordance with the sentiments of this party, a confutation of all the heresies which then survived, and especially of Synergism, was sent forth for the acceptance of the evangelical states, with the authority of the ducal court. (*e*) But even at Jena there was a party favorable to this Synergism, and *Victorine Strigelius*, its leader, was violently thrown into prison. (*f*) By various solicitations, however, the court was induced to allow a disputation to be held at *Weimar* between Strigelius and Flacius (1560). (*g*) In opposition to the inquisitorial tribunal of Flacius at Jena, a ducal consistory was established at Weimar, to which was committed the censorship of the press and the exclusive right of excommunication. When the party of Flacius in the name of Christ complained of this subjugation of the Church, demanded that the liberty of the press as a divine right should be restored, and in their appeals to the people opposed with increasing violence this papacy of the princes, (*h*) they were banished from

a) Dass die Propositio: gute Werke sind z. Seligk. schädlich, eine rechte chr. Prop. sei, durch d. h. Paullum u. Lutherum gepredigt. Without place. 1559. 4.

b) Wie christlich u. treulich Hesshus. m. d. H. Schrift u. mir handelt. Magdeb. 1564. 4.

c) Acta colloquii Altenb. Lps. 1570. f.—*Löber*, ad H. coll. Altenb. animadvv. Alt. 1776. 4. *Majoris* Opp. 1569. 3 vols. f. with autobiog. in the 1st vol.

d) *Pfeffinger*, Propos. de lib. arbitrio. Lps. 1556. *Amsdorf*, öffentl. Bek. d. reinen L. d. Ev. u. Confutatio d. jetzigen Schwärmer. Jen. 1558.

e) Solida ex verbo Dei sumta *confutatio* et condemnatio praecip. corruptelarum, sectarum et errorum. Jen. 1559. 4. (Corpus doct. Thuring.)

f) *H. Erdmann* (Pr. *J. Gerhardo*) de Strigelianismo. Jen. 1658. Han. 1675. 4. *Merz*, (Pr. *Weismanno*) H. vitae et controv. Strig. Tub. 1732. 4. *J. C. T. Otto*, de Strig. liberioris mentis in Ecc. luth. vindice. Jen. 1843.

g) (*Sim. Musaeus*) Disp. inter Flac. et Vict. Vinariae habita. Brem. 1563. 4. (Unsch. Nach. 1740. p. 383.) (*Flacius*) Erzähl. wie d. Streit Victorini endlich geschlichtet worden. Without place. 1563. 4.

h) Resp. pro prelorum libertate. Jen. 1561. and others.—*Salig* vol. III. p. 630ss. *Planck* vol. IV. p. 612ss.

the country (Dec. 1561), and the theological faculty was filled by the advice of the party at Wittenberg. But when the unfortunate Duke John Frederic was overthrown (1567), the opponents of the school of Melanethon were once more triumphant. The friends of Flacius were recalled, though he himself remained in exile. In the disputation which he had held in Weimar, he had been urged to the assertion that original sin was the very essence of man. But when he attempted to establish this extravagant assertion, which was at the time but slightly considered, and as an indefinite expression of feeling was by no means unprecedented, it was supposed to imply that either God was the author of sin, or that man was created by the devil. Hence even the former friends of Flacius became his bitter opponents. (*i*) Avoided as this man seems to have been by the society of his day, he was the intimate friend of Luther, and possessed the very spirit of a Gregory. He opened the path to every kind of knowledge then regarded as indispensable to Protestant science, but expended his talents upon the smallest trifles and the most useless controversies, and died at last in extreme poverty. (*k*)

§ 350. *Crypto-Calvinism. Cont. from* § 344.

Löscher and others, before § 335.—*Peuceri* Hist. carcerum et liberationis div. ed. *Pezel*, Tig. 1605.—*Frimel*, Witteberga a Calv. divexata et divinitus liberata d. i. Ver. wie der sacram. Teufel in Sachsenland eingedrungen. Witt. 1646. 4.— *Walch*, Bibl. Theol. vol. II. p. 588ss. *Eichstadii* Nar. de C Peuc. Jen. 1841. 4. *E. A. H. Heimburg*, de C. Peuc. Jen. 1841.

Although by continual conflicts with himself, Melanethon finally succeeded in believing that the actual body of Christ was present in the Lord's Supper, (*a*) he decidedly refused all fellowship with Zwingle's imaginary Christ. (*b*) By the suggestion at first of Bucer (1534), he regarded it as sufficient to believe that the whole Christ was present, and was imparted in the sacred ordinance, and yet he did not hesitate to call this, in the language ordinarily used in the Roman Church, a communication of the flesh and blood of Christ. (*c*) He accordingly maintained fellowship with the divines of Zurich, (*d*) even when Luther had once more renounced it; and as he was convinced that neither Luther's nor Calvin's doctrine of the sacrament was an insuperable bar to a saving communion with Christ, he thought he might comply with the suggestions of his own timidity and inclination, and allow both of them to continue in the Church. Hence, when Westphal of Hamburg furiously assailed Calvin with the assertion that the real incarnate body of Christ was present in the bread,—when he saw the noble John of *Laski*, who believed not only in the symbol but in the mystery of the sacrament, with his foreign congregation, driven from England, and refused an asylum in all parts of Protestant Germany as robbers, poisoners, and martyrs of the devil,—and when Calvin himself solemnly agreed with the Confession of Augs-

i) Literary history in *Walch*, Bibl. Theol. vol. II. p. 597ss.

k) *C. Heldelin*, chr. Predigt ü. d. Leiche Hn. Fl. Martyrers J. Ch. Frkf. 1575. 4.—*C. H. Löher*, (Pr. *J. Gerhardo*) de Flacianismo. Jen. 1658. 4. *J. B. Ritter*, Fl. Leben u. Tod. Frkf. u. Lps. (1723.) 1725. *E. A. H. Heimburg*, de Fl. Illyr. Jen. 1842. *Twesten*, Fl. Illyr. mit. Beil. v. *H. Rossel*, Brl. 1844. *E. Schmid*, Fl. Erbs. Streit. hist. lit. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1849. II. 1s.)

a) *Corp. Ref.* vol. I. p. 1106. *b*) *Ibid.* p. 1066. 1068. 1070. 1077. 1084.

c) *Ibid.* vol. III. p. 514.—vol. IX. p. 499. *d*) *Ibid.* vol. V. p. 342s.

burg as it was explained by its own author, (*e*) Melancthon avoided a distinct declaration of his sentiments on this subject; (*f*) and it was not until the doctrine of the omnipresence of Christ's body (ubiquity), which had been hastily mentioned by Luther, was proposed as the only saving basis of the Holy Supper, and made by Brentz the law of the Church in Würtemberg, (*g*) that he expressed his disapprobation that such novel articles in such provincial Latin should be introduced into the symbols of faith. (*h*) But the theological school which he left behind him thought that salvation could be obtained only in a Calvinistic sacrament, and was opposed to another which looked upon Calvinism as only a bridge to Mohammedanism, and supposed that their eternal salvation might be eaten, and that a personal violence was inflicted upon the God-man when the consecrated bread or wine was accidentally injured. (*i*) Those belonging to the former school were sufficiently numerous in Electoral Saxony to form a powerful party in the court under the direction of *Peucer*, a learned physician and a member of the elector's privy council. The effects of this controversy in Lower Saxony and in the Rhenish Palatinate were perceptible not merely in the theological schism which it produced there, but in all ecclesiastical and political relations. The Elector Augustus avowed his faith in Luther's sentiments, even when he knew not precisely what they were. The Philippists therefore found it necessary to preserve the semblance of Lutheran orthodoxy, that they might avoid the complaints of their opponents. Through their influence the elector was induced to bestow legal authority upon a collection of Melancthon's writings, (*k*) and as soon as he had attained a guardian power over Jena, to expel the zealots Wigand and Hesshusius from their professorships and from his territories (1573). In an anonymous pamphlet, which appeared without the co-operation but with the recommendation of the Philippist professors, Melancthon's doctrine of the Lord's Supper was shown to be the only true one, the various views of the Lutherans were opposed as papistic, and the remarkable prosperity which was visible in the Reformed churches in and around Germany was pointed out as an evidence of the divine favor and agreement with them. (*l*) The suspicions of the elector were awakened by the denunciations of the princes on account of this book, and some intercepted letters showed that the object of the Philippists was to draw him over to the Calvinistic faith. The reward which the divines received for this proceeding, was the banishment or imprisonment of themselves and all who favored them at court. Prayers were offered up in all the Saxon churches for the extermination of the Calvinistic heresy, and a medal was struck in commemoration of this triumph of Christ over human reason and the devil.

e) Hist. and Lit. in *Ebrard*, Abendm. vol. II. p. 532ss.

f) *Corp. Ref.* vol. VIII. p. 362. vol. IX. p. 374.

g) Confessio et doctr. in Duc. Wirt. de vera praesentia corp. J. C. (Acta publ. Ecc. Wirt. ed. *Pfaff*, Tub. 1720. 4. p. 334s.) *Brenz* de personali unione, duarum natur. in Ch. 1661. 4.

h) *Corp. Ref.* vol. IX. p. 1034. Opinions in Fred. III.: Judicium de C. Dom. Heidelb. 1560.

i) Comp. *Heppe*, Protest. vol. II. p. 385s. *Spieker*, Joh. Musculus. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1849. H. 3.)

k) Corp. doctr. Philippicum s. Misnicum. Lps. 1560. f. and often.

l) Exegesis perspicua et ferme integra controversiae de s. coena. Without place or year. (Ed. by the publisher Vögelein at Leips. 1574. with the marks of a Genevan printer, but composed by the Silesian physician Joachim *Curaeus*, a pupil of Melancthon.) Comp. *Heppe* vol. II. p. 403. 467ss.

§ 351. *Efforts at Concord.*

Hospiniani Conc. discors. Tig. 1607. Gen. 1678. f. *Hutteri*, Conc. concors. Vit. 1614. f. Lps. 1690. 4. *Anton*, Gesch. d. C. F. Lps. 1779. 2 vols.

The Lutherans were now victorious, but it was no very difficult thing for their opponents to recover themselves. In the form of the Eucharist which had been forced upon the churches, the sentiments of Melancthon were represented as identical with those of Luther, (*a*) and the spirit of Melancthon still reigned in the churches of other countries. The shame which many felt on account of these internal dissensions, was increased by the reproach of the Catholics. But the only way by which the dogmatic spirit of that age could think of attaining unanimity, was by a confession of faith constructed on the most scientific principles, and deciding by the highest authority the controversies then agitating the Church, and all others of inferior importance. Jacob *Andreae*, the indefatigable and pliant but tenacious chancellor of Tubingen, endeavored to obtain the honor of completing the Reformation by composing such a work. In the accomplishment of his purpose he turned his attention especially to the princes of the several countries. (*b*) He was, however, repelled by both Lutherans and Philippists, until, after the overthrow of the latter, the Elector Augustus became a leader in the affair. After various assemblies of clergymen, much preparation (*c*) and many corrections, a number of distinguished divines were convened from the established churches of different provinces in a monastery at Berg. In the last revision, performed entirely by Andreae, with the assistance of Selnecker and Chemnitz, who had been educated under Philippistic influences, every thing which looked like Philippism was stricken out. (*d*) In this manner, with the utmost caution and fear of exaggeration, the *Form of Concord* was completed on the 28th of May, 1577. The Scriptures are recognized in it as the only rule of faith, but their entire agreement with Luther is presupposed. Not only should the gospel be preached as the only means of salvation, but the law should be proclaimed as a terror to evil-doers, for the discovery of sin, and for the discipline and instruction of believers. It concedes that there are indifferent things (Adiaphora) in religion, but it contends that in times of persecution even they may be connected with important consequences. An appropriate distinction is drawn between justification by faith alone and the subsequent gradual sanctification. Good works are not represented as indispensable to salvation, but as the necessary consequences of true faith. All co-operation on the part of man in the work of moral improvement is denied, but the Augustinian doctrine of original sin is set forth after a rejection of the offensive errors of Flacius, in immediate connection with that of the universality of divine grace, with no attempt to

a) Articles of Torgau: Kurz Bek. u. Art. v. h. Abendm. Witt. 1574. 4.

b) *Jo. Val. Andreae*, Fama Andreana reflorescens. Arg. 1670. 12. *Le Bret*, de J. A. vita et missionibus pro reformanda Ecc. Luth. Tub. 1799. 4. *J. C. G. Johannsen*, J. A. concordist. Thätigk. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1853. H. 3.)

c) Schwäbisch-sächs. Concordie. (Acta et scr. Ecc. Würt. p. 881ss.) Maulbr. Formel, Torgisches Buch (ed. by *Semler*, Hal. 1760.) *J. H. Balthasar*, Hist. d. Torg. B. Greifsw. 1741–4. 6th pt.

d) *Chytraei* Epp. Hannov. 1614. p. 417. Torg. Buch, *Semler*, p. 788ss.—*G. Queck*, de Mart. Chemnitio. Jen. 1845.

reconcile their apparent inconsistency. Calvin's hideous doctrines of the Eucharist and of Predestination are condemned, and the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, involving the omnipresence of Christ's body by virtue of a mutual communication of the attributes of his two natures from the time of his conception, was sustained. A general synod for deciding upon the new creed had been promised, but it was now looked upon as dangerous, and was finally avoided. The Form of Concord was adopted by the imperial Diet, and all who held office in the several schools or churches under it were required to subscribe it. (*e*) It was, however, rejected by Hesse, Nassau, Anhalt, (*f*) Pomerania, Holstein, (*g*) Bremen, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and others, on the ground that in some respects it was too rigid, especially when it separated two much-beloved heroes, by canonizing the one and making the very name of the other offensive, and yet many pastors despised it because they regarded it as too lenient and too fluctuating in its meaning. (*h*) Its original object was therefore never completely attained, and it became to the Calvinists and the Catholics a convenient object of ridicule, under the title of the Form of Discord. Even Julius, Duke of Brunswick, had taken a deep interest in this affair through Chemnitz, whose administration was characterized by so many prelatical tendencies, and through his own treasurer. But his secular and his religious interests were not quite identical, and he felt himself painfully wounded by some of the friends of the Form of Concord. He therefore withdrew from the support of that Confession, and neither in Helmstadt nor in any part of Brunswick could it stand by its own power. (*i*) But besides this Form of Concord, other pieces were agreed upon that they might together constitute a general code of ecclesiastical faith, viz.: The œcumenical symbols of the ancient Church, the original unchanged Confession of Augsburg together with the Apology, the Articles of Smalkald, and Luther's Catechisms. This *Book of Concord*, with a preface, and subscribed with the names of as many of the imperial states as were of the same mind, was sent forth in the German language from Dresden on June 25, 1580, and ever since in its isolation has constituted the *magna charta* of German Lutheranism.

§ 352. *Reaction of Saxon Calvinism.*

Beschr. d. calv. Rotte, die sich in Sachsen eingeschlichen. Jena. 1591. Samml. vermischt. Nachrr. z. sächs. Gesch. Chemn. 1767ss. vol. IV. V. *Kiesling*, (before § 347.)

The Philippists in Electoral Saxony were neither annihilated nor convinced that they were wrong, and it is therefore not surprising that they soon obtained another brief victory by means of the same arbitrary princely power which had overthrown them. *Christian I.* (after 1586) was induced by his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, to attempt a compromise with them.

e) Comp. *Johannsen*, d. Unterschr. d. C. F. in Sachsen. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1847. H. 1.)

f) *Johannsen*, d. freie Protestantism. im Fürst. Anhalt. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1846. H. 2.)

g) *Ibid.* Schlesw. Holst. Stellung z. C. F. im 16. Jhh. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. H. 4.)

h) E. g. comp. *J. Wiggers*, KGesch. Mecklenb. Parchim. 1840. p. 170ss.

i) *E. L. T. Henke*, d. Univ. Helmst. Hal. 1833. p. 12ss. *C. G. H. Lentz*, d. C. F. im Herzogt. Braunschw. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1848. H. 2.)

His chancellor, Nicholas Crell, who then directed public affairs without the counsel of the nobles, and wished to be called neither a Lutheran nor a Calvinist, managed in such a way as gradually to effect a union with the Reformed Church. All controversial quarrels in the pulpit were forbidden, the principal offices in the parishes and in the schools were filled with Philippists, exorcism in baptism was abolished in spite of the murmurs of the people, no more subscriptions to the Book of Concord were obtained, and an edition of the Bible was commenced with comments in the spirit of Melanethon. In the midst of these proceedings, however, the young prince died (1591), and no sooner was Duke Frederic William I., the guardian of his successor, established in the regency, than rigid Lutheranism was again restored. *Articles of Visitation*, expressing the most decided opposition to Calvinism and the doctrine of predestination, were proclaimed (1592), and all officers in Church and state were required to adopt them under oath. (*a*) A spirit of revenge induced the nobles to offer their swords as instruments of the rage of the divines, and after an imprisonment of ten years, Crell was beheaded for high treason. (*b*)

§ 353. *Spirit and Result of the Doctrinal Controversy.*

During these theological controversies, the idea became generally prevalent that the principal fruit of the Reformation was a clearly defined system of doctrines, for the purity of which every pastor and congregation felt responsible to God. Every other feeling and right was obliged either to yield to this, or to identify itself with it. Undismayed by misfortunes, and hurling his treatises, sermons, and excommunications against his enemies at home and abroad, Tileman *Heshusius* was seven times deposed from eminent stations in the Church, and exiled from his country. But the literal sense for which he zealously contended was finally turned against himself. Wigand, who had been his companion in controversy and excommunication for Christ's sake, and was now like him, and by his assistance a Prussian bishop, denounced him as a heretic, and overthrew him on account of a subtle scholastic formula. He, however, still maintained a calm and dignified consciousness that he was struggling in the service of his Lord, and in his last will expressed no regret, except that he had not punished sinners with greater severity, and had not contended against factious persons with an intenser zeal (d. 1588). (*a*) *Kepler* (d. 1631), who, while listening to the harmonies of the universe, investigated the laws of the planetary motions that he might with devout joy make known to others the miracles of divine wisdom, and would rather starve than apostatize from the Confession of Augsburg, was driven from the Lord's fold as an unsound sheep, because he would not subscribe the articles in which the Calvinists were condemned, and doubted whether the body of Christ was truly omnipresent. His mother also died in fetters under the accusation of

a) Libri Symb. 3 ed. by *Hase*, p. CXXVIIss. 857ss.

b) *Blume*, Leichenpr. ü. d. custodirten u. enthaupteten Dr. N. Cr. Lps. 1601. 4. His controv. writings in *Walch* vol. II. p. 594.—*Engelcken*, d. N. Cr. Rost. 1724. 4. *H. G. Hasse*, d. Bedeut. d. Crell'schen Processes, a. archiv. Beitrr. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1848. II. 2.)—Chr. Gundermans zu Leipzig Klage Pein u. Bekentdnis. (satyr. Gedicht.) 1592. 4.

a) *J. G. Leuckfeld*, Hist. Heshusiana. Quedlinb. 1716. 4.

being a witch. (*b*) The opposition to the Form of Concord gradually disappeared when its most decided opponents went over to the Reformed Church, but the schism between the two churches became permanent, in consequence of the food which was then so plentifully supplied to the religious passions of the people. The writings of Chemnitz and Hutter, composed in the spirit of the strictest Lutheranism, were then generally esteemed, and supplied the place formerly occupied by the theological works of Melancthon. (*c*) Their ascendency was also sustained by the independent authority of the literature of that period. *John Gerhard* (d. at Jena, 1637) attained the dignity of a Protestant ecclesiastical Father, in consequence of a happy combination of polemic learning and quiet devotion. The sphere of his literary and official activity was very extensive, and when almost every thing seemed to be in ruins around him, his talents were devoted to the work of preserving and authenticating what he esteemed useful and true. (*d*) But the youthful energies of Protestantism were much impaired even in the midst of its victories by these controversies, and Melancthon's condemnation as a heretic was felt to be a dark shadow upon the original principles and type of the Reformation.

II. Calvinism.

Löscher, (§ 335.) *J. G. Walch*, hist. u. theol. Einl. in d. Streitig. sonderlich ausser d. luth. K. 3 ed. Jen. 1733ss. 5 vols. *Heppe*, (before § 347.) [*Merle d'Aubigné*, Spirit of the Ref. Church, Miscell. Writings. New York. 1846. p. 245ss.]

§ 354. *German Reformed Church.*

After the violent rejection of Philippism, a German Reformed Church sprung up in the midst of the established churches where it had prevailed, by the side of the Reformed Church of Switzerland. Although it originally did not expressly adopt the doctrine of predestination, and never received the peculiar stamp of Calvin's character, it wore a Calvinistic aspect, in consequence of its special fellowship with Calvinistic churches, and its reception of a large number of Calvinistic refugees, through whom its institutions became based upon the exclusive authority of the Scriptures. (*a*) In the *Palatinate*, where the Reformation received its original character also from the influence of Melancthon, the sovereignty was exercised by *Frederic III*, who desired in the Eucharist to partake of nothing but an entire Christ, with all his benefits. After the disorders excited by Heshusius' efforts to establish Lutheranism, he deposed every clergyman (Aug. 1560) who would not accommodate his views to those of Melancthon (§ 350. nt. *h.*), and after the diet of princes at Naumburg he still adhered to the amended Confession of Augsburg, and

b) *J. v. Breitschwert*, Joh. Keppler's Leben u. Wirken. Stuttg. 1831. Comp. *Tholuck*, verm. Schrr. vol. II. p. 384ss. [Life of Keppler, in Lib. of Us. Know. Lond. 1833.]

c) Hutterus redivivus, by *K. Hase*, 7 ed. Lps. 1848. p. 38s.

d) Meditationes sacrae, 1606. 12. and often. Uebers. v. *H. A. Schmidt*, Brl. (1827.) 1837. Loci th. Jen. 1610–22. 9 vols. 4. deu. ed. *Cotta*, Tub. 1762ss. 20 vols. 4. Methodus studii th. Jen. 1617. ed. 4. 1654. Schola pietatis d. i. chr. Unterrichtung, was vor Ursachen z. Gottseel. bewegen sollen. Jena. 1623. 6 ed. Nürnb. 1663. Confessio cath. Jen. 1633–7. 4 vols. 4. Frcf. 1679. f. Dispp. quibus dogmm. Calvinianor. expenduntur. Jen. 1638. 4.—*E. J Fischer*, Vita J. G. Lps. 1723. Hist ecc. p. XVII. in vita J. G. illustr. Lps. 1727.

a) *Heppe*, d. Charakter d. deutsch.-Ref. K. u. d. Verh. drs. z. Lutherth. u. Calv. (Stud. u. Krit. 1850. II. 3.)

introduced into the churches the simplicity and chilliness of Switzerland (1562). By his authority, Ursinus and Olevianus composed the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which was soon after not only received as the Creed of the German Reformed Church, but has been highly esteemed in many foreign countries. The devotional spirit of this Confession gives prominence to the doctrine of divine Predestination only so far as it seemed needful to console the Christian with the certainty of redemption, and to that of the Eucharist only to impart an assurance of communion with Christ. (*b*) At the religious conference held for the reconciliation or for the conversion of parties at *Maulbronn* (1564), the theology of Würtemberg was found to be in striking contrast with that of the Palatinate, and the doctrine of the Eucharist based upon that of the ubiquity of Christ's body exhibited sufficient power to divide the Church. (*c*) Under Louis VI. (1576) Lutheranism was established, but after his death (1583), the Calvinistic tendency became predominant. The latter also triumphed in the midst of violent popular commotions in Bremen (1561–81), although the cathedral was finally opened (1638) to the Lutherans, who could not be entirely exterminated there. (*d*) In *Anhalt*, the ecclesiastical establishment of the Palatinate was adopted from attachment to Melancthon (1596). (*e*) Under a similar influence, *Nassau*, protesting against the monster ubiquity in the Form of Concord, was induced to adopt the Heidelberg Catechism (1582), and in consequence of its relation to the house of Orange, it was brought to accept of the ecclesiastical system which prevailed in the Netherlands (1586). (*f*) *Maurice*, the learned Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, after many fruitless efforts to reconcile the two Churches, compelled the Lutheran Church to adopt such improvements (1605) as ultimately brought them into the Calvinistic communion; but in Upper Hesse Lutheranism still prevailed. (*g*) Notwithstanding many disturbances, the established churches generally followed the form of reformation adopted by their respective princes, for no alternative was allowed their ministers but either to preach the doctrines embraced by the civil authorities, or to leave the country. John Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, once gave his oath to his father that he would never forsake the doctrines of Luther, but on Christmas 1613, he received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the court church in Berlin, according to the Calvinistic ritual. In the confession of faith which he made (1614), he declares that in professing himself of the Reformed Evangelical Church, he acted without regard to the authority of human names, under the direction of the Holy Spirit through the Scriptures, that his object was to cast away all remnants of papal superstition, (*h*) and that in God's cause he

b) First impression in German and Latin, Heidelb. 1563. *Niemeyer*, Col. Confess. p. LVII. 390ss.—S. v. *Alpen*, Gesch. u. Lit. d. Heid. Cat. Erl. 1800. *Augusti* (411.) p. 96ss.

c) (Ursinus) Protocoll d. i. Acta d. Gespr. zu Maulb. Hdlb. 1565. 4. *Heppe*, Gesch. d. dt. Prot. vol. II. p. 71ss.

d) *Gerdes*, Hist. motuum ecc. in civ. Bremensi temp. Hardenbergii. Gron. 1756. *J. H. Duntze*, Gesch. d. fr. Stadt. Br. Brem. 1848. vol. III. p. 359ss.

e) Repetitio Anhaltina. 1579. *Niemeyer*, Col. p. 612ss. *Beckmann*, Hist. d. Fürst. Anhalt. Zerbst. 1710ss. vol. VI. p. 121ss.

f) *J. H. Steubing*, K. u. Ref. Gesch. d. Oranien-Nass. Lande, Hadam. 1804.

g) *Heppe*, d. Einführ. d. Verbesserungspunkte in Hessen. 1604–10. Cass. 1849.

h) *Niemeyer* p. LXXVII, 642ss.

was not bound by his previous covenant. Although he sought to induce others to follow him, divested the University of Frankfort of its Lutheran character, and abolished the legal authority of the Form of Concord, he only demanded Christian toleration from his own country; and yet so great was the dissatisfaction of the Lutheran people of the Marquisate and of Prussia, that however beneficial such a change of faith may have been to his foreign relations, it could not on the whole have been recommended on the score of mere expediency. (*i*) The feelings of those connected with the Reformed party were much more decided, and those Lutherans who went over to it never looked upon themselves as apostates, inasmuch as they still firmly adhered to the Confession of Augsburg (of 1540). In the Religious Peace no mention had been made of the Reformed Church, but its members claimed the privileges of those professing a faith kindred with that of the Augsburg Confession. Accordingly, in the negotiations on this subject at the Diet of Augsburg (1576), and under the influence of the evangelical spirit of Frederic III., the Lutherans did not venture in the presence of the Catholic imperial party to repel these powerful allies. (*k*)

§ 355. *The Netherlands.*

G. Brandt, Hist. der. Reformatie de Nederlanden. Amst. (1663ss.) 1677. 4 vols. 4. Engl. Lond. 1720. 4 vols. French, Abstract. Amst. 1730. 3 vols. 12. *D. Gerdes*, H. Ref. vol. III. *Ypey en Dermout.* Geschiedenissen der Nederlandsche hervormde Kerk. Breda. 1819-27. 4 vols.—Correspondance de Philippe II. sur les affaires des Paysbas, publiée par *Gachard*, Par. 1848-51. 2 vols. [*Schiller*, Revolt of the Netherlands. New York. 1847. 12. *T. C. Grattan*, Hist. of the Netherl. Philad. 1831. 12.]

The Netherlands were inhabited by an industrious and thriving people, especially jealous of their municipal and provincial rights, and according to the most ancient laws were regarded as a fief of the empire. But in consequence of a connection by marriage between the house of Hapsburg and the royal family of Spain, it became subject to the Spanish crown. Such a people were sure to welcome the principles of the Reformation, and the way had long been prepared for their promulgation. The first step was taken by the general diffusion of Luther's writings, but as the people were more connected with Switzerland and France, the Reformed faith made the greatest progress among them. Here in his patrimonial dominions, *Charles V.* evinced the strength of his attachment to the Church, by a complete enforcement of the edict of Worms. Hundreds died in prison or on the scaffold. When the emperor had become fatigued with the cares of sovereignty and of life, his son *Philip II.*, to whom he surrendered the Netherlands, and to whom all civil and religious liberty was equally odious, sent thither the inquisition for the extirpation of both. The heroes of the nation fell beneath the axe of the executioner or the knife of the assassin. After enduring incredible hardships, the people, with their swords in their hands, ventured to demand their rights. The struggle for their faith was in some respects differ-

i) *D. H. Hering*, hist. Nachr. v. d. Anfang. d. ev. ref. K. in Brandenb. u. Preussen. Hal. 1778. *A. Müller*, (§ 337. nt. c.) p. 326ss. *E. Helwing*, Gesch. d. Preuss. Staats. Lemgo. 1834. vol. I. p. 1007ss.

k) *Struve*, pfälz. KHist. Cap. 5. p. 189s.

ent from the civil war in which they contended for their ancient rights, but both were carried on under the skilful direction of the heroic prince of Orange. The ornaments found in the ancient churches were entirely destroyed. The seven northern provinces in which German manners and an evangelical faith prevailed, formed (1579) a confederation called the *Union of Utrecht*. The civil and religious freedom of these provinces was not, however, acknowledged by Spain until it became so completely exhausted that it was obliged to conclude an armistice (1609).

§ 356. *Synod of Dort. Nov.* 13, 1618–*end of May*, 1619.

Acta Synodi nationalis Dordrechti hab. Lugd. B. 1620. f. Han. 1620. 4. Acta et scr. synodalia Remonstrantium. Harder. 1620. 4. *Halesii* Hist. Conc. Dordraceni, ed. *Moshem.* Hmb. 1724. Epp. praestant. et erud. virorum ecc. et theol. Amst. (1660. 1684.) 1704. f. Litterae delegatorum Hassiacor ad Landgrav. missae. ed. ab *H. Heppe*, (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1853. II. 2.)—*J. Regenboog*, Hist. d. Remonstranten. Amst. 1774. 3 vols. a. d. Holl. (v. Cramer.) Lemgo. 1781. 2 vols. *M. Graf*, Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. Syn. v. Dord. Bas. 1825. [Artt. of the Syn. of D. with the Hist. &c. by the States-Gen. from the Lat. by *T. Scott*, Utica. 1831. 12. *N. Chatelain*, Hist. d. Syn. d. Dordrecht. Par. 1841. 8.]

In the University of Leyden, established under the influence of the Reformation, the spirit of Zwingle came into open conflict with the victorious spirit of Calvin. *Arminius* (d. 1609) having become perplexed with respect to the doctrine of unconditional predestination, *Gomarus* defended it against him. (*a*) Both became leaders of opposite parties, and when Arminius attempted to establish an ecclesiastical peace among those congregations which had abandoned the papacy on the basis of a few simple articles selected from the Scriptures, and regarded as essential to salvation, the effect was to threaten the young Church and republic of the Netherlands with an open division. A justification of their creed, called the *Remonstrance*, was presented (1610) by the party of Arminius to the assembled states of Holland and West Friesland. (*b*) But as most of the ministers had been educated at Geneva, Calvinism had the ascendency among the clergy, and through their influence among the common people, to whom the merits of the controversy were unknown. But the venerable *Oldenbarneveld* and *Hugo Grotius*, who as a humanist and a statesman had paid some attention to theology, were at that time political leaders in the republican party, and were the protectors of the *Remonstrants*. (*c*) This was sufficient to induce *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, the Stadtholder and the General of the Republic, then striving to attain the supreme power, to form a connection with the Calvinists. A synod was called by the States-General for the determination of the controversy. Although all the Reformed churches except that of Anhalt were invited to take part in its deliberations, the number of foreign deputies actually present was very small in comparison with that of the members from the Netherlands. Even before the synod was opened, the Prince of Orange by an act

a) *Arminii* Opp. theol. L. B. 1629. 4. and often. [Works of J. Arm. ed. by *J. Nichols*, Lond. 2 vols. 8.] *G. Brandt*, Hist. Vitae Arminii, ed. *Moshem.* Brunsv. 1725. [*N. Bangs*, Life of Arminius. New York. 1844. 12. Life and Works of A. publ. in Auburn, 1852. 2 vols. 8.]

b) In Lat. in the Epp. praest. et erud. Virorum, ed. 2. p. 145.

c) *H. Luden*, Hugo Grotius nach Schicks. u. Schrr. Bri. 1805. [*M. De Burigny*, Life of H. Grotius, transl. from Fr. Lond. 1754. 8.]

of exorbitant power expelled all who belonged to the republican party. The members of the synod, therefore, consisting of thirty-six pastors, twenty elders, and five professors, were selected with some degree of arbitrariness, and it was obvious that the fate of the Remonstrants was decided upon before the opening of the meeting. Their spiritual leaders, under the conduct of Episcopius, the eloquent and inflexible successor of Arminius, (*d*) were summoned before the synod merely as accused persons. They there protested against an unconditional submission of themselves, but notwithstanding the milder views of the foreign deputies, they were declared by a majority of votes, and by the authority of the word of God, incapable of any ecclesiastical or academic functions until they should penitently return to the fellowship of the Church. In most of the provinces of the Union, those preachers and teachers belonging to the Remonstrant party who would not immediately resign every spiritual office were expelled from the country. But after the death of Maurice (1625), when the Republican party again obtained the ascendency, the *Arminians* were tolerated, and their churches became numerous and flourishing on account of their liberal exegetical literature. (*e*) The *Articles* of the Synod of Dort were confirmed by the States-General, and although they received legal authority in no foreign country but France, Calvinism became henceforth the orthodox doctrine of the Reformed Church. Calvin's twofold doctrine of predestination, based upon that of original sin, was in some degree modified in them, and all who properly used the means of grace were told that they need have no doubt of their final salvation. (*f*) But even the tendency which proceeded from Zwingle and Melancthon was fostered, and occupied a subordinate position in the churches. Its most important original record, after the Heidelberg Catechism, is the creed left by Bullinger, and adopted through the influence of the Elector Palatine by the Swiss Confederacy under the name of the Second *Helvetic Confession* (1566). According to it the promises of God are general for all believers. (*g*)

CHAP. III.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION THROUGH EUROPE.

§ 357. *United Austrian States, until* 1609.

Raupach, ev. Oest. Hmb. 1732ss. 3 vols. 4. *Waldau*, Gesch. d. Prot. in Oest. Ansp. 1783. 2 vols.—*J. Burii*, Hist. dipl. de statu rel. ev. in Hung. s. l. 1710. f. (*P. Ember*) Hist. Ecc. ref. in Hung. et Transsylvania, ed. *Lampe*, Traj. 1728. 4. *J. Ribini*, Memor. Aug. Conf. in Hung. Poson. 1787ss. 2 vols. Die wichtigsten Schicksale d. ev. K. Augs. Bek. in Ung. 1520-1608. Lps. 1808. [*Munyay*) Hist. ecc. ev. A. C. addictorum in Hung. Halb. 1830. Corpus Synodorum Aug. Conf. in Hung. ed. *J. Szeberinyi*, Pesth. 1848. *G. Haner*, Hist. Ecc. Transylvanicar. Frcf. et Lps. 1694. 12.—*Pontani a Breitenberg*, Bek. pia. Frcf. 1608. f.—*Bucholtz*. (p. 358.) *Ranke*, ü. d. Zeiten Ferd. I. u. Max. II. in s. Zeitsch. vol. I. p. 223.

German Protestantism was extensively diffused at an early period among

d) *Ph. a Limborch*, Vita Episc. Amst. 1701. *J. Konynenburg*, Laudes Ep. Ibid. 1791. 4.

e) *Adr. a Cattenburgh*, Bibl. Scrr. Remonstr. Amst. 1728. *G. S. Francke*, de Hist. dogmatum Arminianorum. Kil. 1814. *D. de Bray*, Essai sur l'Hist. de l'église Arminienne. Strasb. 1835. 4.

f) *Niemeyer*, Col. p. 690ss.

g) Ed. *O. P. Fritzsche*, Tur. 1839. in *Niemeyer* p. 462ss.

the higher classes in Austria. *Ferdinand I.*, during the last years of his reign, stood aloof from the strife of parties. *Maximilian II.* (1564–76), whom the Protestants regarded as a secret believer in their principles, and the Romans as an apostate, endeavored to reconcile both sides, and to promote a general reform consistently with the laws, by giving to the knights and to the princely cities the privilege of forming an ecclesiastical system according to the Confession of Augsburg. Hungarian students who studied at Wittenberg and returned to their native country imbued with Lutheran sentiments, Waldenses, Hussites, and Humanists, were all instrumental in carrying the principles of the Reformation in every direction. The most sanguinary laws were insufficient to impede the progress of these agencies. All laws were silent during the storm which followed the battle of Mohacs (1526 . No greater severity against the Protestants was exercised by the house of Hapsburg when its hold upon Hungary was so precarious, than was indispensable to its own security; and wherever the Turks held sway, a form of worship in which no images were used might be extended without obstruction. Ferdinand I. conceded to a few magnates and towns in his dominions the enjoyment of a free religious toleration, which was still further increased under Maximilian. The Reformed churches became equally numerous, and soon began to be disturbed by controversies. The writings of Luther were also carried into Transylvania by some merchants of Hermanstadt, on their return from the fair at Leipsic (1521). After enduring many persecutions, all the Saxon churches declared themselves adherents of the Augsburg Confession (1544), the Magyars connected themselves with the Reformed Church, and the Wallachians continued to worship according to the Greek ritual. During the civil wars which took place in Hungary for the possession of the throne, complete religious freedom was granted to Transylvania at the Diet of *Clausenburg* (1556). In an election of a king of Bohemia (1526), Ferdinand was chosen instead of the Duke of Bavaria, principally on account of the favor which he showed to the *Utraquists*. In the commencement of the Smalkaldic war the Electors of Saxony were invested with the power to command the army furnished by the Bohemian states in any way which might promote the common cause. These, in consequence of Luther's success, had regained their former spirit and power, had become reconciled with the Bohemian brethren, and now combined their Hussite sentiments partly with Lutheran and partly with Reformed doctrines. (*a*) *Rudolph II.* (after 1576) permitted evangelical persons in all parts of his dominions to be oppressed, freedom of opinion was confined to the nobility, and divine worship (after 1604) was entirely suppressed by public violence. *Stephen Botskai*, Prince of Transylvania, whose power was considerable on account of his alliance with the Turks, now took up arms for the establishment of political and religious liberty. He succeeded in obtaining the *Peace of Vienna* (1606), by which Hungary and Transylvania were allowed freely to receive either the Augsburg or the Helvetic Confession. (*b*) In the latter province

a) Confession of 1535 & 1575 in Lat. in *Niemeyer*, Col. p. 771. 819ss. With many original documents: Die andere Apologia der Stände d. K. Böheimb, a. d. böhm. Spr. in die teutsche versetzt a. 1619. 4.

b) Pacificatio Viennensis in *Ember-Lampe*, p. 325ss.

popery had been entirely renounced, and in Hungary a majority of the people and nearly all the nobles had done the same. While the members of the house of Hapsburg were contending with one another, the evangelical states of Austria, with arms in their hands, obtained from the Archduke *Matthias* the restoration of all the privileges they had acquired under Maximilian. The Bohemians at the same time received from the Emperor Rudolph an imperial charter, (*c*) by which they were placed on the same ground with the Catholics, and the supreme power was conceded to the states (1609).

§ 358. *Sweden.*

J. Baaz, Inventarium Ecc. Sueo-Gothor. Lincop. 1642. 4. *P. E. Thyselius*, Handlingar. till Sverges Reformations-och Kyrkohistoria under Gustaf. I. Stockh. 1841–5. 2 vols. (Comp. Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1846. H. 2. 1847. H. 2.)—*R. C. Römer*, de Gust. I. rerum sacr. instauratore. Traj. ad Rh. 1840. *Geijer*, Gesch. Schw. (p. 246. nt. *b*.) 1834. vol. II.—*Schinmeier*, Leb. d. drei schwed. Reff. Lor. Anderson, Oluf u. Lor. Peterson. Lub. 1783. 4.—*A. Theiner*, Schw. u. s. Stellung z. h. Stuhl. unter Joh., Sig. and Karl IX. Augsb. 1838. f. 2 vols. [*Vertot*, Rev. in Sw. on account of the change in Religion, from the French by *J. Mitchel*, Lond. 1723. 8.]

Sweden had been delivered from the sanguinary hands of the Danes by *Gustavus Vasa* (after 1521). The Reformation was preached there by the brothers *Olaf* and *Lawrence Peterson*, who had studied at Wittenberg, and were so constituted by nature that the one possessed those intellectual qualities in which the other was deficient. The bishops, who held in their hands the principal wealth of the country, were connected with the Danish interest, and the new government, anxious to relieve the people of their taxes and to pay off their Hanseatic mercenaries, longed to obtain possession of the property of the Church. A public discussion was held under the royal protection at Upsala (1526), and a translation of the New Testament was made by the Chancellor *Anderson*. The king, sustained by the nobility and peasantry, humbled the bishops at the Diet of *Westeras* (1527), and took possession of the property of the Church. The Reformation was introduced in accordance with the advice of Luther, although the greater portion of the people for a long time received only its external form, and scarcely noticed the change, and even the king had cause to deny that any change had taken place in the national religion. Those bishops who acknowledged the new order of things remained members of the diet and superintendents of the Church, but they were made dependent upon the royal favor, and their powers were circumscribed by the authority of consistories. A reconciliation with Catholicism was sought for under *John III.* (after 1568), whose wife was a Polish princess, and belonged to the Catholic Church; but in consequence of the refusal of the Romish court to concede the demands of the king, and the opposition of the people to the Catholic ritual, the effort proved unsuccessful. (*a*) *Sigismund*, King of Poland and (after 1592) of Sweden, atoned for his attempt to oppress the evangelical Church by the loss of the Swedish crown, which was won (1599, 1604) by his uncle, Charles IX., the champion of Protestantism. At first nothing but the word of God contained

c) A. e. böhm. Urk. übers. m. Anm. v. *Borott*, Gorl. 1803.

a) Die Jesuiten als Vermittler e. prot. Kirchenagende. Brl. Monatschr. 1794. lately ed. by *Röhr*, Neust. 1825.

in the Holy Scriptures was acknowledged as the creed of the Church. But finally the clergy, that they might meet the calumnies of their Catholic opponents, and that the whole Swedish nation might have but one God, and might worship him as one man, proclaimed their adherence to the Augsburg Confession in 1593, and to the Form of Concord in 1663, (*b*) and a law was enacted which provided that all who should apostatize to popery should be banished from the country.

§ 359. *Denmark with Norway and Iceland.*

Pontoppidan, (p. 246. nt. *a*.) vol. II. p. 754ss. vol. III. *Münter*, Danske Ref. Historie. Kjöbenh. 2 vols. u. KGesch. v. Dan. u. Nor. Lpz. 1834. vol. III. Stemmer fra den Danske Kirkes Ref. Tid. Odense. 1836. 4.—*Mülertz*, de causis propagatae ecleriter in Dan. ref. Haf. 1817. 4.

The whole power of the Danish state was shared between the bishops and the barons. *Christiern II.* was elected king in 1513, and proved to be a tyrant under the tyranny of the mother of his paramour. Under him the nobility were degraded, the people were exalted, and the Reformation was favored that he might obtain the mastery of the bishops. (*a*) On his expulsion by the united power of the barons and prelates, his uncle *Frederic I.* of Holstein (1523–33), who was connected by marriage with the house of Saxony, and a firm friend of the gospel, was raised to the throne. But in the stipulations made before his election, he pledged himself to maintain the privileges and rights of the bishops, and to punish those who preached against the God of heaven and the holy Father by fines and bodily chastisements. The Reformation continued still to spread among the people until the king obtained a law at the Diet of *Odense* (1527), by which Protestants and Catholics were put in possession of equal civil privileges, the marriage of priests was tolerated, and the election of bishops was rendered independent of Rome. The bishops protested against the succession of his oldest son, with whom Luther was known to be on terms of intimacy. *Christiern III.*, however, succeeded in gaining over to his party the lay members of the diet, when all the bishops were suddenly attacked on the 20th Aug., 1536, and their freedom was obtained only by the renunciation of their dignities. *Roennow*, Bishop of Roeskild, alone would yield nothing to the injury of his Church, and died the death of a martyr in prison (1544). At a diet held at *Copenhagen* (Oct., 1536), from which the clergy were entirely excluded, the political privileges of the Church were completely destroyed, and its possessions were shared by the king and the nobles. The king was crowned by *Bugenhagen*, and an ecclesiastical constitution was adopted by which a few titular bishops were appointed, and the Church was made entirely dependent upon the court. (*b*) The Form of Concord was cast into the flames by *Frederic II.* (1581), (*c*) but during the 17th century it possessed great authority among the people. The new Church was established without oppo-

b) Ev. K. Zeitung. 1835. N. 56.

a) *Dahlmann*, Gesch. v. Dännemark. vol. III. p. 350ss.

b) *Mohnike*, Krönung Chr. u. s. Gemahlin durch Bug. Strals. 1835. *Münter*, Symbb. ad ill. Bugenhagii in Dania commorationem. Hafn. 1836.

c) *J. H. ab Elswich*, de F. C. num in Dania sit combusta? Wit. 1716. 4. Gegen s. Zweifel die Urkunde: *Gerdes*, H. Ref. vol. III. praef.

sition in *Norway*, not, however, until the Archbishop of Drontheim had fled with all the ecclesiastical treasures (1537). In *Iceland* the Episcopal party were destroyed while struggling with arms in their hands (1550).

§ 360. *Poland, Livonia, and Koorland.*

Adr. Regenvolscii (*Wengierski*). Syst. hist. chron. Eccl. Slavonicarum. Ultraj. 1652. 4. Jura et libertt. Dissidentium in regno Pol. Ber. 1707. f. Schicksale d. pol. Dissid. Hmb. 1768ss. 3 vols. *C. G. v. Friese*, Ref. Gesch. v. Pohlen u. Litth. Brsl. 1786. 3 vols. *G. W. C. Lochner*, Fata et rationes familiarum chr. in Pol. quae ab Ecc. cath. alienae fuerunt, usque ad consensus Sendom. temp. (Acta Soc. Jablonovianae. Lps. 1832. Th. IV. Fsc. 2.) *C. V. Krasinski*, Histor. Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Ref. in Poland. Lond. 1838ss. 2 vols. 8vo. bearb. v. Lindau. Lpz. 1841.—*K. L. Tetsch*, kurl. KHist. Riga u. L. 1767ss. 3 vols. *J. Lukaszewicz*, Gesch. d. Ref. Kirchen in Lith. Lpz. 1848–50. 2 vols. 8. [An Account of Livonia and the Marian Teu. Ord. Lond. 1701. 8.]

Many persons expelled from various countries on account of their religion, found an asylum in Poland under the protection of particular nobles. Churches had therefore been formed which were composed of Bohemian brethren, of the Reformed, and of Lutherans. After some warm controversies these became united at the Synod of *Sendomir* (1570), under one general confession, whose indefinite articles afforded room for minor differences of opinion. (*a*) As the power of the waiwodes was almost unlimited in their respective domains, the kings and bishops had very little power to inflict persecution. By these inferior governors a religious peace was concluded during the interregnum (*Pax Dissidentium*, 1573), which had the force of a law of the empire to secure equal privileges to Catholics and Protestants. But as early as the time of *Sigismund III.* (after 1587), the Catholic party had acquired much strength by means of the inducements which the king and the Church could present to the higher nobility, while many of the Dissidents had become dissatisfied with the general confession of faith, and had renewed the former controversies in the body to which they belonged. *Vladislaus IV.* sought in vain to effect a general reconciliation, or at least a mutual understanding of the contending parties, by means of a religious discussion held at Thorn (1644). (*b*)—The Grand Master of Livonia could not refrain from following the example of Prussia, although the archbishop arrayed himself in defence of prescriptive rights and the ancient faith. *Riga* decided in favor of the Reformation (1523), and conscious of its independence as an imperial city, it became a member of the League of Smalkald (1538). Nearly all the population had embraced the cause of the Reformation when the Grand Master, *Conrad Kettler*, assumed the title of Duke of Koorland and Semigallia (1561). That portion of Livonia, however, which was situated on the other side of the Dwina, and which he could not defend against the power of Russia, was ceded to Poland on condition that it should be permitted to profess the Augsburg Confession.

a) Consensus Sendomiriensis Frcf. ad V. 1704.—*Jablonski*, Hist. Cons. Sendom. Ber. 1731. 4.

b) Scripta facientia ad Colloq. Thorun. Helmst. 1645. 4. Acta Conv. Thor. Varsav. 1646. 4.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Wilkins, Conc. Brit. vol. III. Ref. Ecc. Anglic. Lond. 1603. f.—*G. Burnet*, H. of the Ref. of the Church of Engl. Lond. (1679ss. 2 vols. f.) [New York. 3 and 4 vols. 8.] *E. Cardwell*, Documentary Annals of the Ref. Church of Engl. 1546-1716. Oxf. 1839. 2 vols. *J. Strype*, Ecc. Memorials under Henry VIII., Edw. and Mary. Lond. 1721. 3 vols. f. and Annals of the Ref. during the reign of Q. Eliz. Lond. (1709ss.) 1725ss. 4 vols. f. *H. Soames*, H. of the Ref. of the Church of Engl. Lond. 1826ss. 4 vols. *J. v. Gumpach*, Gesch. d. Trennung d. engl. K. v. Rom. Darmst. 1845. *Weber*, (§ 297.) vol. II.: Der construct. Theil. d. Ref. u. d. purit. Sectenbildung. 1853. [*J. K. Worgan*, Speculum Eccl. Anglicanae, or Ref. in Engl. Lond. 1830. Zurich Letters, ed. by *H. Robinson*, Lond. 1846. 8. *T. Fuller*, Church Hist. of G. B. Lond. 1837. 3 vols. 8. *C. Maitland*, The Ref. in Engl. Lond. 1849. 8. *Dodd's* Church Hist. of Engl. from 1500-1688. Lond. 1839. 5 vols. 8. *T. V. Short*, Hist. of the Church of Engl. till 1688. Lond. 1840. 8.]—Primordia Ref. Hibernicae. (*Gerdes*, Miscell. Groning. vol. VII. P. I.) *R. Mant*, H. of the Church of Irel. from the Ref. to the Revol. Lond. 1839. As a curiosity: *Cobbett*, H. of the Prot. Ref. in Engl. and Irel. Lond. 1828. 2 vols.—*D. Hume*: Hist. of Great Brit. (*Stuart.*) Edinb. Lond. 1754ss. 2 vols. 4. Hist. of Engl. (*Tudor.*) Lond. 1759. 2 vols. 4. and often. *Lingard*, Hist. of Engl. till 1688. Lond. 1849. 13 vols. 12.

§ 361. *Establishment of the Anglican Church.*

A party favorable to the Reformation had been prepared in England by the influence of Wycliffe, and it was now revived by the circulation of the writings of Luther. An English translation of the New Testament by Fryth and Tindal was printed at Antwerp (1526), and went like a Phoenix from its ashes across the channel. But Henry VIII. defended the religion of St. Thomas with his pen and his sword. Subsequently, however, his deadly love was fixed upon Anna Boleyn, and he entertained doubts of the lawfulness of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, his brother's widow. *Clement VII.* could not consent to annul this marriage with the aunt of the emperor. By the advice of Cranmer the king obtained a decision of a body of learned men, who declared that the marriage of a brother's widow was null and void. He then married Anna and fell under the papal ban. A Parliament, in which servility rather than a love of reform prevailed, sundered all connection between England and the pope, and the king, who ruled in God's stead both in Church and state, probably according to his lusts, was recognized as the sole head of the Church (after 1532). An immense property belonging to the monasteries now fell into the hands of the king, and a still greater treasure of art and antiquity was squandered. *Cranmer*, who had been exalted to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and secretly married to a German lady, now endeavored to involve the king in the Reformation, even contrary to the royal wishes. The superstition of the times was exposed in the most unsparing manner. Becket's sepulchre was dishonored, and the Holy Scriptures were distributed among the people. The venerable bishop, *John Fisher*, died in defence of the liberties of the Church, and the Chancellor *Thomas More* was beheaded pleading for such a reformation as no royal or popular violence could effect, and clinging fondly to his ideal of a future commonwealth, in which all might have room to labor equally for the common weal in a life of happiness conformed to natural laws. (*a*) But the Catholics sometimes reminded the king of his celebrated defence of the faith, and of the law of 1539, in

a) De optimo reipubl. statu deque nova insula Utopia 1516.—*G. Th. Rudhart*, Thomas Morus. Nürnb. 1829. *W. J. Walter*, Sir Thos. More. Lond. 1839. [*J. Macintosh*, Life of Sir Thomas More. Lond. 12.]

which transubstantiation, celibacy, masses for the dead, and auricular confession had been placed under the protection of the common hangman. (*b*) The followers of Luther and of the pope were frequently executed on the same gibbet. It was not till the time of the regency during the minority of Edward VI. (after 1547), that Cranmer was able, by means of the Parliament, to enter thoroughly upon the work of reform, and by calling Bucer to Cambridge, to form an alliance with the German divines. Edward, however, died in early youth (1553), and *Mary*, the daughter of Catharine, inherited the crown. She had been educated in the Catholic Church, had endured in her youth many sacrifices in its behalf, and now became animated with extreme enthusiasm to see it victorious. With hands full of blood and violence she now gave back England to the pope, and Cranmer died at the stake far more heroically than he had lived (1556). (*c*) In early life Mary sunk under the weight of her own melancholy and the hatred of her people (1558). *Elizabeth*, the daughter of Anna, then ascended the throne. Her birth was, according to the decision of the Romish Church, illegitimate, and she had been educated in the evangelical faith of her mother, as well as in the school of misfortune. During the long, rigid, and prosperous reign (till 1603) of this virgin queen, the Reformation was established in spite of internal and external enemies, with a good degree of circumspection and moderation. But even she sometimes found occasion for the axe of the executioner against Anglo-Roman missionaries and assassins. Many Catholic ceremonies were still retained in the book of Common Prayer. A confession of faith was formed under Edward, and afterwards reduced to 39 Articles, which was accepted by a convocation of the clergy at London (1562), and was made by Parliament the rule of faith for all the clergy (1571). In this it is declared that the Scriptures contain every thing necessary to salvation, that justification is through faith alone, but that works acceptable to God are the necessary fruit of this faith, that in the Lord's Supper there is a communion of the body of Christ, which is spiritually received by faith, and predestination is apprehended only as it is a source of consolation. (*d*) Supreme power over the Church is vested in the English crown, but it is limited by statutes. Bishops continued to be the highest ecclesiastical officers, and the first barons of the realm. Whatever was done by the kings of England against the papacy and in behalf of the Reformation, was enforced also as the law for Ireland. But the Irish obstinately resisted every effort of their tyrannical oppressors to compel them to embrace the new faith. The English, however, proved from the Old Testament that as a conquered territory Ireland belonged to them as Canaan once belonged to the Israelites. The free and common territory of the confederated and kindred tribes was converted into royal fiefs, and when the principal chiefs were goaded on by continual oppressions to rise in rebellion, their lands were given to Englishmen, until the native inhabitants were almost com-

b) *Wilkins*, vol. III. p. 848s.

c) *Strype*, Th. Cr. Lond. (1694.) 1711. f. *Gilpin*, Th. Cr. Lond. 1784. Samml. merkw. Lebensbeschrr. a. d. brit. Biogr. Hal. 1754ss. vol. II. *H. J. Todd*, Life of Cr. Lond. 1831. [Lives of Cr. by *C. W. Lebas*, & *Mrs. Lee* & Vind. of Cr. by *Todd*.]

d) *Niemeyer*, Col. p. 601ss.

pletely destitute of property. The entire revenues and property of the Church were gradually taken possession of by a foreign Protestant hierarchy, by the side of which the Irish were obliged to sustain their own bishops and pastors from their own scanty resources.

§ 362. *Origin of the Puritans and Independents.*

(*Bradshaw.*) The English Puritane. Lond. 1605. Lat: Puritanismus angl. Frcf. 1610. *D. Neal*, H. of the Puritans. Lond. (1731ss. 4 vols.) 1793-7. 1822. 5 vols. [With notes by *J. O. Choules*. New York. 1844. 2 vols. 8.] *J. B. Marsden*, Hist. of the early Puritans (till 1642.) Lond. 1850. [*W. H. Stowell* & *D. Wilson*. H. of the Puritans in Engl. & of the Pilg. Fathers. Lond. 1826. 12. *B. Brooks*, Lives of the Puritans. Lond. 1813. 3 vols. 8.]—*Robinson*, Apol. pro exulibus Anglis, qui Brownistae appellantur. Lugd. 1619. 4. *C. Walker*. H. of Independency. Lond. (1648ss.) 1661. 3 vols. 4. *B. Hanbury*, Hist. Memorials, relating to the Independents or Congregationalists. Lond. 1839. 3 vols. [*Bogue* & *Bennett*, Hist. of the Dissenters. Lond. 1808–12. 4 vols. 8.]—*W. Chlebus*, die Dissenters. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1848. II. 1.)

A party consisting principally of those strict Calvinists who had suffered persecution under the reign of Mary, and now had returned as confessors, took offence at the dependence of the Church upon the state, at the high prerogatives of the bishops, and at the splendid ritual of worship, whose indifferent forms not being expressly authorized by Scripture, were looked upon as remnants of Antichrist. These *Puritans* demanded a Presbyterian form of Church government, a simple spiritual form of worship, and a strict discipline. Elizabeth endeavored to overcome their opposition, but this was found rather to increase with their Sabbatical festivals on Sunday, and their Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. By the *Act of Uniformity* (1559) all *Nonconformists* were threatened with fines and imprisonment, and their ministers with deposition and banishment. But those ministers who had resigned their congregations, or been deposed, established new congregations in connection with Presbyteries (after 1572), and the most vigorous portion of the established Church itself exhibited an inclination toward Puritanism. A separation from a church which was regarded as a persecutor of Christians was now effected on conscientious principles by Robert *Brown* (after 1580), and after his return by John *Robinson* (after 1610), who preached that according to apostolic example every congregation should be an independent church, that every man was justified in worshipping God according to his own conscience, and that ministers were dependent only on their congregations. These *Independents*, when they were compelled to leave their own country formed congregations in the Netherlands and in America, but they were still firmly rooted in England, where the Puritans under continual persecutions became daily more violent and gloomy, and gradually a dangerous and powerful party. In their morals and manners they were eminently pious, they looked upon all earthly pleasures as sinful, their own fancies were regarded as divine inspirations, and they thought that the state itself should be subject to their democratic hierarchy.

363. *Scotland.*

J. Knox, H. of the Ref. of Scotl. (till 1567.) Lond. 1664. f. & often. *D. Calderwood*, H. of the Kirk of Sc. Lond. 1678. f. Edinb. 1845. 7 vols. *Gil. Stuart*, H. of the Ref. in Sc. Lond. 1780. *G. Cook*, H. of the Church of Sc. from the Ref. Edinb. 1815. 3 vols. *K. H. Sack*, d. K. v. Sch. Heidlb. 1844. 2 Abth. *K. G. v. Rudloff*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Sch. Brl. 1847-9. 2 vols. [*J. Skinner*, Eccl. Hist. of Sc. Lond. 1818. 2 vols. 8. Analecta Scotia, illustr. the civil, eccl. & lit. H. of Sc. Ed. 1834-7. 2 vols. 8. *W. M. Hetherington*, H. of the Church of Sc. till 1843. 4 ed. Edinb. 1853. 8. 3 ed. New York. 1844. 8.] —*Robertson*, H. of Sc. Edinb. 1759. 2 vols. 4. & often. [New York. 1836. 8. *P. F. Tytler*, H. of Sc. Lond. 1842–44. 9 vols. 8. & 1845. 7 vols. 8. *Sir W. Scott*, H. of Sc. new ed. Lond. 1837. 2 vols. 12.]

The first martyr for the Reformation in Scotland (1528) was *Patrick Hamilton*, a youth belonging to the royal family, but favorable to the Reformation in consequence of his studies in Germany. Cardinal *Beatoun* continued to burn persons at the stake until a martyr predicted from the midst of the flames his own violent death (1546). Such martyrdoms were the most impressive kind of preaching for a rude and sensuous, but true-hearted people. Under the unsettled regency which bore sway during the minority of Queen *Mary Stuart* the reform party had opportunity to gain strength. The leader and the impetuous but eloquent preacher of this party was *John Knox* (d. 1572), whose vigor had been acquired amid the flames of persecution and the toils of the galleys, and who had learned to despise the terrors as well as the pleasures of the world. (*a*) After the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France the regency attempted, with the aid of French troops to overthrow the Reformation, and to enforce the hereditary claims of the queen upon the English crown. The Reformed party then collected together and formed themselves into a Congregation of Christ at Edinburgh (1557), and with Elizabeth's assistance obtained an act of Parliament (1560) by which the people received a Calvinistic Reformation, (*b*) and the nobles the greater part of the property of the Church. But in the season of its triumph Protestantism sought to persecute its enemies ; it sometimes cost a person his property, and even his life, to attend a mass, and a pious vandalism wreaked its fury upon the monuments of the Church. After the death of her husband Mary returned to her own hereditary dominions (1561). The frivolous manners of this beautiful queen's court were an abomination to the stern Calvinists, and Knox went to meet her as the ancient prophet did the idolatrous queen, and remained unmoved by her tears. Finally she awoke the flames of civil war, not so much by her secret machinations against the Reformation as by her criminal passions. Failing to accomplish her purposes by such means she now cast herself into the fatal arms of Elizabeth. (*c*) The crown was placed upon the head of her son, *James VI.* (1567), the leaders of the Reformation were made regents during his minority, and a Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government was every where adopted (1592).

a) *Smetonius*, Vita Kn. Edinb. 1579. 4. *Th. McCrie.* Life of J. Kn. Edinb. 1811. 2 vols. & often. [Cincinnati. (in Calv. Lib. vol. III.) 1838. 8.] Im Ausz. v. *Planck*, Gott. 1817. *G. Weber*, J. Kn. u. d. schott. K. (Stud. u. Krit. 1842. H. 4.)

b) Conf. Scoticana I. in *Niemeyer* p. LIs. 340ss. & First Book of Discipline.

c) *F. v. Raumer*, Elizabeth u. Maria Stuart. Lps. 1836. [*H. G. Bell*, Life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Lond. 1840. 3 ed. 8. *P. F. Tytler*, Inquiry into the Evidence, &c. Lond. 1790. 2 vols. *Whitaker's* Vind. & Miss *Benger's* Life.]

§ 364. *Great Britain under the Stuarts.*

Rushworth, Hist. Collections. 1618–44. Lond. 1732. 6 vols. *Harris*, H. of James I. Lond. 1754. 4. and H. of Charles I. Lond. 1758. 4. *Guizot*, H. de la révol. d'Angleterre. [Hist. of the Eng. Rev. of 1640, from the Fr. of Guizot. Lond. 1845. 8.] Par. 1826. 3 ed. 1841. 2 vols. & Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Rév. Par. 1823. 2 vols. *Macaulay*, H. of Engl. vol. I. cap. 1. [*J. H. Jesse*, Court of Engl. under the Stuarts. Lond. 1846. 4 vols. 8. *R. Vaughan*, H. of Engl. under the Stuarts & Commonwealth. 1603–88. Lond. 1840. 2 vols.]

Mary's son was also Elizabeth's heir, James I. of England. Utterly disappointing the hopes he had raised among the Presbyterians, he appointed bishops as the instruments of an arbitrary monarchy in Scotland, was increasingly bitter even to the last toward the rude strictness of the Puritans, but was mild in his opposition to the Catholics, in proportion as they swore that the pope had no power to depose princes, nor absolve subjects from their allegiance. The discovery of a plot formed by some Catholics for blowing up the Parliament (1605), filled the people with consternation and hatred. *Charles I.* inherited his father's inclinations and aversions. The opposition of the Puritans which had already been increased by persecution, and been directed to the inferior regard shown in the Old Testament to worldly monarchy, was aroused to the highest extreme by prelatical sermons upon the superiority of a monarch to all laws, and upon the duty of unconditional submission to his authority. The king made an effort to govern without his Parliament, married a Catholic princess, who imagined herself a modern Esther, and gave to the Scottish Church a liturgy which the people abhorred as they would have done a service to Baal. The Scots now formed a league in behalf of the true religion and the freedom of the kingdom (Covenant, 1638). The king was obliged to convene the Parliament (1640) to obtain money for the war against them, but the representatives of an enraged people, exasperated by still further thoughtless opposition, impeached the royal counsellors, entered into the Solemn League of the Scots, and when threatened by the king raised an army, which, in spite of many defeats, soon became irresistible in consequence of its religious enthusiasm and moral discipline. The Irish Catholics, relying upon the reputed inclinations of the king, made preparations for a general massacre of the Protestants among them (1641). The Puritans, with their Old Testament style of preaching, maintained their ascendency in Parliament, while the Independents were most numerous in the army, but both were agreed in their opposition to all papal abominations, and in their derivation of all power from God and his people. A select number of pious and intelligent clergymen were assembled by the Parliament to consult with a smaller number from its own body with respect to a new ecclesiastical organization. This *Westminster Synod* (1643–49) in connection with a few commissioners from the Scottish Church, after long debates between Presbyterians, Independents, and those who would have the Church governed by the civil powers (Erastians), finally adopted a Puritanic order of worship, a Presbyterian form of Church government, and a Calvinistic Confession of Faith with two Catechisms. The seats of the bishops in the House of Lords had been vacated, and their office was now abolished, the revenues of the Church property were consumed in these difficult times, principally for political purposes, and with a few alterations in favor of the civil powers the acts of the Synod

were proclaimed as laws. Only in the Scottish Church, however, have the Westminster Standards been thoroughly received, for in England their enforcement was opposed by the growing ascendency of the army. (*a*) Archbishop Laud, who had refused all connection with the pope as long as Rome remained as it was, but who had been unable to recognize him as Antichrist, now ascended the scaffold (1645), and was soon followed by his sovereign, with a fortitude and divine resignation which has since given him the name of a martyr king (Jan. 30, 1649). *Cromwell*, an Independent, though as a ruler favorable to a Presbyterian constitution, in the mean time obtained the mastery of the revolution which had borne him into power, and gradually advanced from the fanaticism of faith and freedom to the cunning selfishness of a tyrant. (*b*)

France.

I. (Serranus) Cmmtr. de statu rel. et reip. in regno Gal. Gen. 1570-80. 5 vols. (*Beza*) H. ecc. des égl. réf. 1521-63. Antv. 1580. 3 vols. *Reynier de la Planche*, H. de l'état de France, sous Franç. II. publ. p. *Mennechet*, Par. 1836. 2 vols. *Davila*, H. delle guerre civ. di Francia. 1559-98. Ven. 1630. 4. & often. (*Benoist*) H. de l'édit. de Nantes. Delft. 1693s. 5 vols. 4. *De Thou* (p. 358).—Recueil de Lettres missives de Henri IV., publie par *Berger de Xivrey*, vol. I. (1562-84.) Par. 1843. [*G. P. R. James*, Life of Henry IV. Lond. 1847. 3 vols. 8. *Lord Mahon*, Life of Louis Pr. of Conde, New York. 1848. 12. *Anon.* Life of Louis of Bourbon, Pr. of Conde, from the French. Lond. 1693. 2 vols. 8. *Maimbourg*, H. of the League, from the Fr. by *Dryden*, Lond. 1684. 8. *Ranke*, Civil wars and Monarchy in France in the 16th & 17th centt. Lond. 1852. 2 vols. 8. *M. Castelnau*, Mem. of Francis II. & Charles IX. from the Fr. Lond. 1724 f. *R. de Bouille*, A. des Ducs de Guise, Par. 1849. 2 vols. 8. Blackwood's Mag. Apr. 1850. (Eclec. Mag. Dec. 1850.)]

II. *Lacretelle*, H. de France, pendant les guerres de rel. Par. 1815ss. 4 vols. *A. L. Herrmann*, Fr. Rel. u. Bürgerkriege im 16 Jahrh. Lps. 1828. *Browning*, H. of the Huguenots. Lond. 1829. 2 vols. *Capefigue*, H. de la Réf. de la ligue et du règne de Henri IV. Par. 1834s. 8 vols. *L. Ranke*, franz. Gesch. im 16. u. 17. Jhh. Stuttg. 1852. vol. I. [*Mrs. Marsh*, H. of the Prot. Ref. in France, Philad. 1851. 2 vols. 12. *E. Smedley*, H. of the Ref. in France, New York. 3 vols. 12. *Ch. Weiss*. H. of the Prot. Ref. in France. Lond. 1854. 2 vols. 12. & with an Append. by *H. W. Herbert*, New York. 1854. 2 vols. 12. *G. de Felice*, H. of the Protestants of France, from the Fr. Lond. 1853. 2 vols. 8.]

§ 365. *Night of St. Bartholomew.*

The rise and fall of the sects in the Southern provinces, a liberal administration of ecclesiastical laws, and an extensive cultivation of polite literature, had prepared the way for the entrance of Protestantism into France. The hearts of the first converts to it were gained by Luther's writings, but the first churches in France were established by her own sons, Calvin and Beza. The appropriate business of the Sorbonne was not neglected, and Luther's seditious writings were condemned in due season. (*a*) Francis I. sometimes thought of effecting a peaceable reformation, and even invited Melancthon to come to him for that purpose. But the policy of the French court at that period

a) Puritanorum Libri Symb. ed. Niemeyer. Lps. 1840. *Sack.* (p. 424.) vol. II. p. 61ss. *K. G. v. Rudloff*, d. Westminster Syn. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. II. 2.) [*W. M. Hetherington*, Hist. of the Westm. Assem. New York. 1843. 12.]

b) *Oliver Cromwell's* Life, Letters & Speeches, by *T. Carlyle*, Lond. 1845. 2 vols. [*J. H. M. D'Aubigné*, The Protector, a Vindication, New York. 1848. 12. *Harris*, Life of O. C. Lond. 1762. 8. *J. T. Headley*, Life of O. C. New York. 1848. 12.]—*Villemain*, Gesch. Cromw. A. d. Fr. v. Berly. Lps. 1850.

a) Determin. Theol. Fac. Paris. super doctr. Luth. d. 15. Apr. 1521. [*Gerdes*, H. Ref. Monumm. p. 10ss.] *Melancth.* Apol. adv. furios Paris theologastror. decr. Vit. 1521.

induced it to favor the Protestants in Germany, and to burn them, especially the Waldenses, in great numbers (1545) in France. (*b*) Besides, although Melanethon freely consented to the king's proposal, Luther was suspicious of it, and would have nothing to do with a reformation in which the spirit of Erasmus, and not a love of the gospel prevailed. (*c*) The French court was also influenced, not merely by its zeal for religion, but by its political fears and hatred of a sect which denounced as capital offences crimes unblushingly practised in the royal palace. But in spite of persecutions, sometimes probably produced by enthusiastic violations of Catholic feelings, the *Huguenots* increased, especially in the south, and united themselves together at a General Synod in Paris (1559). The Confession of Faith which they there adopted was Calvinistic, and their ecclesiastical constitution was representative, combining independent congregations and a united general Church. (*d*) Many of the nobility of the kingdom, the Bourbons, with the title of King of Navarre, and the noble Chatillons, ranged themselves at the head of this party, and its political power became formidable. During the reigns of two successive kings, whose intellectual inferiority rendered a regency always indispensable (after 1559), their mother, *Catharine de Medici*, held the actual reins of authority, while the Dukes of Guise supported by the Catholics, and the princes of Bourbon by the Huguenots, contended for the regency. In the strife of these leaders the queen-mother found the necessary condition of her supremacy. At the religious conference of *Poissy* (1561), in the presence of the assembled court, Beza succeeded in truly and brilliantly defending the new faith against the whole prelatic strength of France. (*e*) In the edict of January (1562) the Huguenots obtained the right to hold public worship anywhere except in the principal cities. (*f*) But this privilege was regarded as an abomination by the city of Paris and the Catholic population generally, and was derided with sanguinary violence by the Duke of Guise. During the same year, therefore, hostilities were commenced with all the aggravations of a civil and religious war, and were three times renewed after as many treaties of peace. The Catholic governmental party were assisted by Spanish and papal troops, and the Reformed by English gold and German blood. (*g*) Finally, at the peace of *St. Germain* (1570) the Huguenots were guaranteed the possession of freedom of conscience, a degree of publicity in religious worship, equal political privileges, and a few fortified towns as securities for the future. In token of a complete reconciliation the king's sister was given in marriage to *Henry* of *Navarre*. All the Protestant leaders were invited to Paris to celebrate the nuptials. There, on the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572, the queen-mother gave the signal for a massacre which had long been the subject of conversation, but was then resolved upon under the impulse of the moment. During this fatal night twenty thousand Huguenots, with the brave General

b) *Corp. Ref* vol. II. p. 741. 855. 879. 904ss. *Strobel* Mel. Ruf nach Frankr. Nürnb. 1794. *C. Schmidt*, d. Unions-Versuche Franz I. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. II. I.)

c) H. de la persecution et saccagement du peuple de Mérindol et de Cabrières et autres circonvoisins appelés Vaudois. 1556. *Beza*, I, 35ss.

d) *Niemeyer*, Col. p. 311ss. *e*) *Baum*, Beza vol. II. p. 145ss.

f) *Benoist* vol. I.: Recueil d'Edits p. 1ss.

g) *F. W. Barthold*, Deutschl. u. d. Hugen. 1848. vol. I.

Coligny were murdered, presenting a horrid earnest of the future revolution. A Te Deum was sung at Rome by the order of Gregory XIII. in honor of this extermination of Christ's enemies. (*h*)

§ 366. *Edict of Nantes.*

Those who had escaped the massacre now armed themselves for vengeance with the courage of despair, and once more conquered from their enemies a recognition of their rights (1576). *Henry* of Navarre, who had been spared, and compelled to deny his faith, assumed the position which naturally belonged to him, and became the leader of the Huguenots. But the Guises, in alliance with Philip II., now formed a *Holy League*, in which a majority of the nobles and people swore that they would exterminate the heretics. *Charles IX.* died under the torture of terrible dreams (1574). *Henry III.* was compelled to violate the treaty of peace, but finally, disgusted with the tyranny of the Holy League, he had *Henry*, Duke of Guise, the Gideon of Catholic France, assassinated, and the Cardinal of Guise executed, fled before the fury of the Catholic populace to the camp of the King of Navarre, was excommunicated by the pope, and was at last assassinated by the Dominican, Clement (1589). By this death of the last of the house of Valois the throne descended by inheritance to Henry of Navarre, whose title had been declared invalid by the pope and the league. After many severe struggles to gain possession of his royal rights, and finding that he could never hope to give peace to his subjects so long as the greater portion of them regarded him as a heretic, *Henry IV.* concluded that France was worth the offering of a mass (1593). As soon, however, as his kingdom became settled, he secured to his real companions in faith by the irrevocable *Edict of Nantes* (1598) freedom of religious faith, the public worship of God with only a few trifling restrictions, all their rights as citizens, and great privileges as an organized political corporation. (*a*) They were indeed to pay tithes to the established Church, but were to be free from all kinds of episcopal jurisdiction. Although these concessions did not completely satisfy even the Huguenots, it required the whole royal power to enforce compliance with the edict among the magistrates, and in the provinces opposed to it. But just as France had begun to enjoy the highest prosperity under his administration, just as he was about to execute the most enlightened schemes for the permanent pacification of Europe, Henry fell beneath the dagger of Ravaillac (May 14, 1610). The peaceful sons of the old Huguenot heroes were finally driven to insurrection by a series of violations of their rights, and Cardinal *Richelieu* by the power of his intellect overthrew all opposition, and disarmed them as a political party. At the same time, by an act of amnesty at *Nismes* (1629), he secured to them all those ecclesiastical rights which had been guaranteed in the Edict of Nantes; but by various persecutions and frequent apostasies the reformed

h) *Audin*, H. de la S. Barthélemy. Par. 1826. *Wachler*, d. Bluthochzeit. Lps. (1826.) 1828. Against Capefigue: *Ranke:* hist. polit. Zeitsch. 1835. vol. II. St. 3. & Franz. Gesch. vol. I. p. 269ss. *W. G. Soldan*, Frankr. u. d. Bartholomäusnacht. (Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1854.)

a) *Benoist*, Monn. p. 62ss.

Church was reduced to not more than half the strength which it possessed before the night of St. Bartholomew. (*b*)

§ 367. *Spain and Italy.*

M. Geddes, Martyrologium eor. qui in Hisp. etc. (*Mosheim*. Dss. ad H. ecc. Alt. 1733. p. 663.) *R. Consalvi*, Relat. de martt. Prot. in Hisp. (*Gerdes*, Scrin. vol. IV. P. II.) *M'Crie*, H. of the progress & suppression of the Reform. in Spain. Edinb. 1829. *Adolfo de Castro*. H. de los Protestantes Españoles. Cadiz. 1851. [The Spanish Protestants and their persecution under Philip II., from the Spanish of *De Castro*, by *T. Parker*. Lond. 1852. 8. *R. Watson*, Philip II. of Spain. New York. 1848. 8.]—*Gerdesii*, Spec. Ital. reformatae. L. B. 1765. 4. *M'Crie*, H. of the progress & suppr. of the Ref. in Italy. Edinb. 1827. *C. F. Leopold*, ü. d. Ursachen d. Ref. u. deren Verfall in Ital. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1843. II. 2.)

In the train of the emperor the seeds of the Reformation were conveyed to Spain, where they were cherished perhaps even by some who surrounded his dying bed, (*a*) and certainly were received with the highest enthusiasm, in some instances from a patriotic resistance to the inquisition, but in others from a profound religious feeling, which found satisfaction in the reformed doctrine of justification. But Catholicism, especially the worship of the saints, is deeply rooted in the obstinate spirit of the Spanish people. Purity of faith is as highly valued by a Spaniard as purity of blood, and he would not scruple to imbrue his hands in the blood of a brother who had apostatized from the faith. (*b*) Martyrdom therefore had no terrors, and when Philip had exhausted the immense resources of his empire in endeavoring to put down the religious revolution among other nations, the inquisition effectually silenced the arguments of Protestantism by throwing into prison and there putting to death all persons suspected of heresy, or by the popular pageantry of an auto da fe. In *Italy*, the contempt into which the clergy had fallen, and the exclusive engagement of worldly men in the studies of polite literature, had produced a spirit which hailed the movement in Germany with great joy. By means of literary societies of Protestants connected with the foreign armies in their midst, and of translations of the writings of the Reformers generally under assumed names, individual friends or congregations were gained in nearly all the principal towns, and especially in Ferrara, under the protection of the heroic Duchess of Este, a daughter of the King of France. (*c*) Opportunities, however, were found for the indulgence of evangelical *feelings* in the Old Church, (*d*) or they were divided among themselves by controversies respecting the Lord's Supper, and by the conduct of those who were hostile to all ecclesiastical systems, and therefore wished to destroy or at least encroach upon that portion of the Catholic faith which was retained by the reformers. Moreover none but the middle classes in Italy were ever sincerely devoted to the cause of liberty, and the spirituality of the German and French Protestants could never be very popular among a people so fond of those arts which

b) *Tzschirner*, de causis impeditae in Francogal. sacrorum publ. emendationis. (Opp. Lps. 1829 p. 318.)

[*a*) *Wm. Stirling*, Cloister life of Charles V. Lond. 1852. 8.]

b) *Claude Senarclé*, Hist. vera de morte Jo. Diazii. 1546. (*Gerdesii* Scrin. antiquar. vol. VIII P. 1.) Corp. Ref. vol. VI. p. 113s.

c) KHistor. Archiv. 1824. P. 4. p. 1s. *E. Münch*, K. v. Este. Aach. 1831ss. 2 vols.

d) Del beneficio di Cristo about 1540. & often. *Riederer*, Nachrr. vol. IV. p. 121. 235ss.

are addressed exclusively to the outward sense. When therefore the danger was perceived at Rome, and an inquisitorial tribunal with formidable powers was appointed there (1542), many fled beyond the Alps, and others recanted and relapsed into thoughtlessness, indifference, or even insanity. (*e*) Dreading the eloquence of martyrdom, the inquisition struck terror into the hearts of the people rather by imprisonment, by consignment to the galleys, and by secret executions. It was only in Calabria that the members of a few churches of the Waldenses were hunted to death like wild beasts (1560). Near the end of the sixteenth century all vestiges of Protestant communities in Italy were completely obliterated. Among those who fled to foreign countries were some highly honored divines and prelates, who, with few exceptions, spent their lives in great unhappiness. (*f*)

CHAP. IV.—FANATICS AND ULTRAISTS OF THE REFORMATION.

Schlusselburg (p. 402.) *H. W. Erbkam*, Gesch. d. prot. Sekten im Zeita. d. Ref. Hamb. 1848.—*Hagen* (p. 360.) vol. III.

§ 368. *General Relations of the Reformation.*

While some who anticipated and co-operated in effecting the Reformation finally shrunk from its results, in the midst of the general commotions which then took place, and the liberty which all enjoyed, many individuals of different dispositions wished to share in the privileges of the new Church who exceeded either the true limits of Protestantism, or at least those which the popular mind could then tolerate. These extreme characters the reformed churches with one common spirit violently rejected. What Calvin sanctioned by a dark deed, Melancthon praised. (*a*) Luther remarked that the most deadly acts of the inquisition might thus be justified, and that after all, the hangmen were the most learned doctors. (*b*) In this way the maxim was gradually formed, that errorists should be silenced, and that obstinate heretics should not indeed be put to death, but confined, and sent out of the country. Philip alone, among the princes, was disposed to recognize the right of all men to liberty of conscience, and that persons of another faith may possess the essentials of true piety. (*c*)

e) *C. L. Roth*, Fr. Spieras Lebensende, Nürnb. 1829.

f) E. g. Schlosser (p. 402. nt. *i*.) *C. Schmidt*, Vie de Pierre Martyr Vermigli. Strasb. 1835. 4. *F. Meyer*, die ev. Gemeinde in Locarno, ihre Auswand. nach Zürich u. weitere Schicks. Zur. 1836s. 2 vols.

a) *Calvini* Defensio orth. fidei c. errores Serueti, ubi ostenditur, haereticos jure gladii coercendos esse. s. l. 1554. *Corp. Ref.* vol. VIII. p. 362. [*Stebbing*, Hist. of the Church, vol. II. p. 128. Spirit of the Pilgrims, vol. III. p. 615. Bib. Repertory, vol. VIII. p. 87. *Beza*, Life of Calv. ed. by *Sibson*, note *c*. *Henry*, Life of C. vol. II. p. 219.]

b) *De Wette* vol. II. p. 622. Walch vol. IV. p. 759. X. 374. XV. 1686. XVI. 64. Yet see *De Wette* vol. III. p. 498. V. 95. Walch vol. XIII. p. 442s.

c) Brief an Joh. Friedrich d. Mittlern v. 7. Marz. 1559. (*Salig*. vol. III. p. 486ss. Wetzlarsche. Beitrr. vol. XI. p. 304ss.

§ 369. *Anabaptists as Fanatics.*

I. *Justus Menius:* d. Wiederteuffer Lere vnd geheimn. a. H. S. widerlegt. M. Vorr. Luth. Witt. 1530. and Von d. Geist d. WT. Witt. 1544. 4. *H. Bullinger*, d. WT. vrsprung, fürgang, Secten. Zür. 1560. 4.—Newe Zeitung v. d. WT. zu Münnster. (Mit Luth. Vorr. u. Melanchth. Propositiones.) Nürnb. 1535. 4. Ordn d. WT. zu M. 1535. 4. *H. Dorpius*, warhafftige hist. wie das Ev. zu M. angefangen vnd durch d. WT. verstöret wider auffgehört hat. (Witt.) 1536. 4. Magdeb. 1847. *H. a Kerssenbroick*, anabapt. furoris hist. narratio. 1564–73. (defective: *Mencken*, Serr Germ. vol. III. a poor trans.: Gesch d. WT. zu M. 1771. 4.)

II. *H. J. H. Otte*, Ann. anabaptistici. Bas. 1672. 4. *N. Krohn*, WT. vorn. in Niederdeutsch. (Hofmannianer.) Lps. 1758. *V. A. Winter*, Gesch. d. bai. WT. Münch. 1809. *H. Jochmus*, Gesch. d. KReform zu M. u. ihres Unterganges durch d. WT. Münst. 1825. *J. Hast*, Gesch. d. WT. Münst. 1836. *C. A. Cornelius*, de fontib. quibus in Hist. seditionis Mon. viri docti usi sunt. Mon. 1850. *K. Hase*, d. Reich d. WT. (Neue Propheten.)

While the Reformers justified their opposition to the papacy by appealing to the Scriptures, or to clear and manifest reasons, it was not surprising that others, on the contrary, decidedly arrogated to themselves as individuals what the Church claimed for herself in general, and that fanatical persons mistook their own passionate impulses for divine inspirations. Their rejection of infant baptism, in consistency with the Protestant doctrine of faith, and on account of its want of Scriptural authority, together with their consequent repetition of the baptism of adult believers, became the distinctive badge of their party. These Anabaptists, who made their first appearance at Zwichau and Wittenberg (1521), were nearly all put to death in the Peasants' war, but in almost every part of the country, a class of enthusiasts resembling them, but very unlike each other in moral and religious character, became the pioneers and freebooters of the Reformation. Some of them were persons who had renounced the world, and others were the slaves of their own lusts; to some of them marriage was only an ideal religious communion of spirit, to others it was resolved into a general community of wives; some did not differ from the reformers with respect to doctrine, but others rejected original sin and the natural bondage of the will, denied that we are to be justified by the merits of Christ alone, or that we can partake of his flesh, and maintained that our Lord's body was from heaven, and not begotten by the virgin. As they acknowledged no call but that which came directly from God within them, they despised the ministerial office in the Church, and though they denounced all historical records, they justified themselves by isolated passages of the Bible for overthrowing all existing relations in social life. In their assumed character of men moved by the Holy Ghost, they were of course exalted above all law, and frequently exhibited a spirit of rebellion against every kind of government. Hence, among both Catholics and Protestants it was thought right to punish them even with death. In *Münster*, where the Reformation and civic liberty had obtained the ascendency by rather violent measures (1532), some Anabaptists from the Netherlands having driven out all who opposed them, formed a theocratic Democracy (Feb., 1534), which was to be the commencement of Christ's promised kingdom on earth. Matthiesen was regarded by them as the prophet Enoch, and after his heroic death, Bockelson was received by them as the king of the world. Prophets were sent abroad in every direction, a kind of community of goods and polygamy were introduced among them, and the most san-

guinary proceedings were enacted under a pretended divine inspiration, until, after a courageous defence, Munster was conquered by the neighboring princes (June 24th, 1525). Their disorderly conduct was then arrested by the sword, and the authority of the hierarchy and of the nobility was re-established.

§ 370. *The Anabaptists as an Orderly Community. Collegiants.*

Menno Sim. Fundamentum, together with some other unimportant small works. 1575. Opp. Amst. 1646. Comp. Archiv. f. KGesch. 1814. vol. II. *B. K. Roosen*, Menno S. Lps. 1848. *J. C. Lehring*, gründl. H. v. den Taufges. b. 1615.) from the Dutch by *E. van Gent.*) Jena. 1729.—*H. Schyn.* H. Christianorum, qui Mennonitae appellantur. Amst. 1723. and H. Menn. plenior deductio. Ib. 1729. *G. L. v. Reisswitz* and *F. Wadzeck*, Beitrr. z. Kenntn. d. taufges. Gemeinden. Brsl. 1821ss. 2 vols. *A. Hanzinger*, das Rel K. u. Schulwesen d. Menn. Speyer. 1831.—*J. Wiggers*, d. Taufges. in d. Pfalz. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1848. H. 3.—*Rues*, gegenw. Zust. d. Menn. u. Colleg. Jen. 1743. Archiv. f. KG. 1814. vol. I. Part 3.

The misfortunes and extravagances of the Anabaptists of Munster compelled those who survived either partially to distrust their claims to infallibility and their hopes of a secular kingdom, or to throw themselves upon the expectation of an advent of Christ in the future. These scattered, divided and dispirited communities were collected into small congregations in various parts of the Netherlands and on the German sea-coasts, by the pious diligence of *Menno Simon*, who had formerly been a priest (d. 1561). Under the name of Assemblies of the Saints, they adopted a rigid discipline, rejected all oaths, war, lawsuits, and divorce except for adultery, and practised the washing of feet as a sacred ordinance; and though they obeyed the authorities, they contended that it did not become a successor of Christ to exercise worldly jurisdiction. Public toleration was conceded to them in the Netherlands when the liberty of those provinces was obtained, and gradually it was allowed them in England and Germany. But even during Menno's life they became divided on the subject of the rigidity of excommunication into the Pure and the Gross, or on the doctrine of election into Calvinists and Arminians. With the latter class the *Collegiants* became united more particularly in Rhynsburg. This sect sprung up about 1620, when the Arminian clergy were excommunicated, and three brothers of the name of *Kodde*, ruling elders of more than ordinary proficiency in the Scriptures, collected such as were of the same faith with themselves into assemblies for prayer (Collegia). They rejected all ecclesiastical offices for religious instruction, and demanded a severity of morals such as prevailed in the primitive Church, but they were almost indifferent with respect to ecclesiastical articles of faith. Hence persons of very different sentiments were to be found among them, but the association by which their congregations were united was not dissolved until some time in the nineteenth century.

§ 371. *Antitrinitarians.*

Ch. Sand, Bibl. Antitrr. Freist. (Amst.) 1684. *F. S. Bock*, Hist. Antitrr. Socinianor. Lps. et Regiom. 1774ss. 2 vols. *F. Trechsel*, M. Servet u. s. Vorgänger. Heidelb. 1839.

The fellowship of the Reformers with the Church was shown by their inviolable attachment to the ancient Catholic symbols. But those in various

countries, and especially in Italy, who were secretly opposed to all ecclesiastical creeds, indulged the hope that they would find an asylum in countries possessing the Reformation. Some of these, therefore, in the name of the Scriptures or of intellectual freedom, claimed the right to reje t any ecclesiastical doctrines, and especially the doctrine of the Trinity as it had been taught in the Church, or in an Anabaptist spirit uttered opinions respecting this right from a professed divine inspiration. The reformers, however, hastened as speedily as possible to deny all fellowship with such heretics, by a sentence which adjudged such persons to a capital punishment. John *Denck* thought he discovered in the abundant love which Christ produced by his agency before he came into the world, and which he typically represented, a state of exaltation above the Scriptures and all laws, and yet led to the precise course of conduct which they required. His education in polite literature did not raise him above the secret practice of anabaptism, in which he thought seven evil spirits were abjured, and seven good spirits were received by the believer. He was opposed to the doctrine of the equality of the Son with the Father as a real idolatry, but the principal point on which his feelings were enlisted, was one in which he maintained that an eternal hell was inconsistent with the divine mercy. He was merely expelled from the sphere of his activity in the cities of Upper Germany, and escaped martyrdom as a heretic by an early death (1528). (*a*) *Hitzer*, a learned friend of Zwingle and a popular poet, was, while full of expressions of repentance, beheaded at Constance for his assertion of the unity of God (1529), although he was also convicted of holding Anabaptist sentiments and of adulterous conduct. (*b*) *Servetus*, a native of Aragon, and a man of extensive acquirements but of a restless disposition, taught that the Deity was the real essence of all things: that the world in all its forms is actually nothing; that the Trinity is only a revelation of the great First Cause in the form of the light and the word finally completed in the incarnation; and that the Holy Spirit is merely a mode in which God communicates himself to created beings. He therefore derided the Trinity held by the Church as a three-headed Cerberus, and thought himself destined to be the restorer of Christianity. He was burned by the Catholics in effigy, and by the Protestants in reality, at Geneva (1553). (*c*) *Campanus*, who appealed from the whole world to the apostles, and described the Son in accordance with Arian views, and the Spirit as only the influence by which man was redeemed and assimilated to God, died in prison at Cleves (about 1578). (*d*) *Gentilis*, a Calabrian, completed the doctrine of three Gods of unequal rank, which had been advanced by *Gribaldo*,

a) Vom Gesetz G. (s. l. et a.) Geistl. Blumengartl. (6 small Treatises by *Denck*.) Amst. 1680.—*Hagen* vol. III. p. 275ss. *Heberle*, J. Denck u. s. Büchl. v. Gesetz. (Stud. u. Krit. 1851. II. 1s.)

b) *J. J. Breitinger*, Anecd. de L. Hetzero. (Museum Helv. 1751. vol. VI.) *Dietrich*, in d. Tüb. Zeitsch. 1834. II. 4.

c) Diall. de Trin. (Hagen.) 1532. Christianismi restitutio. (Vien.) 1553.—Rélation du procès criminel intenté à Genève contre M. Servet, redigée d'après les documents originaux par *A. Rilliet*. Gen. 1844. *Calcini* fidelis expos. errorum Serv. s. l. 1554.—*Mosheim*, Hist. Serv. Hlmst. 1727. 4. and Neue Nachr. v. d. Arzte Serv. Hlmst. 1750. 5. *Heberle*, Serv. Trin. u. Christol. (Tüb. Zeitsch. 1840. II. 2.) *Baur*, Dreieinigk. vol. III. p. 468s. [*W. H. Drummond*, Life of Servetus. Lond. 1848. 12. *R. Wright*, Apol. for Serv. Lond. 1805. 12. *Henry*, Life of Calv. vol. II. and as in § 368. nt. *a*.]

d) *Schelhorn*, de Camp. (Amoenitt. liter. vol. XI.)

a learned jurist, by maintaining that the Son was another God of the same nature, but derived from the Father. He saved his life by a recantation, an ecclesiastical penance, and an act of perjury at Geneva, but lost it at Berne, as he thought, in honor of the Father (1566). (*e*) David *Joris*, a painter from Delft, who had before been highly esteemed as a prophet in the new kingdom at Munster, taught that the Trinity was merely a revelation of God in three different ages of the world, and assembled together Anabaptists of all kinds, with the promise that they should take possession of the earth as the Israelites did of Canaan in the age of the Holy Spirit, which had made its appearance in him. He was whipped and outlawed, but found an honorable asylum under an assumed name at Basle (d. 1556). (*f*) Others took refuge in Poland, and were there at first known under the common name of Dissidents, but were, after 1565, expelled from the Reformed Church as *Unitarians*. They were not entirely free from persecution, but through the favor of some powerful supporters they obtained a general centre for their body at *Racau* (1569). (*g*) In Transylvania a public recognition of the Unitarians was obtained (1571) by the influence of the Piedmontese *Blandrata*, the private physician of the prince. Jesus was honored by this sect simply as a man, but one who was richly endowed by God and exalted for dominion over the whole world. Adoration was paid to him by most of them, and those who refused this were persecuted. (*h*)

§ 372. *Socinians.*

I. Bibl. fratrum Polon. Irenop. (Amst.) 1656. 8 vols. f. *Ch. Ostorodt*, Unterrichtung v. d. Hauptp. d. chr. R. Rak. 1604. and oft. Catech. Racov. (1609. 12. and oft. Poln. 1605.) ed. *Oeder*, Frcf. 1739. *Wissowatius*, Rel. rationalis. 1685. Amst. 1703. *Stan. Lubieniecii*, H. ref. Pol. Freist. 1685.

II. *Buddeus*, de orig. Socinian. Jen. 1725. 4. *Ziegler*, Lehrbg. d. F. Soc. (*Henke*, N. Mag. vol. IV. p. 201ss.) *E. Bengel*, Ideen z. Erkl. d. Soc. Lehrbgr. (Tüb. Mag. St. 1–8.) *O. Fock*, der Socinianismus in der Gesammtentw. d. christl. Geistes, nach s. hist. Verlauf. u. Lehrbegr. Kiel 1847. 2 Abth.

Laelius Socinus, belonging to the noble family of the Sozini of Siena, spent his time, after 1547, in reformed countries in the character of an inquiring but sceptical man of letters, under the advice and toleration of the reformers, and highly esteemed for his honesty and intelligence (d. 1562). (*a*) It was by his nephew and heir, *Faustus Socinus* (d. 1604), that the Unitarians in Poland, with whom he became connected, became organized as a commu-

e) *B. Aretius*, Val. Gentilis justo capitis supplicio affecti H. Gen. 1567. 4. Gent. impietatum explicatio exactis Senatus Genev. c. praef. *Th. Bezae*, Gen. 1567. 4.

f) *T' Wonderboek*, 1542. 4. 1555. f.—Hist. Dav. Jovis d. Erzketzers, durch d. Univ. Basel. Bas. 1559. 4. H. vitae Dav. Georgii haeresiarchae, conscr. ab ipsius genero, *Nic. Blesdikio*, ed. *J. Revius*, Daventr. 1642. 12. *Jessenius*, aufgedeckte Larve Dav. Georgii. Kiel. 1670. 4.

g) Catechesis et Conf. fidei coetus per Pol. congregati in nomine J. C. Cracov. 1574 12. known as the 1. Racovian Catechism.

h) *Blandr.* Conf. Antitr. c. refutatione *Flacii*, ed. *Henke*, Hlmst. 1794. (Opp. acad. p. 245.) *Heberle*, a. d. Lehren v. Bland. (Tüb. Zeitschr. 1840. H. 4.)—Summa univ. Th. chr. sec. Unitarios Claudiop. 1787. (*Rosenmuller*, in Ständlin's u. Tzsch. Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. I. H. 1.)

a) *Ch. F. Illgen*, Vita L. Socini. Lps. 1814. Symbolae ad vit. et doct. L. S. ill. Lps. 3 P. 1826–44. 4. *Orelli*, L. Soc. (Basl. wiss. Zeitschr. 1824. vol. II. P. 3. p 118ss.) *F. Trechsel*, Lelio Sozini u. die Antitrinitarier sr. Zeit. Heidelb. 1844.

nity, and received a complete system of doctrine. (*b*) The principal article of this was an attempt at an accommodation between different parties by the doctrine, that although Jesus was born a mere man, he was nevertheless without any earthly father, and was wonderfully endowed by God, was taken up into heaven, and as the reward of his life was deified, that he might be a mediator, to bring man, alienated from God by sin, to the knowledge and grace of God, and that he might reign as the king of his people in all periods of time. As man is destitute of any natural knowledge of God, divine revelation is made to correspond with the laws of his mind. The Socinian explanations of the New Testament were therefore frequently of a bold and novel character, but conformed to the prejudices of a limited understanding, and the ethical system adopted was more of a social than of a religious nature. Christianity was viewed on the whole as a moral redemption by our own efforts. The connection with the Anabaptists, which Socinus found already formed, was very soon broken off. Socinianism was the extreme of opposition to popery, and was never a true pulsation, but the feverish excitement of the Protestant Church when it was sinking into a chill orthodoxy. Its advocates were never regarded by the Protestants as Christians, and it was only in Altorf, near the commencement of the seventeenth century, that they succeeded in forming an organized party. Even this was soon suppressed. A few literary men, especially among the Arminians, have been obliged to defend themselves against the reproach of Socinianism. (*c*) In Poland, the attack upon Protestantism was most ferocious against the Socinians. In 1638 they lost possession of Racau, where the Polish nobility had been educated, and in 1658 they were entirely exterminated under the ostensible charge of being traitors to the government. (*d*) The exiled congregations found refuge under the great Elector, and individuals took up their residence in the Netherlands, but the proper time for Socinianism as a sect was now past.

§ 373. *Caspar Schwenckfeld of Ossing. Sebastian Franck.*

For his writings, see *Walch*, Bibl. theol. Th. II. p. 67 ss. Kurze Lebensb. Schw. without place. 1697. Hist. Nachr. v. Schw. samt Anzahl sr. Schrr. Prenzl. 1744. Die wesentl. Lehre des Herrn C. Schw. u. sr. Glaubensgenossen. Ersl. 1776. (*Jähne*) Dankb. Erin. an d. Schwenkfelder zu Philadelphia. Görl. 1816.— *Wigand*, de Schwenkfeldianismo. Lps. 1586. 4. *Erbkam*, p. 357 ss.—*Franck*: Paradoxa 280 d. i. Wunderred. aus d. H. S. (Ulm. 1534.) 4. Baum d. Wiss. Gutes u. Böses. Ulm. 1534. 4. Die Guldin Arch. Augsb. 1538. f. Das verbüthschiert mit siben Sigeln verschlossne Buch. (Ibid.) 1539. f.—*S. Th. Wald*, de vita scriptis et syst. myst. S. Franci. Erl. 1793. 4. K. am Ende, kleine Nachlese zu d. unvollst. Nachrr. v. S. Fr. Nürnb. 1796. 4. mit 2. Fortss. 1798–99. *Hagen* vol. III. p. 314 ss. *Erbkam*, p. 286 ss. *C. T. Kaim*, d. Ref. d. Reichsst. Ulm. Stuttg. 1851. p. 269 ss.

As the Reformation found salvation only in the Scriptures but by means of a true and saving faith, the latter, when it was especially ardent, sometimes rose against the narrowness and uncertainty of all merely external

b) Opp. Irenop. 1656. 2 vols. f. (*Przypcovius*) Vita F. S. 1636. 4. before Opp. Soc. u. Bibl. frat. Polonorum. *Soulmin*, Mem. of the Life of F. S. Lond. 1777.

c) *Rambach*, Einl. in d. R. Streit. d. ev. K. mit d. Soc. Cob. 1753. 2 vols. 4. *Zeltner*, H. Crypto-Socinismi Altorfinae Acad. infesti. Lps. 1729. 2 vols. 4.

d) Proditiones Arianorum patriae suae sub tempus belli Sueciei. 1657. 4. On the other side: *Lubieniecii* Memoriale in causa Fratrum Unitar. Stetini. 1659.

Scripture. The confidence which was thus produced in an immediate and living communion with Christ is well illustrated by the case of *Schwenckfeld* (d. 1561). In the court of the Duke of Lignitz, he formed a centre of influence in behalf of the Reformation in Silesia, and (even in 1525) was on terms of personal intercourse with Luther. He, however, came gradually to the conclusion, that although Luther was correct in opposing the papacy, the new kingdom proposed by the reformers was to be wholly conformed to the outward letter, and therefore was not likely to afford much assistance in the Christian life. On his banishment from Silesia he betook himself to Suabia (1528), where he maintained a friendly intercourse with the Protestant princes, and a violent controversy with the Protestant theologians. By the latter he was held up as the chief of all fanatics, but he seems to have propagated his principles without attempting to found an independent party. The main points of his system, in addition to all kinds of strange sentiments respecting the deification of Christ's flesh for us, that it might be the food of our souls in the Lord's Supper, and respecting Christ's death as a penalty paid to Satan for man, (*a*) were his exclusive regard for sincere piety in the heart by means of a gracious incarnation of Jesus Christ within us, and a consequent indifference to the mere letter of the Scripture or the visible Church. A few followers and congregations, especially in North America, have preserved some true memorials of him until the present time. (*b*) With similar views, but with more learning and moderation, *Thamerus* (d. 1569) has defended the redeemed and divinely enlightened conscience in opposition to a reliance upon the sacred letter. He was therefore obliged to fall out with the reformers, and thereby proved that the Catholic doctrine on this subject was more consistent with sound common sense than the Protestantism of that period. (*c*) The idea that God is continually making revelations to all believers, was not by any means incredible to enlightened human reason. The principal champion for this doctrine was *Seb. Franck*, originally from Woerd (Donauwoerth, d. at Basle about 1543), successively a priest, a Lutheran preacher, a soap manufacturer, a learned printer, and always a popular writer. (*d*) He found edification in the apparent contradictions and obscure passages of the Scriptures, the letter of which he regarded as the sword of Antichrist by which the Christian is slain, and yet the sacred pyx in which the true Christ is conveyed to men. He allowed himself to believe nothing except on the united testimony of his own heart and conscience, and he professed subjection to no master but himself. He was acquainted with ancient philosophy, was familiar with the mysticism of the middle ages, and described the Deity as the everlasting essence, which needed not the existence of any creature, and yet pervaded and acted through all created forms. The will of man, however, being free, may either be governed by the divine nature within him, or may pervert this nature to unhallowed objects. When-

a) *G. L. Hahn*, Schw. Sententia de Chr. persona et opere. Vrat. 1847.

[*b*) *J. Schultz*, in Hist. of Rel. Denominations in U. S. (Harrisburg, 1849. 8.) p. 557.]

c) *A. Neander*, Theob. Thamer, d. Repraes. u. Vorgänger moderner Geistesrichtung. Brl. 1842.

d) Vom Laster d. Trunkenh. 1531. 4. Chronica, Zeytbuch u. Geschychtbibel. Strasb. 1531. f. Cosmographie o. Weltbuch. 1534. f. Sprüchworter, Schöne Weisen, Herrliche Clugreden u. Hoffsprüch. Frnkf. 1541. and oft.

ever he passively submits to it, God becomes man in him. Thus in Socrates, in Christ, and in others, what has been concealed, unexpressed, and even unpossessed in many, becomes manifest, and God becomes dependent in the flesh that man may become deified in following him on the way to the cross. Franck was driven out of Strasbourg and Ulm, and the Landgrave and Melanchthon (*e*) uttered warnings against him as the devil's special and favorite blasphemer. (*f*) He thought the papacy so worn out in the hands of the devil, that when Satanic influences could find no concealment behind St. Peter's chair, a new papacy had been established as speedily as possible. The Christianity which he endeavored to promote was to be free from all restraints, from sectarian policy, from factious strife, and indeed from all external things. But so completely did he fall out with the ruling spirits of his age, that no course remained for him but with them to wait patiently for the approaching end of this world, while within himself the shores of a new world were rising on his view.

CHAP. V.—CONDITION AND RESULTS OF PROTESTANTISM.

Hundeshagen, d. deutsche Protestantism. Frkf. (1846–47.) 1850. *D. Schenkel*, d. Wesen d. Protest. a. d. Quellen d. Ref. Zeita. Schaffh. 1846ss. 3 vols.

§ 374. *Protestantism as a Principle.*

The object of the reformers was to return to the purity of the apostolic Church, and to remove the abuses which had become almost universal during subsequent centuries, especially on the subject of justification by works and the deification of creatures. They therefore maintained that the word of God was the only authority in matters of faith, and that human nature is so corrupt that it can attain salvation only by the merits of Christ, appropriated by a faith wrought by divine power. (*a*) The struggle after freedom was regarded as a subordinate matter, and as a general thing was very little a subject of attention. But as justification by faith was a transaction which took place entirely between Christ and the heart of the believer himself, and they were obliged to oppose the claim of the existing Church to infallibility and the exclusive power of saving men, and as the new Church could claim no such power while struggling against the positive right, it laid hold of that which is eternal and abstract. The ideal of a perfect Church was therefore proposed, in which the different churches were variously represented in proportion to their faith, although no one of them was ever perfect. This invisible Church therefore embraced all true believers in all places on earth. (*b*) The idea of *Protestantism* was in this way unconsciously developed. The term itself was of a later origin, drawn from a prominent individual fact

e) C. *Ref.* vol. III. p. 983ss. with the subscriptions of the divines assembled at Smalcald in 1540.

f) Luth. in *Walch* vol. XIV. p. 394.

a) *A. Dorner*, d. Princip. unsrer Kirche nach d. innern Verh. sr. zwei Seiten. Kiel. 1841. *D. Schenkel*, d. Pr. d. Prot. Mit bes. Beruchts. d. neuesten Verhandl. Schaffh. 1852.

b) The essential idea is found in: *Apol. Confess. Aug.* Art. IV. *Walch* vol. XX. p. 1381. The very words: *Zwingli*, brevis Expositio, art. de Ecclesia. Calv. Inst. IV, 1. 7.

and applied to a great general idea. On the one hand, it implies a continual protest against the extravagant claims of Catholicism, and on the other an acknowledgment of a common universal Christianity wherever a heart is found in connection with Christ. It likewise claims to be the Christianity of the heart and of freedom. So far, however, were the reformers from perceiving this in the midst of the excitement of their internal and external conflicts of faith, that from the time of the convent of Berg and the Synod of Dordrecht, the Protestant Church appears only like a purified form of Catholicism. In various ways it practically represented itself as infallible, and even expressly claimed that there was no salvation out of itself. (*c*) In its doctrinal statements respecting man's natural state, it wore the aspect of a Christianity of bondage. In both Churches of the Reformation the Protestant principle was realized at first in the highest degree, in accordance with the type shown in the character of their respective founders. In the Reformed Church it appeared in the form of the ascendency of a vigorous understanding, requiring an unconditional return to the forms of primitive Christianity. In the Lutheran Church it took the form of a predominant profound feeling, and recognized an historical development in the Church. In the first place, the disagreement respecting the doctrine of the Lord's Supper which was determined by this difference in original character, could hardly fail in producing the precise disagreement which afterwards followed with respect to the two natures of Christ. Then the different political throes which attended the birth of the respective Churches, were evidently determined by the ethical character of each. The Lutheran nations were disposed to leave even their earthly affairs in the hands of the all-controlling God-man, while the Reformed with bold activity set about the completion of the work of their heavenly King. In these diversities we may discover the ground for the difference of aims which is discoverable in these Churches; the Lutheran fixes its eye principally upon the eternal salvation of man, while the ultimate object of the Reformed is the glory of God. This difference, however, is rapidly vanishing. (*d*)

§ 375. *Morals.*

The doctrine of salvation by faith was opposed to that of dependence upon works, and the idea of Christian freedom was in direct hostility to that of the depression of the intellect by human enactments. The simplicity and absolute character of the moral law was secured when evangelical counsels were regarded as only the non-essential means by which its objects were to

c) *Zwingl.* de vera et falsa rel. (Opp. vol. II. p. 192.) On the other hand: *Calv.* Instt. l. IV. c. 2. § 12.—*Moser*, Corp. jur. ev. Lüt. 1738. vol. II. p. 395. Comp. A. K. Zeitung. 1831. N. 180. 1832. N. 122. 1833. N. 20s. 130.

d) *J. Tichler*, de indole sacr. emendationis a Zw. institutae recte aestimanda. Traj. 1827. *M. Göbel*, rel. EigenthümL d. luth. u. ref. K. Bonn. 1837. *J. P. Lange*, welche Geltung gebührt d. Eigenthüml. d. ref. K. Zür. 1841. *Hagenbach*, d. ref. K. in Bez. a Verfass. u. Cult. Schaffh. 1842. *K. Ströbel*, ü. d. Untersch. d. luth. u. ref. K. (Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. 1842. H. 3.) *Zyro*, z Charakter d. ref. K. (Stud. u. Krit. 1843. H. 3.) *Merle D'Aubigné*, Luther u. Calvin. [transl. in D'Aub. and his writings, New York. 1846.]—*A. Schweizer*, GLehre d. ref. K. 1844. vol. I. p. 7ss. *Schneckenburger* in Stud. u. Krit. 1847. II. 4. and Theol. Jahrbb. 1848. H. 1.

be attained. The reformers endeavored, by means of German and Latin popular books and schools on an ecclesiastical basis, to educate a people who could appreciate and act upon Protestant principles. (*a*) In consequence of the unwonted freedom proclaimed at the Reformation, it must be conceded that the seeds of wild passions already sown were made suddenly to spring up. By the prominence given to original sin, in comparison with which particular temptations and sins were looked upon as of inferior importance, the moral power of Protestantism certainly became much less than we should have expected from so great a religious revolution. (*b*) It must also be remarked, that mere orthodoxy more and more constantly took the place of a living faith; and in the low state of education which then prevailed, there was great danger that the high ground taken respecting works, and the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, would lead to an easy kind of religious practice. It is true that Luther at one time spoke of Germany as worse than Sodom, and mourned that he spoke the German language; Melancthon deplored that all the waters of the Elbe were not enough for tears to weep over the unfortunate dissensions of the Reformation; and the reformers generally, in view of these evils, gave way to the presentiment that the end of the world was near. It should be remembered, however, that Luther was at that time angry that the Reformation had just been abused to those selfish purposes which are never wanting in the midst of such revolutions; that he applied to his age the same rule he was accustomed to use with respect to his own heart, and in his monastic confinement looked upon the luxury naturally springing from the increased wealth acquired by the middle classes on the discovery of America as a crime; nor should we forget that Melancthon sometimes shrunk back from the very mental conflicts which had been conjured up by his own power. At all events, it was not long before the Church took upon itself the work of controlling public morals. Among the Lutherans, it is true, this was attempted without any thorough system of ecclesiastical discipline, but by means of exhortations, monitory lectures, and excommunication, not unfrequently mingled with much passion. (*c*) In both Churches there was an occasional reference to the power of punishment possessed by the civil authorities. A domestic and ecclesiastical system of morality was thus established, of so rigid a character, that when compared with the facility possessed in the Catholic Church of alternating between sinful pleasures and penitential exercises, it appeared to have produced, in connection with profound religious spirituality, a severe, sometimes a gloomy and a restless disposition. Such was particularly the case in the French and Scotch Churches, and an extreme form of it was developed among the Puritans. The Sabbath was observed with scrupulous exactness, and many things before regarded as discretionary or innocent were now treated as sins. On the other hand, we have the single fact of the big-

a) De constituendis scholis Luth. liber, praecedit *Mel.* praefatio. Hag. 1524. (*Walch* vol. X. p. 532.) *P. H. Schuler*, Gesch. d. katech. Rel. Unterr. unter. d. Prot. Hal. 1802. *A. Schaeffer*, de l'influence de Luth. sur l'education du peuple. Par. 1873.

b) *E. Sarcerius*, v. jherlicher Visitation. Eisl. 1555. 4. Comp. *Engelhardt* in Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. H. 1.

c) E. g. *A. Musculus*, v. pludrichten Hosentenfel. Frnkf. (1556.) 1557.

amy of the Landgrave, for the secret consummation of which Luther and his colleagues granted a dispensation. This was done by him for the purpose of avoiding a still greater evil, and was justified by a reference to the divine dispensation in behalf of Abraham, and to the papal license given to the Count of Gleichen. It was, however, done with too little care for the interests of the Church, and proved a stumbling-block which was harshly used against him, and was even abused in public for justifying a barbarous polygamy. (*d*) No divorces were allowed except for adultery, and yet by official and entire separation of the parties they prepared the way for further concessions. (*e*) The approbation which the reformers gave to the assassination of tyrants, proceeded in Melancthon's case from the influence of his ecclesiastical and classical studies, and in Luther's case from the views of right which prevailed among the ancient Germans, and a manly self-respect. (*f*) The whole fanciful system of faith in magic and in Satanic influences remained undisturbed and possibly even more distinctly prominent, in consequence of the poetic manner in which Luther involuntarily described his conflicts with the devil. But even before the movements connected with the Reformation were over, important efforts were made to construct a scientific system of ethics, in which the virtues were classified in the usual ancient and theological form, but springing out of a justifying faith. The extreme excitement against Osiander's doctrines (§ 347) was in the Lutheran Church especially unfavorable to a further investigation of such subjects. (*g*)

§ 376. *Law.*

The reformers maintained merely the ordinary view of law, according to which the power of the state was entirely separated from that of the Church, and Luther even boasted that he had kept them from being perilously confounded. (*a*) But with a full consciousness of the result, they went back to the position of the apostolic Church, derived the whole authority of all ecclesiastical officers from the local churches, and would allow no one but God, (*b*) and least of all the princes, of whom Luther had a very poor opinion, (*c*) to have dominion over souls. In the constitution of the Hessian Church, an attempt was made to form an equal balance between the independence of the particular congregations and the unity of the provincial established Church (§ 329). Luther had doubts whether any artificial legislation could form a people adapted to such a state of things. (*d*) His favorite idea of a Church was not one in which the popular element was highest, but one in which every individual was looked upon as moved by the Holy Ghost. (*e*) But in one

d) *De Wette* vol. V. p. 236ss. *C. Ref.* vol. III. p. 849. *Heppe*, urk. Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. Doppelehe d. Landgr. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1852. II. 2.)

e) Merkwürd. Ehefall, mitgeth. v. Schwarz. (Zeitsch. f. thür. Gesch. 1853. H. 2.)

f) *Ströbel*. Miscell. vol. I. p. 170. *Ukert* vol. II. p. 46. *Walch* vol. XXII. p. 2151s.

g) *Venatorius*, d. virt. chr. l. III. Nor. 1529. *P. v. Eitzen*, Ethik. Witt. 1571. Comp. *Pelt* in Stud. u. Krit. 1848. II. 2. *Schwarz*, Ibid. 1850. II. 1. *A. Schweizer*, Ibid. H. 1ss.

a) *Conf. Aug.* II, 7. *Walch* vol. X. p. 294ss.—*Schenkel*, ü. d. urspr. Verh. d. K. z. Staate a. d. Gebiete der. ev. Prot. (Stud. u. Krit. 1850. H. 1s.)

b) *Art. Smalc.* p. 352s. *De Wette* vol. IV. p. 106. *Walch* vol. X. p. 452. 469.

c) *Ibid.* p. 460. *d*) Schr. an d. Landgrafen in *Richter*, KVerf. (nt. *f*.) p. 40s.

e) *Walch* vol. X. p. 271s.

case the limits, and in another the power itself, showed that in actual practice both views were impracticable in their full extent. In arranging the powers of the Church, however, Luther always had his eye exclusively upon the spiritual interest. In the empire, the Church could be represented only by the imperial states; and in the hope that the legal bishops would at some time become reconciled to the Church, the superior ecclesiastical offices in Germany remained vacant. For the time being, therefore, the princes and magistrates from love to the Church performed the functions of the highest ecclesiastical offices as provisional bishops, though with the counsel of distinguished doctors and the aid of the provincial states. Consistories, composed of civil officers and clergy, were instituted (after 1539) principally for jurisdiction over causes connected with marriage, excommunication, and processes in which clergymen were concerned. The government of each provincial Church gradually fell of itself into their hands, responsible only to the civil authorities, so that the actual legal system became directly the reverse of the legal principle originally proposed. (*f*) Even then Luther had cause to sigh over the bishopric of the court, without any spiritual character, and sometimes particular divines, when oppressed, reminded the princes that Christ had not delivered his people from papal bondage merely to make them slaves to the *Politici*. (*g*) But the actual condition of things was soon justified on legal principles by various learned men, on the ground that it was a transfer of the episcopal power to the hands of orthodox princes by virtue of the Religious Peace (Episcopal system). (*h*) The congregations included in the district of each imperial state constituted a distinct provincial Church. And yet from their opposition to the Catholic imperial Church, and from their possession of a common creed, the Protestant states even after the dissolution of the League of Smalkald, regarded themselves especially in the general diet as a single political ecclesiastical corporation, and the provincial churches, although some of them might be beyond the limits of the empire, were looked upon as constituting a single evangelical Church, joined together by mutual sympathy in love and conflicts. The Reformed Church received a republican constitution in consequence of the peculiar mode of its origin, and the country in which it was formed. Its basis consisted of a system of synods composed of clergymen and elders, in a regular ascending series up to the highest assembly. This system, however, was never fully carried out except in the French and Scottish churches, and even in them the co-optation of the elders and the choice of the ministers were necessary through the higher synods, the congregations having only the right of a rejection. In the German Reformed churches the Presbyteries gave way before the Consistories of the governments, (*i*) and in the Lutheran churches of the Lower

f) *Walch* p. 1906. *L. Richter*, d. ev. KOrdnungen des 16. Jahrh. Brl. 1846. 2 vols. 4. *Ibid.* Gesch. d. ev. KVerf. in Deutschl. Lps. 1851.

g) *De Wette* vol. III. p. 596. Faculty at Jena, 1561: *Salig* vol. III. p. 635. Fac. at Wittenb. 1638: Consil. Theol. Vit. Frcf. 1664. f. P. II. p. 129.

h) *M. Stephani*, Tract. de jurisd. Rost. (1609.) 1623. 4. Esp. Carpzov.

i) Tous les synodes nationaux des égl. ref. de France, par *Aymon*, Haye. 1710. 2 vols. 4. *Ebrard*, Entst. u. erste Entwickl. d. Presb. Verf. d. ref. K. Frankr. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1849. II. 2.) *A. Gemberg*, d. schott. Nationalk. nach gegenw. Verf. Hamb. 1848. 2 vols. *Sack*, (p. 424.) *H. v. Mühler.*

Rhine a synodal constitution was preserved. (*k*) The plan of preserving the external unity of the Church by a representation from all portions of it through the Synod of Dort, failed in consequence of the method taken for the composition of that body, and the dissensions which prevailed among its members. The Churches of the several nations were therefore only spiritually connected with one another. The royal supremacy in the Anglican Church was limited by the popular branch of the states. The legal synods of the superior and inferior clergy (Convocations) were indeed intentionally kept without much influence, and finally were entirely neglected, but the ecclesiastical legislation was consequently transferred to the Parliament. The actual administration of ecclesiastical affairs remained in the hands of the bishops, who were made dependent upon the crown by its power to nominate and transfer them, and by the inadequate revenues of their dioceses. (*l*) In Sweden also the king remained the head of the Church, and the legislative passed from the national council (after 1593) to the general diet, among whose spiritual states sat not only bishops, but representative pastors. The administration of the episcopal dioceses was performed by consistories under the presidency of the bishops. The affairs of each congregation were administered by biennial assemblies (Sockenstämen) of all the taxable members of the congregation under the direction of these consistories. (*m*) The canon law, in spite of Luther's wrath against the jurists, continued to be in fact the basis of the ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and the most important proceedings were gradually, and often in a confused manner, conformed to it.—A popular feeling was developed during the Reformation which at one time threatened to subvert every form of political institutions. When the hierarchy had been stripped of its sacred privileges, every immunity appeared to hang in suspense, and nothing was left as the ground of right but every individual's independent character. Luther never hesitated to abuse those princes who opposed him, and not unfrequently reminded even the evangelical princes that the country and the people belonged not to them, but that they belonged to the country and the people. (*n*) Hence, in many of the imperial cities the municipal corporations obtained the ascendency as soon as the Reformation was introduced, and the republic was confirmed in the Swiss Confederacy and commenced in the Netherlands. The nobility, the peasants, and the burgesses, endeavored successively in the name of the gospel to overthrow the existing forms of government. (*o*) In France the Huguenots contemplated the establishment of a free state, (*p*) and in England the legiti-

Gesch. d. ev. KVerf. in d. Mark Brandenb. Weim. 1846.—*H. F. Jacobson*, Grunde d. Verschiedenh. d. luth. u. ref. KVerf. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1852. N. 49ss.)

k) *K. v. Oven*, d. Presbyt. u. Synodalverf. in Berg, Jülich, Cleve. Essen. 1829. *Jacobson*, Gesch. d. Quellen d. ev. KRechts d. prov. Rheinl. u. Westph. Königsb. 1844.

l) *J. L. Funk*, Organisir. d. engl. Staatsk. geschichtl. Altona. 1829. *C. Schoell*, d. Convocation d. engl. K. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1853. H. 1.)

m) *F. W. v. Schubert*, Schw. KVerf. Greifsw. 1821. 2 vols. *A. G. Knoes*, Eigenthümlichkeiten d. schw. KVerf. Stuttg. 1852.

n) *Walch* vol. X. p. 468. XXII, 2146s.

o) § 325. *Barthold*, Jürgen Wollenweber v. Lübeck. (*Raumer*, hist. Taschenb. 1835.) *C. F. Wurm*, d. polit. Beziehungen Heinrichs VIII. zu M. Meyer u. J. Wüllenwever. Hamb. 1852. 4.

p) *Capefigue*, H. de la Réf. vol. II. p. 105. *G. Weber*, gesch. Darst. d. Calvinism. im Verh. z. Staat in Genf. u. Frankr. Heidelb. 1836.

mate king was condemned by the Parliament in the midst of psalm-singing and prayer to mount the scaffold. On the other hand, the theological scruples of the reformers led them to respect as a providential blessing the personal character of their rulers, the people were exhorted to the duty of Christian obedience in every thing consistent with faith, and the practical energies which had been developed among the people were restrained. (*g*) The powers of the clergy and the rights attending the possession of the Church property, were exercised by the political magistrates, and dependent officers now filled places which had been occupied by an independent corporation. Hence, where the princes allowed the Reformation to have its course, their power was almost universally increased by it. Accordingly in Denmark the monarchy became absolute, while in Sweden, after the king had broken the independent power of the bishops, the crown was endangered by the aggressions of a haughty aristocracy.

§ 377. *The Clergy and Church Property.*

During the Reformation the principle was generally adopted that all Christians belonged to the priestly order. Accordingly, while it was conceded that the ministerial office was instituted by Christ, it was maintained that each minister was individually to receive his commission from the congregation as its servant, and that ordination was only a solemn call to this duty. (*a*) Luther's remark, however, that the spiritual order was nothing, and that God was about to root out the stupid clergy, (*b*) belongs to the period when he was engaged in the work of demolition. The principle generally received was that every congregation had the right to choose its own pastor, although in the Lutheran Church, especially, the right of patronage was respected, and as far as it was exercised by the bishops, it passed into the hands of the consistories, leaving to the congregations a right seldom of much avail, of declining the person appointed. On the principle that among the ministers of the word of God there could be no hierarchical organization by divine right, the priestly functions and privileges of the bishops became common to all pastors, (*c*) except the right of excommunication, which was at first questioned, and then gradually was assumed by the consistories. The Episcopal office, as a supreme ecclesiastical authority, was rejected by the Reformed Church, but in England after 1588 it was again defended as a divine institution, (*d*) and among the Lutherans the opinion became general that this primitive regulation should not be abolished without urgent necessity, and Melancthon thought that a tyranny more intolerable than the former domination would result from the overthrow of the episcopal rule. (*e*) It has, however, been looked upon as an evangelical sentiment that as a spiritual officer a bishop should renounce all civil jurisdiction. By the operation of various political circumstances

g) Comp. p. 377. Wrong Explan. in *Hagen* vol. III. p. 146. 154.

a) *Luther:* Walch vol. X. p. 301ss. 1838. 1857ss. XIX. 1544. V. 1509.—*G. Harless*, K. u. Amt nach luth. Lehre. Stuttg. 1853.

b) De Wette vol. II. p. 674. *c*) *Art. Smalc.* p. 352ss.

d) *Niel*, Gesch. d. Purit. vol. I. p. 605ss. [*Neale*, II. of the Pur. (Orig. Engl. ed.) vol. I. p. 307ss.]

e) *Corp. Ref.* vol. II. pp. 334. 341.

Episcopacy has in fact become entirely extinct among the German churches. In a few instances the prelatic office remains with the states, for the Protestant bishops of Lower Germany who possess sovereign powers, rest their claims wholly upon the fact that certain princely houses have acquired episcopal territories under the title of bishops. (*f*) *Superintendents* in Lutheran countries (p. 282) were regarded, after the formation of the consistories, merely as subordinate officers for the supervision, and in general for the ordination of the pastors. Although the clergy are generally without political privileges, and have suffered much during some of the religious dissensions from arbitrary power, they exercise great personal influence, and they have frequently, to their own peril, asserted their right publicly to inflict ecclesiastical punishments upon their supreme rulers. (*g*) A general desire was exhibited among all classes during this period to obtain a share of the property of the Church. Immense wealth fell into the hands of the princes and nobility, while the people obtained their portion by withholding the tithes and rents which formerly belonged to the clergy. Even in Switzerland the sacred vessels were sent to the mint or to the market, and Calvin himself was unable to save the property of the Church. (*h*) In some countries, especially in Germany, a portion of this wealth was used in the endowment of benevolent or literary institutions; but so little were the pastors and teachers of schools provided for from this great inheritance, that Luther could not sufficiently lament their miserable condition. (*i*) But even then he had occasion to remark that destitute as they were of real estate, they were despised and cheated by the rude rabble, and especially by every young squire and petty tax collector in the land. (*k*) Whatever remnant of ecclesiastical property had been saved from this general pillage was generally administered by the agents of the government, by whom it was used for civil purposes whenever a pressing necessity or cupidity dictated, and the real estate was frequently squandered in the payment of rents. The convents doubtless well deserved their fate, but with the exception of a few foundations for the nobility, which were of no advantage to the Church, their general dissolution was rather a destruction than a reform, and robbed innocence or penitence of an asylum provided for them by the piety of former times.

§ 378. *Public Worship and Art.*

[Add: Azevedo edit. by Krabbe, Zelle 1726. 4. Die ev. KOrdn. v. Richter (p. 44). nt. *f*). *Eisenschmid*, Gesch. d. KGebräuche d. Prot. Lps. 1795. *A. L. Fuchs*, Geist u. Form d. v. Luth. angeordn. Kultus. Brl. 1852. *F. Kliefoth*, d. ursprl. Gottesdienstordn. in d. deut. K. Luth. Bekenntn. ihre Destruct. u. ihr Restock. 1847. —*A. Gerhard*, d. verschiedne Einth. d. Decal. u. d. Eintheilung drs. a. d. Cultus. Hamb. 1858. *C. Harms*, de Protestantismo artibus haud infesto. Stuttg. 1830. 4. [*Lindsay*, Sketches of the Hist. of Chr. Art. Lond. 1848. 3 vols. 8. *C. Burney*, Gen. Hist. of Music. Lond. 1789. 4 vols. 4. *J. Hawkins*, Gen. Hist. of the Science & Practice of Music. Lond. 1776. 5 vols. 4. Burney & Hawkins, Abridged by *T. Busby*. Lond. 1819. 2 vols. 8. *R. North*, Memoirs of Music. Lond. 1846. 4.]

The Reformed Churches conformed strictly to the simple style of devotion

f) Walch vol. XVI. p. 1664. *Apol. Conf.* p. 204. Henke on Villers, p. 305ss. *A. Nicolovius*, die bisch. Würde in Preussens ev. K. Königsb. 1834.

g) Walch vol. X. p. 1896ss. XIII. 1258. Comp. Hutterus red. 7 ed. p. 818s.

h) *Bullinger*, vol. I. p. 122. 884. *Henry*, Calvin, vol. II. p. 28ss.

i) *De Wette* vol. III. p. 185ss. 160. *k*) Walch vol. II. p. 925. XI. 2582. XIII. 81s.

which prevailed in the days of the apostles. The Lutheran mode of worship was gradually developed from the old Roman ritual used in the mass, but modified by the principles and practice of the reformers. According to these, the services of the house of God were not for God alone; the evangelical sermon ought to be the principal part of them, the native language of a people was for them the most sacred, and the congregation should take an active part in the exercises. (*a*) When Luther published an order for divine worship (1526) he took particular care that no one should regard any part of it as indispensable or universally binding, so that Christian liberty should be thereby abridged. (*b*) In the Lutheran Church the practice of private confession even of individual sins was retained, but only as a voluntary matter when any one needed it, and for ignorant people. (*c*) Instead of daily masses and the singing of the hours, many Protestants had bible-lessons appointed, and in Geneva meetings for free religious conference (congregations) were held. The sacred festivals were so reduced as to commemorate none but the most important events in sacred history, and only a few of the national churches continued to celebrate days in honor of Mary and the apostles. Days of fasting were occasionally appointed, and an annual festival for commemorating the Reformation was observed first in Saxony, in 1688. The Reformed Church, with a decidedly iconoclastic spirit, removed from their places of public worship all statues, pictures, and works of art, regarding them as inconsistent with the requirements of the word of God. Having destroyed nearly all its organs, it received a scriptural psalmody, and the tender melodies used to accompany it from the French. (*d*) Luther had no idea that the proper influence of the gospel was to destroy all the refinements of art. On the other hand, he was anxious that all the arts, and particularly music, should be enlisted in the service of Him who had created them. (*e*) Albert Durer was still moved by Luther's spirit, and the faithful Lucas Cranach was the painter of the Reformation. (*f*) All the monuments of art which had been collected by the Catholics of earlier times in the Church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, were preserved without injury by the Protestants. As long as Protestantism felt placed in an attitude of special hostility to Catholicism, its influence was unquestionably adverse to the imitative arts, since it deprived them of their legendary stores, allowed of no statues or pictures in the churches, except such as were strictly illustrative of scriptural history, and even when contending against the Iconoclasts Luther was willing to give up the pictures. (*g*) The more magnificent the Gothic structure, the less was it adapted to the purpose of preaching. It is, however, to Luther that we are principally indebted for the popular character of sacred music. The hymns of the ancient Church were reproduced, and together with the songs which gushed from his own heart, he sent them forth among the German churches

a) Walch vol. X. p. 262ss. *b*) *Ibid.* p. 266ss. *Apol. Conf.* p. 151.

c) *Conf. Aug.* art. 11. Walch vol. XX. p. 60. XVII, 244s.

d) *Bullinger*, vol. I. p. 131s. 175. 265. 418.—*Henry*, Calvin, vol. I. p. 160s. u. Beil. p. 67ss. *H. A. Daniel*, Codex liturg. ecc. univ. in epit. redactus vol. III. Lps. 1851.

e) Walch vol. X. p. 1723. De Wette vol. IV. p. 181.

f) *Stark*, Durer (p. 306.) p. 671s. *Ch. Schuchardt*, L. Cranachd. Aeltern Leben u. Werke. Lps. 1851. 2 vols. *g*) Walch vol. XX. p. 308s.

in a stream of sacred poetry, expressive of all the profound feelings of the Christian heart, and combining all the deep tones of the Christian spirit. When these songs were collected by a pious literary man in Rome they seemed to him like the pages of a great lyrical epic poem which the spirit of Christian poetry had composed in the course of many centuries. Hans Walter assisted Luther in giving a popular character to church music as a choral for the congregation. This was a kind of music derived from the old ecclesiastical harmonies combined with some popular melodies, in which a scientific choir were only leaders to the assembly, and in which pieces similar to motets were interwoven. (*h*) Even the *master-song*, as it flourished at that time, especially in Protestant cities, was directed to biblical subjects, to which indeed the principal singing was expressly confined. (*i*)

§ 379. *Humanistic Education and Holy Scriptures. Cont. from* § 284.

G. W. Meyer, Gesch. d. Schrifterkl. s. Wiederherst. d. Wiss. Gött. 1802ss. 5 vols. *E. Reuss*, Gesch. d. H. Schrr. N. T. 2 ed. Braunschw. 1853. p. 521ss.

In every instance in which the profound feelings of an educated people came under the power of the Reformation, an original religious literature and a series of successful polemic writings were produced. A considerable amount of scriptural commentary and historical investigation were indispensable for laying a foundation for the Reformation, and to vindicate its necessity. Yet though it was commenced when the human mind was in a process of the liveliest development, it was not merely no assistance, but rather a restraint upon that development, on account of the exclusively religious, and among the Epigonoi of the Reformation, the contracted dogmatic interest which prevailed. Luther's quarrel with Erasmus was only a prelude of the rupture between modern orthodoxy and humanistic learning, which was for a while postponed by Melancthon and his school, but which was ultimately unavoidable. (*a*) Luther, it is true, placed a high estimate upon the languages, but it was only for the sake of their utility in the interpretation of the Scriptures. These Scriptures being the only source of all Christian truth, it was necessary first to understand them by means derived from themselves, and then to secure them against the arbitrary methods of the allegorical interpreters. (*b*) Luther lived on terms of familiar equality with the sacred writers, and on this account their most delicate shades of meaning seem never to have escaped him, so that frequently we have their discourse with nothing but his

h) *Luth.* geistl. Lieder nebst Singweisen. ed. by *C. v. Winterfeld*, Lps. 1840. 4. *Luth.* geistl. Lieder m. d. zu s. Lebzeiten gebräuchl. Singweisen. ed. by *Ph. Wackernagel*, Stuttg. 1848. 4.—(*Bunsen*) Versuch e. allg. ev. Gesang-u. Gebetbuchs. Hamb. 1833. *G. v. Tucher*, Schatz d. ev. KGes. im 1. Jahrh. d. Ref. Lps. 1848. 2 vols. *G. Stipp*, unverfälschter Liedersegen. Brl. (1851.) 1852.—*Rambach*, L. Verdienste um d. KGes. Hamb. 1813. *Wackernagel*, d. deutsche KLied. v. Luth. b. Blaurer. Stuttg. 1840. 4.—*C. v. Winterfeld*, d. ev. KGesang. u. s. Verh. z. Kunst d. Tonsatzes. Lps. 1843ss. 3 vols. 4.

i) Gervinus, Gesch. d. poet. Nation. Lit. vol. II. p. 265.

a) Only one side: De non contemnendis studiis humanioribus futuro theologo max. necessariis claror. viror. ad Eob. Hessum Epp. Lutheri, Mel., P. Mosellani etc. Erph. 1523. *Ranke* vol. V. Cap. 8. Proofs for the other view in *Hagen* vol. III. p. 26ss.

b) *Carlstadii* Concl. c. Ecc. 23 et 47. Walch vol. XVIII. p. 1602. XXII. p. 1982ss.

manner. (*c*) In Calvin's concise expositions, especially of the epistles of Paul, we have expressions of the most profound religious feeling, and those things which must be presupposed for the understanding of the inspired writers, together with a wonderful skill in the natural development of thoughts. (*d*) *Melancthon's* commentaries exhibit in a still higher degree the predominance of the rhetorical and dogmatic over the grammatical character. *Beza* was more rigid in his views, and more conversant with theological learning, but he devoted his attention principally to a defence of the oriental and inspired character of the sacred volume, in opposition to the classical but superficial objections of the blunt Zwinglian, *Castellio*. (*e*) *Flacius* endeavored to lay down precise rules for the interpretation of the Scriptures. He maintained that the divine word is to be explained by every means derived from human science, but in subserviency to the fear of God; that nothing must be so interpreted as to become inconsistent with the analogy of faith, *i. e.*, the sum of Christianity founded upon clear passages of Scripture, by which he probably means Lutheranism, and that the allegorical method is admissible only when the literal sense would be immoral, unreasonable, or useless. (*f*) After the bold doubts suggested by Luther and Carolstadt, respecting some parts of the canon, there were no disputes on that subject except with the Catholics, on the manner of its composition. The controversies carried on with regard to the origin of the Masoretic points, and the purity of the Greek language in the New Testament, show that philological studies were obliged to contend with powerful prejudices. But after the establishment of the Church but little attention was bestowed upon the original basis on which it was constructed, in consequence of a decided preference for dogmatic disputes. *Grotius* was the only one who, as a pious humanist, seems to have made any attempts to render the Scriptures intelligible to his contemporaries. (*g*)

§ 380. *Philosophy and Theosophy. Mysticism and Practical Christianity.*

Kromayer, de Weigelianismo, Rosae-Crucianismo et Paracels. Lps. 1669. *Colberg*, platon. hermet. Christenth. Frkf. u. Lps. 1690. 2 vols. *F. Delitzsch*, d. naturphil. Mystic. innerh. d. luth. K. (Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. 1841. H. 3.) *M. Carrière*, die phil. Weltanschauung d. Reformationszeit. Stuttg. 1847. [*H. Hallam*, H. of Lit. New York. 1847. *Enfield's* Abridgment of Brucker's H. of Phil. Lond. 1791. 2 vols. 4.] *K. F. A. Schelling*, Prot. u. Phil. Hamb. 1848.

The reformers would have nothing to do with philosophy, and felt embittered toward it on account of its connection with Scholasticism. (*a*) It was only by means of Melancthon's Class-Book and the academic corporation which existed at that time, that a formal philosophic science, derived from former times and founded principally upon Aristotle, was propagated in the Protestant schools as the handmaid of Theology. The speculations of *Giordano*

c) Especially upon Genesis, the Psalms, and the Ep. to the Galatians.

d) Lately published by *Tholuck* since 1831 in 2d edit. Comp. an edit. of Miscell. writings, by the same author, vol. II. p. 330ss.

e) *Füesslin*, Seb. Castellio. Frkf. 1755.

f) Clavis Sc. S. Bas. 1567. Jen. 1674. 2 vols. & often.

g) Annott. in V. T. Par. 1644. ed. *Doederlein*, Hal. 1775s. 3 vols. 4. Annott. in N. T. Amst. 1641ss. 2 vols. f. ed. *Windheim*, Hal. 1769. 2 Th. 4.

a) *J. ab Elswich*, de varia Arist. in scholis Protest. fortuna (p. 320. before his edit. of Launoi). *Heeren*, Folgen d. Ref. f. Phil. (Ref. Ulm. 1819. p. 114.) comp. *Galle*, Melancth. p. 112.

Bruno with respect to the all-uniting and all-embracing divinity were misunderstood at Wittenberg, and he himself was burnt at Rome (1600). (*b*) Many endeavored to solve the mystery of the divine nature and of the world's organization by subtle glances into the depths of their own natures. *Paracelsus*, a Swiss physician (d. 1541), gave to these efforts a wild and tortuous form of expression in images drawn from nature, and terms derived from alchemy. Without regard to the personal objects which he prosecuted in an empirical manner, we find that he opposed the learned traditions of that period by lively exhibitions of real nature, and that his philosophy aimed to contemplate God as he exists in the depths of nature, as he is in himself, and in his return to himself. (*c*) *Valentine Weigel* (d. 1588), much esteemed as a devout pastor in Tschopau, in his posthumous theosophic writings, maintained that all outward ecclesiastical systems are of no value when compared with the internal Spirit which God gives to men, and represented the doctrines of the Church merely as allegories by which the hidden relations of God and the universe are made known. (*d*) This style of speculation became completely developed in the works of *Jacob Boehme* (d. 1624), the shoemaker of Goerlitz, as the tranquil, pious heart and penetrating mind of the German philosopher endeavored to express through his uncouth language and limited education, in a natural imagery which is sometimes quite insipid and sometimes highly poetic, or in ecclesiastical forms, his conception of the early dawn and the most hidden qualities of things, of the process by which man is exalted from the terrible power of nature to the bright kingdom of love, and of the infinitely calm First Cause, by whose blessedness he was at particular moments delightfully filled. All existence, even the divine, appeared to him an everlasting progress through various opposite forces. Being persecuted by the pastor of his own city, he obtained toleration from the consistory in Dresden. His followers love frequently to contrast the exuberance of his pious spirituality with the formal dependence of the Church upon the outward letter of the Scriptures. The literary position which should be assigned to him is one which belongs to the most modern school of poetry and philosophy, of which he may properly be regarded as the prophet. (*e*) *Arndt* (d. at Celle, 1621), on the other hand, did much to promote internal Christianity in the spirit of the popular mysticism of former times. (*f*) That

b) *Jordani Bruni* Scripta in unum corpus red. *Gfrörer*, Stuttg. 1834. [*C. Barthelmés*, J. Bruno. Par. 1848. 2 vols. S. See Brit. Q. Rev. (Ecl. Mag.) July, 1849.]

c) Schrr. Bas. 1589ss. 11 vols. 4. *Rixner* u. *Siber*, Leben u. Lehren berühmter Physiker. 1829. P. 1. *H. A. Preu*, d. Theol. d. Par. in Auszüg. Brl. 1849. *M. B. Lessing*, Par. s. Leben u. Denken. Brl. 1839.

d) K. u. Hauspostill. Neust. (Magd.) 1611. 1618. Captura aurea, d. güldne Griff d. i. Anl. alle Dinge ohne Irrth. zu erkennen. 1618. 4. comp. *Walch*, Einl. in d. K. Streit. d. luth. K. vol. IV. p. 1028ss.

e) Werke durch Gechtel, Amst. (1682. 2 vols. 4.) 1730. 6 vols. durch Schiebler, Lps. 1831ss. 6 vols. Stuttg. 1835ss. 4 vols. Leben by *A. v. Franckenberg*, prefixed to the Werken. *A. E. Umbreit*, J. B. Hdlb. 1835. *J. Hamberger*, d. Lehre des deutschen Phil. in syst. Ausz. Munich. 1844. *W. L. Wullen*, J. B. Leben u. Lehre. Stuttg. 1836. *Tholuck*, J. B. vor d. Dresd. OConsist. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1852. N. 25.)

f) Vier Bücher v. wahren Christenth. p. 1605. 1. compl. ed. Magd. 1609. [Philad. 1842. 8.] Paradies-Gärtl. voller chr. Tugenden. 1612. and often. *F. Arndt*, J. Arndt. Brl. 1838. *A. Wildenhahn*, *J. Arndt*, Lps. 1847. 2 vols. *H. L. Pertz*, de J. Ar. ejusque libris de vero Christ. Hann. 1852. 4.

he might satisfy those who were starving around him, he turned his attention to the discovery of the philosopher's stone. He was at one time deposed for the martyr zeal which he showed in behalf of exorcism, and from a fear of the action of a living spirit he was accused by the orthodox divines of some of the current heresies. (*g*) But during the dreary period of the Thirty Years' War, and even down to our own times, he did much to promote a mild, consoling and practical form of Christianity among the people. With much more spirit, *Henry Mueller* (d. 1675), in opposition to the dumb ecclesiastical idols of his time, proclaimed in Rostock the riches of divine love which are found in Christianity. (*h*) In opposition to an age which in its zeal for Lutheranism had begun to lose sight of Christianity, *Joh. Val. Andreae* (d. 1654), with an affectionate spirit but with satirical humor, after consecrating himself to Christ, took a stand against the perverse follies of the day. (*i*) The first of the treatises professing to be by Christian Rosenkreuz, an allegorical and mythical personage, respecting a secret society for the subjugation of nature and the spiritual world by magical arts, was unquestionably by him, and the two others must have proceeded at least from a circle in intimate connection with him. They were doubtless designed to be a fanciful satire upon a peculiar tendency of that period, to which, however, they have contributed assistance when read as a serious history by persons inclined to such folly. (*k*) The real object of Andreae, however, was to overthrow the idols of literature and religion, and to set up the primitive Christ in their stead, (*l*) and in the distant future he beheld the ideal of a Christian state, a colony of Arndt's Jerusalem, in which a community of goods and universal felicity based upon morality would combine an education for an earthly state with another for heaven. (*m*) The mystic theological tendency which prevailed especially in Rostock and Strasbourg, originated in an attempt to adhere to the Christianity of the heart and life, in opposition to one which had become torpid in the spell of the Form of Concord, and other magical creeds.

g) Luc. *Osiander*, theol. Bedenken u. chr. treuherz. Erin. Tüb. 1624.

h) Geistl. Erquickstunden, the last by *Russwurm*, Ratzeb. (1823.) 1831. Himml. Liebeskuss, last ed. by *Fiedler*, Lps. 1831. and others. Comp. *Arnold*, vol. I. p. 934.

i) *Andr.* Vita ab ipso conscr. ed. *Rheinwald*, Ber. 1849. (Uebers. in Seybold's Selbstbiogr. Winterth. 1799. vol. II.) *W. Hossbach*, Andr. u. s. Zeita. Brl. 1819.—*Andr.* Dictgn. with Praef. by *Herder*, Lps. 1786. *M. F. Burk*, Verz. aller Schrr. Andr. Tüb. 1793. Andr. entlarvter Apap, nebst Beitr. z. KGesch. d. 16. u. 17. Jahrh. by *C. T. Papst*, Lps. 1827. Die Christenburg v. Andr. ed. by *C. Grüneisen*, Lps. 1836.

k) Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkr. a. 1459. (after 1602.) Strasb. 1616. Fama fraternitatis d. l. bl. O. d. Rosenkreuzer. (1610.) Cass. 1614. To the 2 ed. of Cass. 1615. is added Die Confession der Brüdersch. R. C. Both with the lat. orig. of the Conf. (ed. by *J. F. v. Meyer.*) Frkf. 1827.—*G. E. Guhrauer*, u. d. Verf. u. urspr. Sinn d. Fama Fraternit. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1852. II. 2.)

l) Invitatio ad. fraternit. I. II. Arg. 1616s. Christ. societatis idea. Tub. 1620. Vita ed. *Rheinw.* p. 100. Ep. ad Comenium. (*Comen.* Opp. Amst. 1657. p. 284.)

m) Reipubl. Christiano politanae descriptio. Arg. 1619. 12. *Guhrauer*, der erste deutsche Staatsroman. (*Prutz*, deutsches Museum. 1852. N. 22.) comp. *Arnold*, vol. I. p. 1114ss.

CHAP. VI.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Sarpi, Pallavicini, (p. 359.) Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Rom. et Cardd. auctoribus *Ciaconio, Cabrera, Victorello.* Rom. 1630. f. *L. Ranke,* d. röm. Päpste, ihre Kirche u. ihr. Staat im 16. u. 17. Jahrh. Brl. (1834ss.) 1837ss. 3 vols. *Hefele,* ü. d. Schicksale d. K. s. d. Tridentinum. (Tüb. Quartalsch. 1846. H. 1.)

§ 381. *The Popes in the Age of the Reformation, till* 1585.

Onufrio Panvini, Platina restitutus c. additione. Pontt. a Sixto IV. usque ad Pium IV. Ven. 1562. 4. and often. *A. du Chesne,* H. des Papes. Par. 1646. f. cont. (till Paul V.) p. *Fr. du Chesne,* Par. 1658. 2 vols. f. *Rambach,* Hist. d. Päpste. (cont. by Bower, 10th vol.) Magd. 1779s. 2 Abschn. 4. [*B. Platina,* Lives of the Popes from the time of Christ to Sixtus IV. transl. and cont. till 1685.) by *P. Rycaut,* Lond. 1685. f. *Bower's* Lives of the Popes till 1758, cont. by *S. H. Cox* till now. 2 ed. New York. 1835. 3 vols. 8.]

During the contests between France and Spain for the possession of Italy, Leo X. formed an alliance with the emperor, and died exulting over their common victory (Dec. 1st, 1521), and with the reputation of having exhausted the revenues of three pontificates. *Hadrian VI.* (1522–23), of Utrecht, an ardent literary man, but with no taste for art and poetry, a preceptor of the emperor, and twice regent of Spain, though regarding his possession of sovereign authority as the most unfortunate circumstance of his life, came to the papal chair entirely unacquainted with Roman affairs, or the various intrigues of that period with respect to Italy, and became most painfully conscious of the dependence of even the best of men upon the times in which they live. The efforts he put forth for the deliverance of Rhodes from the hands of the Turks were utterly unsuccessful, and he finally died under the burden of his official duties. (*a*) *Clement VII.* (1523–34), a natural son of Julian de Medici, made an earnest but ineffectual effort for the independence of Italy (p. 381). Rome was once more plundered by the barbarians, and the vicar of Christ was obliged to pay dearly for the procession which the emperor contrived for his liberation. He was, however, successful in his policy of employing the imperial forces to secure the possession of Florence as an inheritance of his family, and in elevating his niece to the throne of France. (*b*) *Paul III.* (Farnese, 1534–49) was himself acquainted with polite literature, and honored it in others; he adorned the city of Rome with many works of art, exhausted his resources in unfortunate schemes to acquire principalities for his sons and grandsons, and by subsidies against the Protestants laid the foundation for the load of debt under which the States of the Church have since groaned. He soon, however, became alarmed at the sudden success of the emperor, and subsequently, as far as was possible for a pope, he acted in political concert with the Protestants. He appointed to the office of cardinal men of profound piety, and committed to their hands the duty of forming a plan for the reformation of the Church. They represented the papacy as the true source of all abuses, and proposed measures against the secularization of ecclesiastical offices and endowments, and against the incompetency and immorality of the clergy. Such a plan the cardinals concluded should be introduced, only very gradually, and with great secrecy.

a) Biographies by *Giovio* and others in *Burmann.* (p. 374.)
b) *Ziegler,* H. Clem. (*Schelhorn,* Amoenn. H. ecc. vol. I. p. 210.)

The knowledge of it, however, was betrayed to the Protestants, was published by them to show how much even their adversaries had conceded, and was commented upon by Luther with unreasonable raillery, and the pope found it better to introduce the inquisition instead of the Reformation. (*c*) *Julius III.* (Del Monte, 1550–55), with an impudent affectation of modesty, attempted to justify his elevation of the keeper of his monkeys to the dignity of a cardinal, and although abundantly competent to the duties of his station, spent the whole period of his pontificate in enjoying himself in his beautiful villa. There was, however, a party continually becoming more powerful, which was convinced that the Church could never be delivered but by piety and a rigid morality. Their first choice fell upon *Marcellus II.* (1555), but he was destined by Providence barely to make his appearance in the papal chair. (*d*) *Paul IV.* (Caraffa, 1555–59) brought to the throne the gloomy severity of an octogenarian monk, and was inflexibly strict toward himself, toward others, and even toward his guilty nephews, but proved himself a terrible enemy to heretics, and gathered around himself a shadow of the ancient hierarchy. For a while his patriotic feelings obtained the mastery, and induced him to form an alliance with France to effect the liberation of Italy from the power of Spain. A heretic infantry defended Rome against a Catholic army, and nothing but Philip's piety toward his Church prompted him to grant the pope an honorable peace. On the day he died, his statue was mutilated by the people, and the house of the inquisition was reduced to ashes. (*e*) *Pius IV.* (Medici of Milan, 1559–65), condescending and pleasant as he was by nature, allowed all the measures adopted by his predecessor to remain in force, established the papal authority by his moderation and conciliatory conduct toward the princes, conceded the use of the cup in Austria as far as the German princes and bishops thought it needful for their country, and sustained the heroic efforts of the Knights of St. John for the deliverance of Malta. (*f*) The Dominican *Pius V.* (Ghislieri, 1566–72), a pious judge in all matters connected with morality and heresy, realized as much as possible in the court and the Church generally, the ideal of the rigidly devout party, encouraged the violent and sanguinary measures then adopted against the Protestants, and assisted in gaining the naval victory of Lepanto against the Turks. (*g*) *Gregory XIII.* (Buoncompagno, 1572–85) established learned ecclesiastical schools especially for missions, corrected the book of canon law by appeals to the original authorities (p. 286), and the ecclesiastical and civil was made to harmonize with the solar year. (*h*) In consequence of his attempt to

c) (*A. M. Quirini*) imago opt. Pontificis expressa in gestis P. III. Brix. 1745. 4. On the other side: *Kiesling*, Ep. de gestis P. Lps. 1747. 4. *Schelhorn*, Ep. II. de emendanda Ecc. Tur. 1748. *Walch* vol. XVI. p. 2394ss. cf. Bulla Reformat. Pauli III. ad Hist. Conc. Trid. pertinens, concepta, non vulgata, ed. *Clausen*, Havn. 1830. 4. [Necessity of Ref. presented to the Diet of Speyer, Letter of Paul III. to Charles V., and Calvin's Remarks, transl. by *Beveridge*, Philad. 1835. 18.]

d) *P. Polidori* de vita Marc. II. commentar. Rom. 1744. 4.

e) *A. Caracciuli*, Col. hist. de vita P. IV. Col. 1612. 4. *F. Magii* Disqq. hist. de P. IV. inculpata vita. Neap. 1672. f. *Bromato*, Storia di Paolo IV. Rom. 1748. 2 vols. 4.

f) *Leonardi* Or. de laudib. Pii IV. Pad. 1565.

g) *H. Catena*, Vita del P. Pio V. Rom. 1586. 4. *J. A. Gabutii* de vita Pii V. Rom. 1605. f. (Acta SS. Maj. Th. I. p. 616.) *A. Bzovii* P. V. Rom. 1672. f. *P. A. Maffei*, Vita di S. Pio. Ven. 1712. 4. *Mendham*, Life of S. Pius V. Lond. 1835.

h) Comp. *F. Piper*, Gesch. d. Osterfestes s. d. Kalenderreform. Brl. 1845.

relieve the finances of the state by restoring long-forgotten feudal tenures which he had no power to enforce, he revived old party dissensions, and increased the number of the banditti until they openly took the field as an organized army. (*c*)

§ 382. *Ignatius de Loyola*, 1491–1566.

I. *Ribadeneira*, (according to the account of Consalvus) Vita Ignat. Neap. 1572. and often. *Maffei*, (according to the account of Polancus) de vita et morib. Ignat. L. Rom. 1585. 4. and often. Cf. Acta SS. Jul. vol. VII. p. 409.

II. *Bouhours*, Vie de S. Ignace. Par. (1679. 4.) 1680. trans. by Haza-Radlitz. Vien. 1835. *Genelli*, Leben d. h. Ign. v. L. Innspr. 1847.—*Hane*, Leben I. L. Rost. 1721. *F. Kortüm*, Entstehungsgesch. d. J. O. Mannh. 1843. [*I. Taylor*, Loyola and Jesuitism in its Rudiments. Lond. 1849. 8. *E. W. Grinfield*, Hist. of the Jesuits. Lond. 1853. 8. *T. J. Buss*, Gesch. d. Ordens. d. J. only Part I. is published. Lps. 1853.]

Don *Inigo de Loyola*, a native of the mountains in the Basque provinces of Spain, was thrown upon a sick-bed in consequence of severe wounds received during the heroic defence of Pampeluna (1521), and while reading the history of the saints, became filled with a longing to acquire, like St. Francis, a glorious crown in heaven by earthly sufferings. Having been betrothed as a spiritual Amadis to the Holy Virgin, he endeavored by extreme self-denials and temptations to acquire an education and sphere of activity worthy of such a knighthood. With six companions in the Church of the Virgin Mary at Montmartre (1534), besides taking the ordinary monastic vows, he solemnly pledged himself to take care of himself, to minister to pilgrims, to seek the conversion of the Saracens, and to receive with the most confiding obedience every command which the Holy Father might impose with respect to any sphere of duty. After much reflection, *Paul III.* (1540) granted this *Society of Jesus*, which at first consisted of but sixty members, his permission to devote themselves as a community to the advancement of the soul in the Christian life and faith, and as a military company to the extension of Christian truth. (*a*) *Ignatius* was elected the first general of the order, and he obtained for it (1545) all the privileges of the mendicant friars. He soon saw it extending into all parts of Europe, and under the conduct of Xavier, developing its operations for the conversion of the heathen beyond the ocean. The mind of Ignatius was somewhat contracted, but he possessed an indomitable will, and his whole life was spent in the relief of the sick, the instruction of children, and the care of souls. He endeavored always to keep his mind so occupied with spiritual exercises, that his religious feelings and his imagination were in continual excitement, and yet were firmly held in a given direction. (*b*)

c) *M. A. Ciappi*, Comp. delle attioni e s. vita di Gr. Rom. (1591.) 1596. 4. *J. Bomplani* H. pontif. Gr. Dill. 1685. *Maffei*, Ann. Gr. Rom. 1742. 2 vols. 4.

a) Litt. apost., quibus institutio, confirm. et varia privill. continentur S. J. Antv. 1635.

b) Exercitia spiritualia S. P. Ign. Loyolae. Antv. 1638. and often. Lond. 1838. Directorium in exerc. spir. Antv. 1638.

§ 383. *Jesuitism.*

I. Constitutiones Soc. Jesu. (Rom. 1583.) Antu. 1635. (Corpus institutorum S. J. Antu. 1702. 2 vols. 4.) Institutum S. J. Prag. 1757. 2 vols. 4. Hist. S. J. auctore *Orlandino.* (Rom. 1615.) *Sacchino, Possino, Juvencio, Cordara.* Antu. 1620. 1750. 6 vols. f.

II. Hist. de la comp. de Jésus. Par. 1740. 4 vols. and often. Hist. Ehrentempel d. Gesell. J. Vien. 1841. *–R. C. Dallas,* H. of the Jesuits. Lond. 1816. 2 vols. Mit Erl. (v. *F. v. Kerz.*) Düsseld. 1820. 2 vols. u. Nachtr. Münch. 1821.—*S. Sugenheim,* Gesch. d. Jes. in Deutschl. Frkf. 1848. 2 vols.—*R. Huspiniani* H. Jesuitica. (Tig. 1619.) Gen. 1670. f. *Harenberg,* pragm. Gesch. d. O. d. J. Hal. 1760. 2 vols. (*Adelung*) Vrs. e. Gesch. d. J. Brl. u. Hal. 1769s. 2 vols. *P. P. Wolf,* allg. Gesch. d. J. (Zür. 1789ss.) Lps. 1803. 4 vols. *Spittler,* ü. Gesch. u. Verf. d. J. O. Lps. 1817. [*Cretineau Joly,* Hist. rel. pol. et lit. de la Comp. d. J. Par. 1846. 2 ed. 6 vols. 12. *A. Steinmetz,* Hist. of J. from the Germ. Philad. 1840. 2 vols. *Ravaignan,* Life and Inst. of J. New York. 12. *E. Duller,* J. as they were and are, from the Germ. Lond. 1845. 12. *W. H. Rule,* Celebrated Jesuits, Xavier, Laynez, Garnett. Bellarmine, Schall, and Gruber. Lond. 1853. 8. *Michelet & Quinet,* The J. from the Fr. New York. 1842. 12. *J. Poynder,* H. of the J. Lond. 1816. 2 vols. 8vo.]

A few sagacious and enthusiastic spirits connected with the order, well understood the peculiar wants of the age, and by a dexterous adaptation of it to these, even under the administration of its second General *Lainez* (d. 1564), it became conscious of its general power to maintain the cause of the hierarchy against Protestantism, whether within or beyond the limits of the Roman Church. Before any could become members, they were required to pass through a novitiate, in which they were severely and appropriately tested. Of the actual members, some were called scholastics, others coadjutors, secular or spiritual, and only a few choice spirits reached the perfect dignity of the Professed. From the latter were chosen the principal officers, the Superiors, and the Provincials, constituting a well organized train of authorities up to the General of the Order in Rome with his assistant Council. Every individual was powerful in his appropriate sphere, but in every act he was closely watched and guarded lest he should transcend his proper limits. So perfect was the obedience inculcated by a long course of discipline, and strengthened by every spiritual means, that with the exception of some internal storms, a single arbitrary but inflexible will controlled every movement of the order in all parts of the world. And yet, although each individual possessed no more will of his own than the particular members of the human body, he expected to be placed in precisely that position in which his talents would be best developed for the common benefit, in exercises of monastic devotion, in literary and scientific pursuits, in the secular life of courts, or in strange adventures and eminent offices among savage nations. All became accustomed to regard the order as their only home, and their superiors as their only providence. The movements of this order were not impeded by the clumsy machinery of ancient monasticism, for it had at its command all kinds of ecclesiastical dispensations, and as a third kind of monasticism, completely restored to the various occupations of the world, it entered into every relation of social and secular life. (*a*) At the close of the century in which it was established, by the multitude of its members engaged in the instruction of youth, and appointed to be the guardians of princes, it had become the most important power in the Catholic Church. The Jesuits also endeavored to become proficient in every kind of intellectual cultivation,

a) *H. v. Orelli,* d. Wesen d. Jes. Ordens. p. 186s.

as the only way to obtain ascendency in the world of mind. But although they had among them a multitude of learned men in every department of literature, the curse of their struggle against human freedom rested upon them, and not a single great work was given by them to the world. Full of pomp as their churches generally were, very little genuine taste, and scarcely any true works of art, were to be seen, and they seemed like posthumous sons of their parent Catholicism. They gave their countenance to every fantastic and gloomy superstition, though it must be conceded that it was a Jesuit whose tender spirit moved him to be the first to arouse the people by his awakening appeals against the abominations of the trials of the witches. (b) In spite of the ill-will of the other orders, and the suspicions of some governments, public sentiment in Catholic countries was in their favor. But in their efforts to become all things to all men, and to make the way of salvation easy, some of them indulged in an inconsiderate boldness of assertion, which was not properly rebuked by their leaders, and thus their enemies found occasion for accusing them of maintaining the hierarchical views of former times (p. 334) respecting the inferior importance of ordinary duties in comparison with the attainment of a supreme object, of putting forth general maxims dangerous to the security of all laws, and of composing a science of casuistry, in which pedantry and frivolity were equally conspicuous, but which seriously impaired the inviolability of the moral law. (c)

§ 384. *The Council of Trent.* *Dec.* 13, 1545–*Dec.* 4, 1563.

I. Canones et decr. C. Trid. Rom. 1564. 4. and oft. ed. *Jos. de Flor.* Lov. 1779. 4. Lps. 1782. Acc. S. Congr. Card. Conc. Trid. interpretum Resolutiones et Consult. Pontif. recentiores ad jus communem spect. ed. *Aem. L. Richter*, Lps. 1853. [Canons and Decrees of the Œcumen. Council of Trent, transl. by *J. Waterworth*, with Essays on the Hist. of the Council. Lond. 1848. 8.]—*F. et J. du Puy*: Instructions et mémoires des Rois de France et de leurs Ambass. et autres actes concern. le Conc. de Tr. Par. 1654. vol. 4. 1664. 4. Lett. et Memoires de *Fr. de Vargas*, etc. trad. p. *M. de Vassor*. Amst. 1699. 4to. 8. *S. Sarpi*, Brunsv. 17[illegible]. 4. Mem. ad Hist. C. Tr. spect. amplius. Coll. op. *Jod. le Plat.* Lov. 1781-7. 7 vols. 4. *G. B. Pighii*, Anecdota ad H. C. Tr. Gron. 1703-1718. 2[illegible]. Paris. *J. Morillon*, Memoirs of the Council of Trent. Lond. 1684. 4. *Acta* C. Tr. ab a. 1562. a *Guido Card. Columbo Publicata*, [illegible] ed. *Mendham*, Lond. 1842. [The Council of Tr. and its proceedings. (Pres. Board of Publ.) Philad. 1855. 18.]

II. *Sarpi*, *Pallavicini* (p. 304.) [*P. P. Sarpi*, H. of the C. of Tr. transl. by *A. Brent*. Lond. 1676. *S. P. a. Pallavicino*, H. del Conc. di Trento. Montr. 1844. 3 vols. 8.] Comp. *J. N. Brischar*, Beurth. d. Controversen Sarpi's u. Pall. Tüb. 1848. 2 vols. *L. Ell. du Pin*, H. du C. de Trente. Brux. 1724. 2 vols. 4. *Sarpi*, volst. Hist. des Tr. Conc. Bal. 1742ss. 8 vols. 4. *J. M. Schmid*, Gesch. d. C. v. Tr. Reutl. 1840. 3 vols. *Wiesenberg* (p. 277.) vol. III. IV. *J. T. L. Danz*, Gesch. d. Tr. C. Jen. 1840. [*Dungarvan*, Hist. of C. of Trent, from the Germ. Lond. 1852. 8. *A. L. Richter*, Canons and Decrees of the C. of Trent. Berl. 1853. 8.]

The general council long called for by the nations of Europe to restore peace to the Church, and to reform its abuses by a process accordant with legal forms, was finally convened by *Paul III.* The objects expressed in the

(b) (*Fr. Spee*) Cautio criminalis s. de processu c. sagas. Rint. 1631. Fref. 1632. and often.

(c) Especially after *Th. Sanchez*, de sacramento matrim. Gen. 1592. 3 vols. and oft. *A. de Escobar*, L. Theol. moralis. 24 S. J. Doctoribus recentes. Lugd. 1646. and oft.—Satire: Moriæ privata S. J. Norimb. (Krakau) 1612. and oft.—*M. Cloriviliius*, Theol. Jesuitar. praec. capp. Lps. 1[illegible]. Instit. Jesuitar. praec. capp. confutata. Rupellae ed. 2. 1684. (Cf. *Schipphius*) Anatomia S. J. 1680. 4. (*N. Pavillon*) La Morale des Jes. extraite de leurs livres. Mons. 1669. 2 vols. 12. *J. Ellendorf*, S. Moral u. Politik d. J. Darmst. 1840.—Defence: *J. B. Lay*, Beitrr. z. Würdig. d. J. O. (after Möhler.) Lnz. 1840. *F. J. Buss*, Die Gesellsch. J. Mainz. 1838. Abth. I.

terms of the call were to exterminate heretics, and to secure definitively the internal unity of the Church, in the Romish sense of these terms. It was opened at Trent just as war had been declared against the Protestants, but after the emperor's victories, the pope saw that the imperial influence was greater in a council assembled in a German territory than that of the Holy Spirit. The place of meeting was therefore changed to Bologna (1547), under the pretence of danger from a pestilence, and when the imperial bishops still remained at Trent, it was adjourned to 1548. *Julius III.* so far yielded to the threats and promises of the emperor, that he ordered the synod to continue its sessions at Trent on May 1, 1551. Some Protestant delegates had already arrived, and others were on their way, when for fear of Maurice of Saxony, the assembly adjourned April 28th, 1552, for two years. It was not, however, reassembled until by order of Pius IV., Jan. 8, 1562. The order of business for the assembly, after every thing that could produce any recollection of Basle was set aside, was entirely under the control of the presiding legates. The twenty-five sessions were merely public solemnities, at which the decrees debated and prepared in the committees were openly proclaimed. The decrees were passed by a majority of the bishops and generals of orders present at the time, of which the Italians were more numerous than all the other nations together. The opposition, especially of the French and Spanish bishops, became sometimes very formidable, and by these the demands of the Protestant deputies were welcomed with much favor. (*a*) Even the fundamental doctrines of the Protestants respecting the Scriptures and justification, or views consistent with them, found some to advocate them, (*b*) and the emperor, with the French king, made important demands for a reformation; but when this liberal party was seen to have become Protestant, or were frightened by finding themselves tending toward that result, the papal party by treaties with the courts and with individual prelates obtained a complete victory. (*c*) Decrees respecting doctrines, and decrees for the reformation of the Church, were after the fourth session published alternately. The former contained a revision of the previous systems of doctrine, and as far as the dogmas of the middle ages advocated by the different theological schools could be made to harmonize, they were stamped with the seal of infallibility, and most of the Protestant deviations from them were condemned. In the decrees for reformation, many salutary rules were adopted for the government and discipline of the Church, and many canons of the ancient Church were revived. These decrees were all confirmed by Pius IV., who reserved to himself the papal prerogative of explaining them as he pleased. The Synod of Trent was accepted unconditionally by most of the Italian States, by Portugal, Poland, and the emperor; and with a reservation of the royal prerogatives by Spain, Naples, and Belgium; with some exceptions by Switzerland and Hungary; and only so far as respects doctrines by France. (*d*)

a) *Vargas*, Lett. et Mém. p. 468ss. *Wessenberg*, vol. III. p. 311ss.

b) *Sarpi* l. II. p. 249ss. 322ss. *Pallavicini* VIII, 11. 4. *Hormayr*, Taschenb. f. vaterl. Gesch. 1832. p. 130ss. *c*) *Ranke*, Päpste. vol. I. p. 333ss.

d) *Courayer*, H. de la reception du C. de Trente. Amst. 1756.

§ 385. *Sixtus V. April* 27, 1585–*Aug.* 27, 1590.

Robardi, Sixti V. gesta quinquennalia. Rom. 1590. 4. *Leti*, Vita di Sisto V. Losanna. 1669. 2 Th. later in 3 vols. and often. esp. in Fr. Par. 1702. 2 vols. Defended with a partisan spirit by *C. Tempesti*, Storia della vita e geste di Sisto V. Rom. 1755. 2 vols. 4. Comp. *Ranke*, Papste. vol. III. p. 317ss.

Felix Peretti made his way from the herd to the throne by his pious zeal as a Franciscan, a preacher, and an inquisitor, and when a cardinal under the name of Montalto (after 1576), by an humble deportment and a complete renunciation of his natural and impetuous love of command. The style in which this contrast between his earlier and his later life is mentioned in popular accounts, only shows by what qualities and conduct the people of that period generally believed that the triple crown could best be won. Having attained this highest point of his ambition, *Sixtus V.* thought that nothing was impossible for him, and while grasping with his utmost power every thing actual and possible, he busied himself with the most fantastic and stupendous plans. The utmost that human power and sagacity could do was accomplished by him in maintaining the papal authority, in opposition to princes who were either contending for the Reformation, or had already made peace with its friends. Instead of vainly attempting to put down heretics, he concluded that he might profitably make use of them in firmly binding the Catholic kings to the interests of the papal see. But in the contest between France and Spain, he saw only a contention between the milder and the more rigid parties in the great Catholic body itself, and hence his attention was distracted and his practical energy was enfeebled. Under his direction the banditti were completely destroyed; by the exercise of an inexorable and almost barbarous severity the authority of law was re-established in his territories; a wise system was put in practice for the support of the poor; industry was awakened; the Vatican library attained a magnificent size; various works in biblical literature were printed; the printing-press in the Vatican for the publication of all that has reached us from the ancient Church, beginning with the Scriptures, was established; the vast works of antiquity were rescued from their rubbish, as far at least as they could become useful in illustrating the triumphs of the cross; and, although he placed by the side of these many new edifices not unworthy of the association, and even enriched his relatives, he left behind him a vast treasure in the castle of St. Angelo, from loans and an increased sale of offices, to be used by his successors only in circumstances strictly defined. His government was not according to the taste of the Roman people, and the Jesuits, whom he hated, did much to curtail his reputation, if not his life. But so profound and so poetic was the impression which he produced upon his contemporaries, that even in his own age his hopes, his achievements, and his fortunes became incorporated in various forms among the legends of the people.

§ 386. *Popes of the Seventeenth Century.*

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini, 1592–1605) was in the sight of God and man a priest of extraordinary piety in the ecclesiastical sense of that word. In spite of the opposition of the rigidly Catholic party, with a wise ostenta-

tion he absolved Henry IV. from papal excommunication, and thereby formed a needful counterbalance to the oppressive friendship of Spain. He was obliged to act with zeal against the Edict of Nantes, and yet toward individual Protestants he exhibited many tokens of personal friendship. His influence upon France, Spain, and Savoy was that of a prince of peace; but when the true house of Este had become extinct, he took possession of Ferrara as an escheated fief, by military force, preceded by the terrors of an excommunication. By such means a termination was given to the exercise of arbitrary power in Ferrara, but with it also ceased the cheerful splendor of a court adorned by knights, art, and literature. (*a*) *Paul V.* (Borghese, 1605–21) regarded himself as the appointed instrument of the Holy Ghost to render the decretals of his predecessors equal in authority to divine laws, in an age which he misunderstood. This produced many disagreements between him and the different Italian states, respecting the limits of jurisdiction possessed by the spiritual courts. With Venice, where the power of the state was held in the highest esteem, this controversy proceeded to an open rupture when the pope demanded that certain clergymen who had been condemned for some capital offences, should be delivered up to him, and that a law should be repealed by which an increase of the property of the Church in real estate was forbidden. The Venetian senate was excommunicated by the pope, and the territories under their control were placed under an interdict (April 17, 1606). The papal ban was declared by Venice to be unjust, and therefore void. The Servite, *Paolo Sarpi*, an intelligent and highly educated man, and of rigid Catholic piety with respect to his mode of life, justified the republic in the eyes of foreign nations, and quieted the minds of the Venetian people by strengthening a consciousness of their rights. When the pope therefore saw that his interdict was despised, and that Ferrara was in peril, he was obliged to avail himself of the mediation of France to effect a peace, leaving the rights of the republic unimpaired (1607). (*b*) He was more successful in laying a permanent basis for the wealth of his own family, by the destruction of the unfortunate house of *Cenci*. Sarpi was included in the stipulations of the peace, and although well acquainted with the ordinary practice of the Roman curia, he continued with all the lawful means which history affords, to protest, like another Paul withstanding Peter, against the arbitrary aggressions of the pope upon the liberties of the Church and state (d. 1623). (*c*) On the other hand the pope had himself saluted as the Vicar of God, and the valiant preserver of the papal omnipotence. (*d*) *Gregory XV.* (Ludovisi, 1621–23), who always lived on the brink of the grave, gave a permanent form to the rules by which the election and consecration of the pope should

a) Lettres du Card. *d'Ossat*. Par. 1627. f. Amst. 1732. 5 vols. Les ambassades du Card. *du Perron*. Par. 1623. f.—*L. Wadding*, Vita Clem. VIII. Rom. 1723. 4.

b) Interdicti Veneti II. auct. Paulo Sarpi ex ital. Cantabr. 1726. 4. Controv. inter P. M. et Venetos acta et serr. ex ital. In villa San Vincentiana 1607.

c) Opere (with his Vita by *Fulgenzio*). Ven. 1677. 5 vols. 12. *Griselini* (Memorie anecdote, transl. into Germ. by *Le Bret*, Ulm. 1761.) del genio di Fra Paolo. Ven. 1785. (*Fontanini*, Storia arcana di Fra Paolo. Ven. 1803.) *Bianchi-Giovini*, Biogr. di Fra P. Zurigo. 1836. 2 vols. *E. Münch*, Fra P. Sarpi. Carlsr. 1838.

d) *Bzovii* Paulus V Burghesius. Rom. 1624.

henceforth be conducted, (*e*) canonized the founders of the order of the Jesuits, whose pupil he had been, made a powerful effort to maintain the German war, and received the Palatine library as his share of the booty. (*f*) *Urban VIII.* (Barberini, 1623–44), although fully conscious of his eminent dignity and talents, was contented with the prosecution of such designs as belonged to him in the character of an Italian prince, the construction of a few forts, and the conduct of an inglorious war against the house of the Farnese. For a while his policy was favorable to the cause of the Protestant powers, and the rigid Catholics complained that the pope stood as cold as ice in the midst of the conflagration of churches and monasteries. But he protested against the compulsory concessions made at the treaty of Prague, maintained the most rigid system of Catholicism, and gave the final form to the bull *In coena Domini* (p. 311), in which nearly all the claims of the mediaeval hierarchy are advanced, and not only Saracens, pirates, and princes who impose arbitrary taxes, but Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists, were anathematized. (*g*)

§ 387. *Law and Political Relations.*

It was principally through the labors of some learned Jesuits that the ideas of the middle ages were now reduced to a regular theocratic system of policy, the fundamental principle of which was that the state is to the church what the body is to the soul. It was contended that although this body lives in accordance with its own laws, it should nevertheless be subservient to the great objects of the soul, and in extreme cases should be sacrificed for the salvation of the soul. It was also conceded that the royal power is not derived from the pope, and is not subject to him, and yet where the salvation of the soul demands such a sacrifice, the pope has a right to depose even kings, and the inquisition is authorized to take away their lives, since every earthly power loses its rights when they are abused for the injury of religion. According to this system the sacerdotal power was committed to a distinct order of men by God, and the royal power was derived from the people, so that the advocates of this system carried out the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people to its extreme results. (*a*) Not only individual Jesuits taught that it was lawful and even pleasing to God to slay a tyrannical king, but even the Sorbonne decided (1589) that the French people ought to have no scruples of conscience in taking up arms against their king. (*b*) This was, it is true, intended to express a decision on a particular case, and was directed only against those kings who threatened the interests of Catholicism. But the majesty of even Catholic kings was made to depend upon religious considera-

e) *Ingoli.* Caeremoniale ritus electionis Rom. Pont. Rom. 1621. *Lunadoro*, Relazione della corte di Roma. Rom. ed. 5. 1824. 2 vols. 12.

f) *Aug. Theiner*, Schenkung der Heidelb. Bibl. u. ihre Versend. nach Rom. München. 1844.

g) Bullar. Rom. vol. IV. p. 118-ss. *Le Bret* (p. 311.) 1. 2. vol. 2 ed. 1772.—*S. Simonin*, Sylvae Urbanianae s. gesta Urb. Antu. 1637.

a) *J. Mariana*, de Rege et Regis institutione l. III. Tolet. 1598. & often. *Bellarmin*, de potestate Summi Pontif. in temporal. Rom. 1610. & often. *Suarez*, Def. fidei cath. adv. anglic. sectae errores. Conimb. 1613. & often.

b) Responsum facultatis theol. Parisiensis. (Additions au Journal de Henry III. vol. I. p. 317.)

tions, and under the sway of a king whom the pope had approved, this same Sorbonne condemned the very doctrine (1594) which had produced the violent death of two kings of France. (*c*) Wherever Protestantism maintained its existence under the government of Catholic princes, the power of the sovereign was limited by the states, but no sooner did Catholicism obtain the victory than he was freed from all such restraints. In Venice a system of political science was composed without reference to religious creeds. (*d*) When Paul IV. pronounced the election of the emperor invalid, because it had been held without his mediation, and by heretical princes, he perceived that the Roman authority in such matters was despised by every one in Germany, whether belonging to the new or to the old religion, (*e*) and the imperial coronation has ever since been a high festival, which in the view of the nation had no relation to Rome. The popes were well aware that their cause could not then dispense with the favor of the princes; and although they still derived regular revenues from the appointment of ecclesiastical offices, instead of drawing money from the princes, these princes received large sums from the hand of the popes. By such subsidies for maintaining the contest against the Protestants, and by numerous gifts for the establishment of relatives, the debts of the Roman court finally became so enormous, that under Urban VIII. they amounted to thirty millions of scudi, and half the papal revenues were consumed in the payment of the interest. (*f*) This burden, however, by an artificial system of finance was rendered not unacceptable to many wealthy persons, and a vast influence was acquired, since it now became the interest of independent men of wealth to sustain the papacy. The pope looked upon himself as far superior to any council, to whose decisions he paid deference merely from his own free grace. He maintained that even in doubtful matters the Church was bound to regard him as infallible, that it might not act against conscience when going against his decision. (*g*) The appointment of nearly all prelates depended upon the will of the princes, and the consent of the pope. It was in the German bishopries that the influence of the emperor was the least, but the popes generally found it expedient to consult the wishes of the German princes in the appointment of their younger sons. In the new form of their oath the bishops were obliged to swear obedience to the papacy rather than to the Church, and that they would persecute heretics to the utmost of their power. (*h*) In most of the principal cities permanent nunciatures were formed, with high plenipotentiary powers, that through them the influence of the papacy might become as it were universal. The Gallican Church alone kept itself aloof from these agencies. (*i*)

c) *Argentre* (p. 251.) vol. II. p. 484.

d) Comp. *J. C. de Jonge*, Nederland en Venetie. Gravenhag. 1852.

e) Dr. *Seld* in Goldast. pol. Reichshändl. vol. V. p. 167.

f) *Ranke*, Päpste, vol. III. p. 108s.

g) *Pallavicini*, XIII, 16. *Le Plat*, Monn. ad H. C. Trid. vol. VI. p. 306ss. *Bellarm.* de Rom. Pont. IV, 5.

h) From the *Pontificale Romanum*, Romae 1595. in *Eichhorn*, KRecht. vol. I. p. 592s.—(*Rautenstrauch*) Abh. ü. d. Eid, welchen die dt. Bischöfe abzulegen haben. Vien. 1781.

i) (*F. v. Moser*) Gesch. d. Nuntien in Deutschl. Frkf. 1788. 2 vols. (Weidenfeld) Entwickl. d. Dispens-u. Nuntiaturstreitigk. (Bonn.) 1788. 4. *L. Snell*, Gesch. d. Einführ. d. Nunt. in d. Schweiz. Bad. 1847.

The Roman court also began now to bestow as a matter of grace, and for a definite period (facultates quinquennales), especially upon the German bishops, the right to grant, as the missionary interests of their present and prospective dioceses seemed to require them, dispensations of marriage, and exemptions from Catholic appointments. (*k*)

§ 388. *Great Change in the Character of Catholicism.*

In the struggle then going forward new attachments for the Church began to be developed, and the hierarchy discovered that their salvation depended principally upon religious considerations. Hence some of the worst abuses in the administration of the Church were removed, indulgences were no longer exposed for sale, (*a*) it was found to be useless to threaten any one with the papal ban, and it was only in Rome that excommunication was sometimes resorted to as an assistance to the police. By a very gradual enforcement of the Tridentine decrees, the clergy were compelled to live respectable lives. In the principal sees of the Church, their worldliness was now exchanged for a solemn and imposing splendor, piety generally took the form of a sentimental devotion, and as those who were known to possess it had reason to expect the blessings of fortune and ecclesiastical honors, we may suppose that selfish views and artifice were sometimes mingled with it. That which had formerly been done in the Church with no thought of opposition, now frequently brought upon the actors a high degree of suspicion and persecution. The same clergy to whom Gerson had once been a leader, now refused to tolerate *Richer*, who sought to find in the liberties of the Gallican Church protection for not only the rights of the state, but also for those of the general Church, which he claimed to be subject to the Son of God as its only supreme monarch. He was compelled to recant his opinion by Richelieu's assassins, and in the midst of his persecutions died (1631). (*b*) *Galilei* (d. 1638) was obliged solemnly to retract his assertion that the earth moves around the sun. (*c*) The Humanists were compelled to give way before the inquisition, and the enthusiasm which had sprung up in favor of antiquity was unable to maintain its ground against the rising spirit in behalf of the Church. The instruction of youth in the higher departments of learning was now in the hands of the Jesuits, who regulated it by the strictest rules, gave it almost exclusively a spiritual direction, and confined the intellect within certain definite limits. From a dislike to the universities, the hierarchy began to prefer that the clergy should be educated in episcopal seminaries. The control which the inquisition possessed over books made them

k) *O. Mejer*, d. röm. Curie. (Richter u. Jacobs. Zeitsch. f. Recht. u. Polit. d. K. 1847. p. 212s.) *Ibid.* Propaganda. vol. II. p. 210ss.

a) Comp. *Pescheck*, kirchengesch. Miscell. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1839. P. 3.)

b) De ecc. et pol. potestate. Par. 1611. and oft. Apologia pro Gersonio, denuo L. B. 1676. 4.—*Baillet*, la vie d'Edmond Richer, Doct. de Sorbonne Liège. 1714.

c) *Paulus*, Gal. Kampf. f. d. Rationalism. (Beitrr. z. Dogmen-, K. u. Ref. Gesch. 1837. p. 324ss.) *Mohnike*, z. Gesch. Gal. (Stud. u. Krit. 1832. P. 1. p. 245.) Der h. Stuhl gegen Gal. (Hist. pol. Bl. 1841. vol. VII. P. 7–10.) [Life of Gal. in Lib. of Useful Knowl. pp. 58–61. Lond. 1833. 12. Life of Gal. Galilei, &c. Boston. 1832. 12. *D. Brewster*, Martyrs of Science. Lond. 1841. 8. Edinb. Rev. (in Eclectic Mag. Oct. 1844.) April, 1844. Art. Martyrs of Science.]

more powerful in Southern Europe than they could be by any punishments they could inflict. The censorship was rendered complete by the index of prohibited books, the number of which was swelled by the well-contested rivalry between the Roman and the Spanish inquisitions (after 1558). The works of Catholic and classical writers were given to the world in mutilated editions. Personal solicitude for the faith and ignorance far exceeded the limits which the necessities of Catholicism required. (*d*) This dread of intellectual activity produced a passionate, servile, and malignant spirit on the part of the hierarchy. The religion of the common people, however, still remained sincere; and although persons were often canonized for political reasons, and for their large fees, many genuine saints were found in the humble walks of life. *Francis* of *Sales*, Bishop of Geneva (d. 1622), by the popular cordiality of his mysticism, which called on men to renounce their own wills even when directed to beneficence, and by an earnestness which concerned itself with nothing but religion, was more efficient in the edification of believers than in the conversion of heretics. (*e*) The Castilian *Theresa* (d. 1582), after passing through many temptations to worldly pleasure, and many sufferings, had her heart pierced as it were with the arrows of divine love, possessed ineffable enjoyments during her seasons of ecstasy, and spent her life in bringing the female department of the Carmelite order to the severe discipline of ancient times. (*f*) *Carlo Borromeo* (d. 1587), a relative and favorite of the pope, was elevated even when a youth to the see of St. Ambrose, possessed great influence in the papal court, and at the Council of Trent, was full of zeal against the heretics on the southern declivities of the Alps, although he relied entirely upon the power of the divine word. By his gentleness and strictness he bestowed great blessings upon his native province, and his lofty form appears to look down upon it even now in the act of blessing and guarding it. (*g*) But even that older form of Catholicism which had prevailed in the time of the Councils of Constance and Basle, could not be entirely extinguished, for it bore a prominent part in the religious changes which then took place, and in the reformations conducted by the partisans of Catholicism. The former tendency was represented by Henry IV., and the latter by Philip II., not on account of the accidental qualities which belonged to the character of those individuals, but because each of them was like the summit of a mountain, the most prominent among his people.

d) Index expurgatorius. Antu. 1571. Arg. 1609. Indices librr. prohibitorum et expurgandor. 1667. and others. [The Vatican Index Expurg. ed. by *R. Gibbings*, Dubl. 1837. 12.] *Dan. Francus*, Dsq. de Papist. indice. libb. proh. Lps. 1684. 4. *Mendham*, The literary policy of the Church of Rome exhibited, in an account of her damnatory catalogues or indexes. Ed. 2. Lond. 1830. [This work is also embraced in *Mendham's* Index of Proh. Books, by order of Greg. XVI. Lond. 1840.]

e) Oeuvres de S. *Fr. de Sales*, Par. 1834. 16 vols. *Baudry*, Suppl. aux oeuvres. Lyon. 1836.— Leben v. *C. A. Sales*, 1634. *Marsollier*, 1747. *Rensing*, 1818. F. H. (Tüb. theol. Quartalschr. 1842. P. 1.)

f) Schrr. d. h. Ther. v. Jesu, ed. by *Gallus Schwab*, Sulzb. 1831s. 5 vols. Acta S. Ther. ill. a. *J. Vandermoere*, 1846. f.

g) Opp. Milan. 1758. 5 vols. f. *Godeau*, la vie de Ch. B. Par. 1747. *Sailer*, d. h. Karl. Augsb. 1824. *Giussano*, Leben d. h. K. B. from the Ital. v. *Klitsche*, Augsb. 1836s. 3 vols. *Dierenger*, d. h. Borom. u. d. KVerbess. sr. Zeit. Köln. 1846.

§ 389. *Fraternities for Instruction and Charity.*

Auberti Miraei Regulae et Constitt. Clericorum in congregat. viventium. Antv. 1638. 4.

The practice of organizing public orders had been found to be of great importance in promoting objects of general utility in the Church. A few Roman prelates associated themselves together to effect a reform among the clergy (1524). They resolved to spend their time in the performance of pious services, not for reward, nor for the collection of alms, but depending on such voluntary offerings as might be sent them by Providence. When one of their number, the Bishop of Theate, had become Pope Paul IV., these *Theatines*, in the capacity of preachers, missionaries, and attendants on the sick, became almost exclusively a seminary in which the superior clergy were trained. (*a*) Philip of *Neri*, whose peculiar inclinations led him to spend his days in churches and hospitals, and among children, and his nights in the catacombs, formed in Rome (1548) a fraternity for religious duties, and relying upon the assistance of God and of pious people, he erected a large hospital, in the oratory of which (Oratorium) books of a devotional character were read and explained. From this establishment proceeded the *Fathers* of the *Oratory*, an association of clergymen for mutual edification, but not bound by formal vows. The French *Oratory* of *Jesus* was a similar institution established for the reformation of the clergy (1611) by Peter de *Berulle*, a man who in an elevated earthly position sought to attain the extreme perfection which belongs not to this world. (*b*) After the publication of the decree of the Council of Trent, requiring all independent monasteries to unite themselves into congregations for mutual supervision, a few French monasteries formed an association (after 1618) for the restoration of the rule of St. Benedict, and with this congregation most of the French Benedictines became connected, in compliance with the expressed wishes of Cardinal Richelieu. This society, which received the name of *St. Maurus*, a disciple of Benedict, devoted its efforts to the instruction of youth and the advancement of solid learning. The Fathers of the Oratory soon after directed their exertions in the same channel. Both orders, in consequence of the leisure and freedom from care which they afforded to their learned men, and the combination of various powers which they could effect, have accomplished immense benefits for the cause of historical learning. Among their members were found some whose names have been renowned in the literary world, and who for their literary success and zeal have been models for all succeeding ages. (*c*) Among the Minorites, the popular character of a mendicant order was revised (1528) by *Matteo de Bassi*, apparently for no other purpose than to restore the genuine costume of St. Francis. Even the old spirit of

a) *Caj. Thienaei* Vita Col. 1612. (Acta SS. Aug. vol. II. p. 249.)

b) *Baron.* Ann. ad a. 57. N. 162. Instituta Congreg. Rom. 1612. *A. Gallonius*, Vita P. Neriі. Mog. 1602. *Hubert de Cerisy*, Vie du Card. Berulle. Par. 1646. 4. *Tabaraud*, H. de P. de Ber. Par. 1817. 2 vols.

c) Constitt. pro directione regiminis Congr. S. Mauri. Par. 1646. (*Haudiquer*) H. du vén. dom. Didier de la Cour. Réformateur des Bén. Par. 1772.—(*Tassin*, H. lit de la congr. de S. Maur. Par. 1726. 4. Brux. 1770. 4. with Anm. (v. *Meusel.*) Frkf. u. L. 1778s. 2 vols. *J. G. Herbst:* Verdienste d. Mauriner um die Wiss. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1833. P. 1s.) Die liter. Leistungen d. Franz. Orat. (Tub. Quartalschr. 1835. P. 3.)

the Franciscans was aroused. *Occhino*, the vicar-general of the order, and a preacher of repentance in Italy, having vainly endeavored to satisfy his mind by self-denials, whose austerity continually became more severe, finally went over to the Protestants (1542), and even beyond them in their peculiar doctrines. The *Capuchins*, however, continued to show a spirit, prepared for the boldest sacrifices, for the cultivation and employment of which the Romish Church offers such facilities. They were now also furnished with a general exclusively for their order (1619). (*d*) *Angela* of *Brescia* (d. 1540), one of those souls which move on earth as angels of consolation, established in honor of St. Ursula an order of virgins devoted to acts of charity and kindness in the domestic circle. The *Ursulines* also became subject to a monastic constitution (1612), and undertook the education of children of their own sex. Francis of Sales, by the agency of his friend Francisca of *Chantal*, so remarkable for her vigorous and glowing heart, founded the order of the *Visitants* (1610–18, Ordo de visitatione Mariae Virginis), which thought that in the visitation of the Blessed Virgin might be found a type of the manner in which all virgin souls should wait for the visit of their heavenly spouse. The *Piarists*, founded by Joseph Calasanza (d. 1648), a Spaniard then residing at Rome, soon became the rivals of the Jesuits as the fathers of the religious schools. (*e*) John di Dio (d. 1550), a poor man and a native of Portugal, was constrained by his sympathy for the distressed to found an order for the relief of such as were sick and poor, without regard to differences of faith. Its members were known in Spain as Brethren of Hospitality, in France as Brethren of Christian Love, and in Germany as the *Brethren of Mercy*. *Vincent de Paula*, by birth belonging to the common people, at one time a slave in Tunis, and a man who sympathized with all the ills to which the human soul or body is subject, founded (1624) the congregation of the *Priests* of the *Mission* (Lazarists), the object of which was to convey Christianity with all its blessings to the neglected classes of Christendom, and at the same time to constitute a school friendly to the Jesuits, and for the improvement of the French clergy. While a confessor for the widow *Le Gras*, he also instituted the society of the *Sisters* of *Mercy* (Filles de la charité, grises), into whose gentle hands the French people have committed the care of their sick and poor. (*f*) In connection with these various societies may also be mentioned those associations of brethren and sisters to which persons of all classes, especially in the Italian cities, belong, who still remained in the ordinary walks of secular life, but according to a prescribed rule successively and generally in a deep disguise, from no motive but a regard for the will of God perform all needful offices for pilgrims, the sick and the dead.

d) Acta SS. Maj. vol. IV. p. 283ss. *Boverio*, Ann. Ord. Min. qui Capucini, etc. Lugd. B. 1632ss. 3 vols. f. *M. a Tugio*. Bullar. O. Capp. Rom. 1740ss. 7 vols. f.—*Occhino*, Dialogi XXX. Bas. 1563. McCrie, Hist. of Ref. in It. p. 185ss. 362ss. *Trechsel*, L. Sozini. p. 2?ss. 202ss.

e) (*Seyffert*) Ordensregeln d. Piaristen. Hal. 1783. 2 vols.

f) Leben d. H. Vinc. by *Abelly*, Par. 1664. *Collet*, Nancy. 1748. *Stolberg*. 2 ed. Vienna. 1819. *Schmieder*. (Ev. K. Z. 1832. N. 77ss.) *Orsini*, Par. 1842. *Gabillon*, Vie de M. de Gras. Par. 1676. (Clemens *Brentano*) Die barm. Schwestern in Bezug a. Armen- u. Krankenpf. Cobl. 1831. Comp. Ev. K. Z. 1830. N. 22ss. 1833. N. 18s. *Fleischmann*, d. Wirken d. barmh. Schw. in Wien. Vienna. 1839.

§ 390. *The Fine Arts.*

Literature in § 267. *Kugler*, Gesch. d. Mal. vol. II. *Glareanus*, Dodecachordon. Bas. 1547. *Gerbert*, de cantu et musica. S. Blas. 1774. 2 vols. 4. *Rochlitz*, Grundlinien zu e. Gesch. d. Gesangsmus. f. Kirche, &c. (Für. Freunde d. Tonk. vol. IV. Lps. 1832.) *Kiesewetter*, Gesch. d. eur. abendl. Musik. Lps. (1834.) 1847. 4.

It has been the interest of the Catholics of modern times to favor the arts. The imitative arts had however, at this time, reached the highest point to which they were destined to rise, and the unrestrained power of genius found no motives to return to its efforts in that direction. *Correggio*, with an overflowing heart and a magic richness of coloring, and *Titian*, with all the splendors of nature itself, painted also scenes from sacred history. (*a*) Both of them, however, did homage without restraint at the altar of sensuous beauty. The revival of art in the school of Bologna was influenced indeed by anatomical studies and learned attempts to imitate antique models, and yet it was pervaded by the ecclesiastical spirit. The noble *Caracci* with his bold grandeur, *Domenichino* with his gloomy fervor, and *Guido Reni* with his enthusiastic earnestness, presented to the world the conceptions and forms of the Church, while *Poussin* painted not only the ancient marble figures as saints, but even landscapes seriously and solemnly as if they had been for a divine temple. The hardy natural simplicity of the Netherlandic, and the yet unbroken enthusiasm of the Spanish national character, raised the imitative arts of the 17th century to the brilliant eminence which they had formerly attained: *Rubens* made use of sacred things to represent most skilfully the energy of passion and an exuberant sensuous life, in his effort to adorn the sepulchral chapel of his family; and *Murillo*, the painter of the Catholic faith, and yet distinguished for his spirited conformity to nature, presents even those sacred things which he adored with rapturous devotion sometimes in the most natural attractions and sometimes in the most unearthly and fanatical forms. The plastic arts sought to renew their infancy by waxlike imitations of the ungraceful forms of nature. By such means, *Bernini* with astonishing skill destroyed the taste of his contemporaries, and the Christian character of these arts. It was at such a period that a *Barberini*, then on the papal throne, thought he could add to his reputation by disfiguring the Pantheon, which he despoiled of the ornaments which had been spared by so many barbarians, that he might cast them (1632) into cannons and an ill-contrived high altar for the church of St. Peter. The poetry of Italy was generally tedious and of a moralizing strain, until Torquato *Tasso* (d. 1595), a genuine poet, though slightly addicted to the same style, celebrated the great change which had recently taken place in Catholicism in his account of the exploits of the middle ages. (*b*) Borne on by the mediaeval spirit which still survived among his people, *Calderon* (d. 1687), in his sacred plays for festive seasons (p. 302), has brought forward the mysteries of Christianity in a poetic dress, and celebrated Christian heroism and all

[*a*) A life of Correggio and Parmeg. Lond. 1823. 8. *J. Northcote*, Life of Titian. Lond. 1830 2 vols. 8.]

[*b*) *R. Milman*, Life of Tasso. New ed. Lond. 1832. 2 vols. 8. *Sismondi*, H. of Lit. vol. I. p. 277ss.]

that then remained of it as in a waking dream. (*c*) Modern music first attained the character of an art by which the devout heart gives utterance to its emotions, in the Church of the fourteenth century in the Netherlands. Its style was at that time serious, grand, and full of expression only when taken as a whole; and as the Church would not renounce the few melodies which had long been used, art was obliged to exert its powers on the harmonies by which they were embellished. The consequence was that many imitators adopted an artificial, dry, and learned kind of music, which derived all its life from some secular airs mingled with them. (*d*) The Synod of Trent entreated the pope that he would devise some plan by which this state of things might be improved. Marcellus II. accordingly disclosed his views to an enthusiastic young man, and soon after under the papacy of Paul IV., *Palestrina* presented to the world his *Missa Marcelli* (1555). This was the commencement of a revolution in sacred music, which by his influence became simple, thoughtful, aspiring, sincere, and noble, but destitute of passion and tenderness. (*e*) The most spiritual of all arts, it raised the heart into immediate communion with the infinite, and while celebrating the mystery of the divine sacrifice in the different parts of the Mass to which it especially was set, it found opportunity to express, and to elevate by its various combinations of sounds, every kind of Christian feeling. The centre of this school was the papal chapel, and its last creative master was Gregorio *Allegri* (d. 1652), whose Miserere, composed for a double choir, expresses with wonderful simplicity all the calm and profound sufferings of a Christian heart beneath the Saviour's cross. (*f*) The Opera was invented (about 1600) by certain persons belonging to the Academy of the Medici, while attempting in an antique style to represent the ancient drama. This secular yet serious and dignified style of music delighted all classes. While the old ecclesiastical style was struggling in Rome to maintain its ground against this innovation, the school of music founded by *Neri* began to perform in the oratorium pieces relating to subjects from sacred history. In this way came into existence the *Oratorio*, intermediate between the ancient and modern styles of music, and more distinctly expressive of precise characters and situations, more agreeable in its melodies, and richer in its instrumental accompaniments. (*g*)

§ 391. *The Sacred Scriptures. Cont. from* § 286, 386.

The Complutensian Polyglott was followed by other similar attempts of a literary character, with the aid of a larger number of ancient versions. The Greek text by *Robert Stephens* (Estienne), (*a*) and after him, almost accidentally, the beautiful impressions from the office of the Elzevirs, (*b*) on the basis of the edition of Erasmus or of the Complutensian Polyglott, were now established as an article of faith in both Churches (Textus receptus). Many

[*c*) *Ibid.* vol. II. p. 316s.] *d*) *Mansi* vol. XXIX. p. 107.

e) *Baini*, Memorie della vita di G. P. da Palest. Rom. 1828. 2 vols. 4.

f) *N. Wiseman*, ü. d. in d. päpstl. Kapelle übl. Liturgie d. stillen Woche. A. d. Engl. v. Axinger. Augsb. 1840. [The Offices of Holy Week. Lond. 8vo.]

g) *Fink* in Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1842. II. 3.

a) Par. 1546. 16. Especially 1550. f. (ed. regina.) *b*) Lugd. B. 1624. 12. and oft.

also attempted to expound the Scriptures, but with no peculiarities of their own, they generally depended wholly either upon Erasmus or the fathers. Not only were the views of divine inspiration entertained by the ancient Church expressly disregarded by the Jesuits of the Netherlands (after 1585), but even the statements and ordinary intelligence of the Scriptural writers were impeached. The shock which the Protestantism of that period received from such expressions, encouraged many men to make known the more recent results of the scientific studies of a liberal school. (*c*) Luther's Bible was extensively circulated under the name of his enemies. (*d*) After many animated discussions in the Synod of Trent, the object of which was to avoid all dependence upon grammarians, and to secure themselves from the attacks of Protestants, the *Vulgate* was declared to be authentic for all sermons and expositions of Scripture. This ambiguous decision has been explained by learned Catholics generally to mean simply that this translation was preferable to all others. (*e*) Such a decree, however, never became effectual, until in an official edition the various and corrupt readings of this version were partially removed. Sixtus V. took charge of this work (1590), and by virtue of his plenary apostolic power pronounced it authentic and unchangeable. From the haste, however, with which it had been accomplished, it soon became necessary that a new edition with important emendations should be prepared under the authority of *Clement VIII.* (1592). The merit of having perceived these, and of making improvements with regard to some other errors in the work, was not readily acknowledged by Protestants, but all were convinced that such measures were infallible in matters of faith. (*f*)

§ 392. *Laws Respecting Doctrines and Internal Theological Controversies.*

The doctrinal decrees of the Synod of Trent, the partial vagueness of which was doubtless a matter of design, were generally acknowledged to be the standard of Catholic orthodoxy. The phraseology used in the *Professio Fidei Tridentina*, a confession published by Pius IV. (1564), and intended to be binding upon all candidates for the clerical office or for academical honors, was strictly conformed to the language used in those decrees. (*a*) *Pius V.* published the *Catechismus Romanus* (1566), not so much for popular instruction as for the direction of pastors while engaged in that work. Both these creeds presented some of the doctrines of the Tridentine articles in a more definite form, and although they have been opposed in some quarters, they have in practice been received as authority. The essential nature of Protestantism was assailed by the Synod of Trent only so far as the interpretation of the Scriptures was made to depend upon the decision of the Church, and

c) *Rich. Simon*, Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. c. 23.

d) (*Walch* vol. XXI. p. 311.) N. T. by Emser, Lps. 1527. H. S. by Dietenberger, Mentz. 1534. by Eck. Ingolst. 1537.—*G. W. Panzer*, Gesch. d. röm. kath. dt. Bibelübers. Nürnb. 1781. 4.

e) Sess. IV. Decr. 2. [*Landon*, Man of Councils, p. 607.]—L. v. Ess. Doctorum cath. Tridentini circa Vulg. decreti sensum testantium Hist. Salisb. 1816. *Gratz*, ü. d. Gränzen d. Freih. in Erkl. d. H. S. Ellw. 1817.

f) *Th. James*, Bellum papale s. concordia discors Sixti V. et Clem. VIII. Lond. (1600. 4.) 1688. [*James*, On the Corruptions of Scripture, Councils and Fathers. (Lond. 1843. 3 ed.) p. 171ss.] *Schoelhorn*, Amoenn. P. IV. p. 433ss.

a) *G. C. F. Mohnike*, urk. Gesch. d. Prof. Fidei Trid. Greifsw. 1822.

the authority of tradition is made equivalent to that of the Scriptures. The most important principle it proposed in opposition to the Protestantism of that period, was one which referred to the doctrine of justification. Even among the prelates themselves there was a pious and respectable party favorable to the views of the Protestants on this subject. (*b*) Hence, after protracted debates, justification was declared to be a gracious state prepared for by the Holy Ghost and the co-operation of the sinner himself, and is essentially advanced by works performed in obedience to the Church. Hence the doctrine which declared that man is justified *only* by a faith wrought wholly by God, could be condemned with much consistency. (*c*) The dispute between the Thomists and the Scotists on the subject of original sin and divine grace, was not and could not be decided at that time, since the controversy maintained by those schools had now become a controversy between the two orders of mendicant friars, and the deviation of the whole Church from the principles of Augustinism rendered it indispensable that indefinite forms of expression should be used. But when the efforts of Protestants had succeeded in directing the thoughts of the Church toward these delicate points, and the Jesuits, in consistency with the moral system of their school, had adopted the views of the Scotists, the dangerous proximity of this dispute to the dread abyss of Protestantism could not deter men from engaging in it in many ways. The Franciscans succeeded in obtaining a damnatory bull of Pius V. (1567), which was afterwards confirmed by Gregory XIII. (1579), upon seventy-nine dangerous propositions extracted from the writings of *Bajus*, a professor of Louvain, who had abandoned scholasticism and had turned his attention to a scriptural and Augustinian Christianity. (*d*) This decree, however, never affected his personal standing in the Church. The theological faculty of Louvain defended themselves by an aggressive movement (after 1587), and condemned thirty-four propositions opposed to the essential doctrines of Augustine, and to the absolute authority of the Scriptures, from the writings of the Jesuits *Less* and *Hamel*. Sixtus V. endeavored to allay the growing strife by an absolute command that each party should cease agitating the subject (1588). But a general controversy between the rival schools of the Dominicans and the Jesuits had already commenced in Spain in consequence of a Pelagian work intended as conciliatory by the Jesuit *Molina*. (*e*) Pressed by complaints from all parties, Clement VIII. called together a congregation (1597) for the full decision of the question, "In what way is the assistance of divine grace concerned in the conversion of the sinner?" When both parties had submitted their respective views in the most circumstantial manner before this tribunal, Paul V. dismissed (1607) the congregation, worn out by protracted labors, with the promise that a decision should be given as soon as convenient, and commanded both parties to maintain perpetual silence on the subject. (*f*)

b) *Ranke*, Päpste, vol. I. p. 199ss. 160ss.

c) Sess. VI. Decr. de Justif. [*Landon*, p. 610.]

d) *Baji* Opp. Col. 1696. 4. *Du Chesne*, H. du Bajanisme. Douay, 1731. 4.

e) Liberi arb. c. gratiae donis, div. praescientia, praedest. et reprobat. concordia. Olyssip. 1588. Antu. 1595. 4.

f) *Aug. le Blanc* (*Serry*), H. congreg. de auxiliis gratiae. Ant. 1709. f.

§ 393. *Efforts at Reconciliation, and Controversies with the Protestants.*

C. W. *Hering*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Unionsversuche. Lpz. 1836–8. 2 vols.

Even when the popes began to despair of victory, they would admit of no compromise with the Protestants for fear that the whole Church might thereby become infected with the spirit of the Reformation. (*a*) But as the Protestant Church had gone in some respects to an extreme, and as the Catholic Church still needed reform, and as the former appeared only another form of the latter, a hope was entertained that a reconciliation might be effected which would be eminently beneficial to both parties. With this view Ferdinand I. requested two learned men whose feelings were friendly to the object, to draw up articles of accommodation and agreement. *Cassander*, always an apostle of peace, conceded that the Scriptures were the only authority for proving any doctrine, and thought that he might find a point of agreement for the one-sided views of both parties in the doctrine of justification by faith and works. He was anxious to preserve the hierarchy, but was willing to give up its abuses, together with a multitude of evils which had grown up in a long course of time, or things which, like celibacy, had once been beneficial, but were now antiquated. *Wizel*, when a youth, had been a zealous preacher of the Lutheran gospel, which, however, he renounced (1531), because he regarded its doctrine of justification as injurious to Christian practice, and he was anxious to preach nothing but the gospel of Christ. He afterwards preached as a priest, though married, in the forsaken Church at Eisleben, in behalf of the Catholic cause, and with many complaints against Luther. At a still later period he sat in a council of Catholic prelates, in which he still clung firmly to the hope that by following the path which Erasmus had pursued, renouncing all scholastic subtleties and papal abuses, by purifying the Church and returning to the Scriptures, all Christendom might once more become united around its common Lord Christ. (*b*) But although at these religious conferences an agreement often seemed just at hand, and failed only because of the obstinacy of some individuals, it was evident from the peculiar nature and historical necessity of such a religion as Protestantism, that all these negotiations must fail. In the German conferences the principal topics of discussion were original sin and justification, though after the Synod of Trent the subject of the sole authority of the Scriptures was most prominent. The Protestants reproached the Catholics with having departed from the Scriptures and from Christ, and the Catholics, on the other hand, reproached the Protestants with having departed from the Church, with being revolutionary in their tendencies, and yet contending that the will was not free, and with being afraid of good works. Catholicism was assailed in the most earnest manner by *Chemnitz*, and Protestantism by *Bellarmine*. (*c*) The principal subjects debated by

a) Comp. *Wessenberg*, Kirchenwers. vol. III. p. 198ss. p. 295.

b) *G. Cass*, de artic. rel. inter Catholicos et Protestantes controversis ad Ferd. I. et Max. II. Consultatio. Col. 1566. ed. *H. Grotius*, Lugd. 1642. *G. Vic.* Via regia. Col. (about) 1564. ed. *Conring*, Helmst. 1650. 4. Both: ed. *Conring*, Helmst, 1669. 4.—*Strobel*, Beitrr. vol. II. St. 1s. *A. Neander*, de G. Vicelio. Ber. 1839. 4. Also his Das Eine u. Mannichf. d. chr. Leben. Brl. 1840. p. 167ss.

c) *Chemnitii* Examen Concilii Trid. 1565ss. 4 vols. ed. *G. C. Joannis*, Frcf. 1707. f. and often. *Bellarmini* Dsp. de controv. chr. fidei adv. hujus temp. haereticos. Rom. 1581ss. 3 vols. f. and often.

these able disputants, however, were particular doctrines and usages. The authorities to which the Protestant appealed were generally the literal meaning of the Scriptures and facts in the past history of the Church, to which the Catholic usually replied by appealing to the reasonable fitness of things and primitive usage. *Flacius* and *Gerhard* delighted in pointing out traces of Protestantism in former times, that so they might overcome the Catholic Church with its own weapons. (*d*) Zealous partisans, like *Nihus*, soon disposed of the whole subject by contending that the party which could show a prescriptive right of possession should be victorious. (*e*) The doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as it was maintained in both Churches, gave much occasion on account of its supernatural sensuousness, on the one side to ridicule for the scholastic subtilty of its form, (*f*) and on the other to a rude kind of poetry for its strange figurative language. (*g*) But this controversy with Scriptural weapons, especially on the part of the Catholics, was nothing but a faint reflection of the extremely animated personal exertions made for the same general object. With the restoration of the Catholic Church sprung up the hope that it was about to recover all it had lost. The liberal party in that Church, as it had not yet entirely discarded the Protestant spirit, might easily have tolerated that spirit in a more distinct form by its side. The more zealous party, on the other hand, from its very nature could allow of no terms in its opposition, and although its efforts were at that time directed not so much to the persecution as to the conversion of their opponents, its adherents were resolved to go to any extremes, and to demand every thing. Vast plans were formed for future action. Once more the papacy felt that it was destined to conquer the world. Intellect and eloquence, craft and force, were put in requisition. The first object was to win those who were still undecided, and the next was to overthrow Protestantism in countries where Catholicism was in the ascendant, or at least where the government still remained in the hands of Catholics. In both these objects they were to a considerable extent successful, in consequence of the prodigious activity of the Jesuits. But not only were large masses of people induced to change their connections, but many individuals passed over from one side to the other, and as long as the lines of separation continued indistinct, and when hopes previously formed were disappointed, conversions were not infrequent on either side. (*h*) *Vergerius*, the papal legate in Germany, when he attempted to combat Luther's spirit, was himself carried away by it. (*i*) To act upon Protestant communities, young men were selected from their midst and imbued with all the enthusiasm of Catholic proselytism, and other

d) *Flacius* (p. 238) *Gerhard* (§ 353). *e*) Ars nova. Hildesh. 1682. 4.

f) (*C. G. Holder*) Mus exenteratus, per fratrem Wilh. de Stuttg., Ord. Minorum. Tub. 1593. 4. Lps. 1677. 12.

g) *Forer*, Bellum ubiquisticum. Dill. 1627. 12. (Alter u. neuer Katzenkrieg v. d. Ubiquitat. Ingolst. 1629. 12.) Nothw. Vertheid. d. h. röm. Reichs ev. Churff. u. Stände Augapfels, durch d. hierzu verordn. Theologen. Lpz. 1628. 4. Brill a. d. ev. Augapf. 1629. 4. Ev. Brillenputzer. Lps. 1629. 4. (Andreae) Wer hat das Kal. in's Aug geschlagen? Dill. 1629. 4.

h) *F. W. Ph. v. Ammon*, Gallerie d. denkwürd. Personen, welche im 16. 17. u. 18. Jahrh. v. d. ev. zur kath. Kirche übergetreten sind. Erl. 1833.

i) *E. T. Perthel*, Or. pro P. P. Vergerio. Jen. 1842. *F. H. Schönhuth*, V. Bischof v. Capo d'Istria. (Stud. d. ev. Geistl. Würt. 1842. vol. XIV. P. 1.)

principles which were found in the Catholic system. But the most strenuous efforts were made to influence the Protestant princes, who were assailed on the one hand by all the arts of seduction, and on the other by the weapons of assassination and of insurrection. (*k*)

§ 394. *The Propaganda.*

I. Erectio S. Congregationis de fide catb. propaganda. (Bullar. Rom. Th. III. p. 421ss.)—Bullarium Pontif. S. Congr. de prop. fide. Rom. 1839–41. 5 vols. 4.—II. *Bayeri* II. Congr. de prop. fide. Regiom. 1721. 4. *Otto Mejer*, d. Prop., ihre Provinzen u. ihr Recht. Mit bes. Rücks. a. Deutschl. Gott. 1852s. 2 vols.

I. Lett. édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères. Par. (1717–76. 34 vols.) 1780–3. 26 vols.—Brown, H. of the prop. of Chr. among the heathen since the Ref. Lond. 1814. 2 vols. *P. Wittmann*, d. Herrlichk. d. K. in ihren Miss. s. d. Glaubensspalt. Augsb. 1841ss. 2 vols. *Henrion*, H. gén. des Miss. catb. Par. 1846s. 2 vols. 4.

There was no Church but the Roman which had means, opportunity, and willing instruments in the monks for establishing churches beyond the ocean. All efforts to extend religion among unbelievers, or to recover apostates who were looked upon as for ever belonging by right of baptism to the papacy, (*a*) were directed and sustained by the *Congregation* de propaganda fide (1622) in Rome. With this was connected the *College* of the Propaganda (1627), an institution admirably fitted by the gradual addition of a number of endowments, for training the children of the Catholic Church to be missionaries to all nations. The idea of this institution had been already realized by Ignatius in the organization of his Collegium Germanicum (1552) for the education of a priesthood favorable to Rome, and to act upon the German nation. (*b*) After its model colleges have been established at Rome for other nations, so that on the festival of the Three Kings the praise of God is there sung by the Church as it was on the primitive Pentecost, in the languages of many nations.

§ 395. *East Indies.*

The communication and investigation of original authorities was commenced by Jones, Colebrooke, A. W. Schlegel, Bopp, Rammohun-Roy, Rosen, Lassen, and Brockhaus. For general views: *P. V. Bohlen*, d. alte Indien m. Rücks. auf Aegypten. Königsb. 1830. 2 vols. *Th. Benfey*, Indien in d. Hall. Encykl. II. vol. XVII. *Roth* in Zeller's Jahrb. 1846. P. 3.—*J. P. Maffei*, Historiae Indic. l. XII. (Flor. 1588. f.) Antu. 1605. *La Croze*, H. du Christ. des Indes. Haye. 1724. 2 vols. with Anm. v. *Bohnstedt*, Hal. u. L. 1737ss. 2 vols. *Norbert*, Mém. hist. sur les miss. des Jésuites aux Indes orient. éd. 3. Besanç. 1747. 2 vols. *Paulini a S. Barthol.* India or. chr. Rom. 1794. 4. [A Voyage to the E. I. with an account, &c. with add. by *Forster*, and transl. by *Johnston*, Lond. 1800.] *M. Müllbauer*, Gesch. d. kath. Miss. in Ostind. b. Mitte d. 18. Jhh. Munich. 1852.—*Th. Yeates*, Indian Church's History. Lond. 1818. *J. Hough*, Hist. of Christ. in India. Lond. 1839. 2 vols. [*W. Ward*, View of the Hist. Lit. and Rel. of the Hindoos. Hartf. 1824. 12. *H. H. Wilson*, Vishnu Purana, or Hindu Myth. and Trad. Lond. 1840. 4. *C. Coleman*, Myth. of the Hindoos. Lond. 1832. 4. *Bjornsterna*, Theogony of the Hindoos, &c. Lond. 1845. 8. *H. R. Hoisington*, Hindu Philosophy, from the Tamil, with notes, &c. New Haven. 1854. 8.]

In India the gospel met with a mild, imaginative, and visionary people, with minds conversant with the infinite, though actually existing among the

k) E. g. *Ranke*, H. of the Popes. vol. II. p. 105s. comp. 452.

a) *Mejer* vol. I. p. 10ss.

b) *J. Cordara*, Coll. Germanici et Hung. Hist. Rom. 1770. f. Das deutsche Collegium in Rom. Lps. 1843.

ruins of primitive civilization. For nearly a thousand years they had been the victims of servitude, first under Mohammedan despots, and afterwards under a company of Christian merchants, during which they had become cowardly, fawning, and indolent in their natures. They however remained remarkable for their powers of endurance, fearless and stubborn in matters connected with their religion, and filled with recollections of their former glory. The Brahmins were probably a foreign race, who at some former period had descended from the Himalayan mountains, and being superior to the natives, had introduced among them the refinements of religion. Accommodating themselves to an organization which they found among the people, they secured enormous privileges for themselves by an unequal apportionment of the intellectual advantages they brought among the graduated castes. In their own and in the people's estimation, they were equal to the gods, while the Parias were regarded as beneath the brutes. The limits of caste, by which the fate of every individual was almost unalterably fixed according to his merits, were supposed to have been assigned by the Creator, so that what was lawful in one caste was a capital offence in another. All the laws, the literature, and the arts, which existed among the people, were traced back originally to the sacred writings (Vedas), which were said to have been reduced to writing long before the time of Christ, as they flowed from the lips of Brahma. *Brahmanism* was originally a benignant deification of nature. In a philosophical sense, Brahma is the essence of all existence, his only attribute is infinity, and every thing possessing individuality and a finite nature springs from *Maya*, Appearance, or Illusion. The inconsistency between this original sense and its philosophical meaning may be seen in the delicate recoil which is felt by the people from all contact with nature. The higher castes therefore eat no flesh, but the intercourse of the sexes is looked upon as pure, and the services of the temples are connected with the indulgence of the vilest lust, and yet the perfection of human wisdom is supposed to be an escape from the illusion of the finite, and an utter loss of all personal consciousness. By contemplation and self-denials, carried sometimes to the extreme of suicidal self-tortures, man is elevated until he becomes a god. Their system of religion, perhaps a combination of several different national religions, when fully developed, teaches that the original Brahm manifests himself as Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—in other words, as the Creation, the Development, and the Reabsorption of all things. Hence sometimes one and sometimes another of this *Trimurti* is regarded as supreme. According to their epic legend, *Vishnu's* Deity, regarded as the divine life of nature, has frequently become incarnate, at one time as a beast, at another as a man born of a virgin, in the form of *Rama* contending with giants, in that of *Krishna* as a prince of peace crowned as a victor, and finally he will yet appear in that of *Kalki*, on a white steed, for the removal of all sin. But at the close of the world, *Kala*, the great destroyer, will appear and swallow up every thing, and last of all even the three supreme gods themselves, so that the essence of Brahma will exist once more alone. The space between the chief gods and men is filled, as it were symbolically, with a kingdom of inferior and fanciful divinities. The popular faith has regarded

all these as actual persons, and the dispute between different parties with respect to the claims of Vishnu or Siva to the supreme power has been aggravated by the explanations of the sages and the embellishments of the poets, until the spiritual world has become peopled with a wonderfully various and confused race of beings, which have been divided into numerous sects. The greatest contrasts were here exhibited. A monkey was sometimes deified by the side of a god who was so spiritualized and so great, that thought itself was too insignificant to conceive of him, and yet some many-limbed monster was supposed to contain and to represent him. This faith, which at one time converted the rocky mountains into temples, had so thoroughly pervaded every relation of the popular life, and was so firmly incorporated with the prejudices even of the Parias, that although the Christian preachers presented many points of doctrine which corresponded with it, no great results could for a long time be expected from their labors. Bishops were appointed by the Portuguese to take the charge of their possessions in the East, but no congregations were collected there until Francis *Xavier* (after 1542), with all the enthusiasm which his great success inspired, performed extraordinary acts of piety among them, and baptized probably a hundred thousand Parias and outcasts. (*a*) To preserve these in the faith, however, it was found necessary to use the labors of the inquisition (1560). The first labor of this court was directed to the extirpation of a few congregations of the *Christians* of *St. Thomas*, which had maintained an existence there in the same condition in which they had been formed as a part of the Syrian Church of the fifth century. These Christians, however, in the popular organization of the Hindoo people, had been embraced in the warrior caste. The name of Nestorius was also once more solemnly anathematized in India. The Jesuit *Nobili* (after 1606), in the character of a Christian Brahmin, was not altogether without success in his appeals to the higher castes. (*b*) The Islam of the early conquerors was too simple and powerful to be overcome without a desperate struggle. Still the efforts of the Great Mogul *Akbar* to establish a religion of reason (after 1578), produced a much greater approximation to the religion of the Jesuits. In 1610, three imperial princes mounted on white elephants rode to the place where they were baptized. Victory, however, still remained on the side of Mohammed.

§ 396. *Japan.*

After the researches of Joinville, Buchanan, Klaproth, Mackenzie, Colebrooke, and Ritter: *Gruber*, Art. Japan in d. Hall. Encykl. II. vol. XIII. p. 330ss. comp. *Benfey*, Ibid. vol. XVII. p. 194ss. *P. de Bohlen*, de Buddhaismi orig. et aetate. Regiom. 1827. *J. J. Schmidt*, (Mémoires de l'Acad. imperiale de Petersb. 1830. vol. II. Liv. 2. 3. 1832. vol. II. Liv. 1.) *Neumann*, Pilgerfahrten Buddh. Priester. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1833. St. 2.) *A. Wuttke*, de Buddhaistar. disciplinar. Vrat. 1848.— *Kaempfer*, Beschr. v. Japan, hrsq. v. Dohm. Lemg. 1777. 2 vols. 4. [H. of Japan, Anc. and Pr. State of the Gov. &c. transl. by *Schenchzer*, from the Germ. of *Kaempfer*, Lond. 1727. 2 vols. f.] *P. de Charlevoix*, H. du Christ. dans l'Emp. du Japon. Rom. 1712ss. 3 vols. par M. D. L. G. Par. 1836. 2

a) *Fr. Xaverii* Epp. l. IV. Par. 1631. 12. Briefe d. h. F. v. X. übers. u. erkl. v. *J. Burg*, Neuwied 1836. *Hor. Turselini*, de vita Xav. Rom. 1594. and often. [*Dubois*, Letters on Chr. in Ind. Lond. 8. with *Townley's* (Lond. 1824. 8.) and *Hough's* (Lond. 1825. 12.) Replies to Dubois.]

b) *Platel* (*Norbert*), Mém. hist. sur les affair. des Jés. Lisb. 1766. 7 vols. 4.

vols. *Crasset*, H. de l'égl. de Japan. Par. 1715. 4. Augsb. 1738. f.—*Stäudlin*, ü. d. Verwandtsch. d. Lamaischen Rel. m. d. chr. (Archiv. f. KGesch. 1814. vol. I. St. 3.) [*C. McFarlane*, Geog. and Hist. Acc. of Japan. New York. 1852. 8. *T. Wells*, J. and the Japanese. New York. 1852. *P. F. v. Siebold*, Manners and Customs of the Japanese. New York. 1840. 12. *Golownin*, Mem. of Captivity in J. Lond. 1852. 2 vols. 8. 2 ed.]

When *Xavier* reached Japan, he found that the Christian Church had been imitated by the devil, for already bells, rosaries, celibacy, monasticism, a hierarchy, and apparently a spiritual monarch were there. The primitive religion of the country was a mythical worship of nature, prompted by a lively glow of sensuous pleasure. But for a long time the predominant religion had been a Buddhism which had been introduced from abroad. About six hundred years before Christ, in Magadha, a province of India, arose *Gautama* surnamed *Buddha*, *i. e.*, the Wise, who enlisted with much zeal in the work of reforming his countrymen. By his wisdom and self-denials he became an incarnation of the Deity, according to the sacred legends, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu by Maya in the form of a pure virgin. In this incarnation, the system of the world attained a self-consciousness. As he proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man, the system of caste was discarded by him, but in its stead was gradually introduced a hierarchy, the existing head of which was always honored as an incarnate divinity. The spirit inculcated by Buddhism is mild and humane, since it requires that its followers should sympathize with the sufferings of every living thing, and instead of demanding bloody sacrifices, it calls upon them to sacrifice themselves for the good of others. Still the fundamental principle of this religion, that the higher life can be attained only by a liberation of ourselves from all the illusion of a personal existence, imposes the necessity of severe and cruel struggles. The natural development, therefore, of this principle, is a lifeless and haughty system of religion, in which the highest merit is attached to human efforts. (*a*) About a hundred years after Christ, Buddhism was persecuted by the Brahmans, and after a protracted struggle was expelled from its native country. It soon, however, became the religion of nearly all the neighboring nations, from whose peculiar characters it received many modifications. In Japan, Xavier adopted, though in a higher and modified sense, every thing in Buddhism which was considered holy, as a part of the faith which he preached, and consequently soon succeeded in establishing a church. But in his eagerness to penetrate still farther into heathen countries, this Apostle of the Indies died soon after on his way to China (1552). Under the direction of the Jesuits, a most splendid ecclesiastical establishment was formed in Japan, and hopes were entertained that the whole nation would soon become subject to its sway. But in consequence of some immoralities on the part of the European residents, and the suspicion that Christianity was only the precursor of foreign dominion, a series of sanguinary persecutions (after 1587) was commenced. Thousands even of the native inhabitants died as martyrs for the new faith. About the middle of the seventeenth century

[*a*) *E. Burnouf*, Introd. a l'Hist. du Buddhisme Indien. Par. 1845. vol. I. 4. *R. S. Hardy*, Manual of Buddhism, &c. Lond. 1852. 8. *E. Upham*, Hist. and Doct. of Buddhism. Lond. 1829. f. *C. F. Neumann*, Catechism of the Shamans, or Laws of the Bud. Priests. (Orient. Transl. Fund.) Lond. 1832. 8.]

every vestige of Christianity was obliterated from the country, and all intercourse with foreigners in Japan was strictly prohibited.

§ 397. *China.*

N. Trigaut, de chr. exped. apud. Sinas ex comm. Riccii. Aug. 1615. 4. and often. *J. A. Schall*, Relatio de initio et prog. missionis Soc. J. apud Chinenses. Vien. 1668. Rat. 1672. Mit Anm. v. *Mansegg*, Vien. 1834. *Du Halde*, Desc. de l'Emp. de la Chine. Par. 1736. 3 vols. 4. Uebers. m. Mosheim's Vorr. Rost. 1748. 4 vols. 4.—For the recent investigations, see Journal Asiatique. *Abel-Rémusat*, Mélanges asiat. Par. 1825s. 2 vols. Nouv. Melanges. Par. 1829s. 2 vols. *Stuhr*, chin. Reichsrel. Brl. 1835. u. rel. Systeme d. Or. p. 9ss. *Neumann*, d. Natur- u. Rel. Phil. d. Chin. Nach d. W. d. Tschuhi. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1837. P. 1.) [Histories and Accounts of China by *T. Thornton*, (Lond. 1844. 2 v. 8.) *C. Gutzlaff*, (New York. 1838. 1 v. 8.) *H. Murray*, (Edinb. 3 v. 12. 1836.) *J. P. Davis*, (New York. 1834. 2 v. 12.) *J. Kidd*, (Lond. 1841. 8.) and *E. Williams*, (New York. 1848. 8.)]

In the extreme East, the Europeans found an innumerable people, whose historical accounts went as far back as those of the Jews, and who regarded themselves as the centre of the world. Nearly all the mechanical arts which had recently been discovered in Europe, were found to have been in existence among them from a remote antiquity, in connection with a rigid system of civilization which had for thousands of years successively overcome all their conquerors. The state was organized strictly as a single great family, and all power was in the hands of the emperor, though limited by an inviolable usage and an aristocracy of learning. The consciousness of individual freedom with respect to moral conduct had never yet been awakened among the people. Three forms of religion existed there side by side in peace. The first was the primitive religion of the empire, of which *Confucius* (Kong-fu-Dsü) was honored as the founder. This was a simple adoration and worship of the heavens regarded as a power of nature, and of certain genii supposed to be subject to the emperor, together with a devout and well-arranged system of moral conduct. (*a*) The second was the doctrine of *Tao*, a system which directed men to adore the original source of reason, revealed and incarnate on earth, (*b*) but degenerated into a system of idolatry and magic. The third was the worship of *Buddha* (Fo-tho), a religion which had been more recently introduced among the people, but unsustained especially in the interior provinces by a powerful hierarchy. The account of divine things which these religions gave was intelligent and candid, but without religious enthusiasm, and bore no traces of fanaticism except with reference to the customary rules of civility towards the gods and the dead, and with respect to the etiquette of social life. As the natives regarded every thing foreign with extreme contempt, the Christian missionaries who followed in the train of commerce were at first totally unsuccessful in every attempt to convert them. The respect of the people was however finally secured when they discovered the superiority of the missionaries in mathematical science, the principles of which were immediately appreciated. The Jesuit *Ricci* (1582–1610) obtained high distinction among the people as an astronomer, and the favor of the im-

a) *Schott*, Werke d. chin. Weisen Kong-fu-Dsü. Hal. 1826. 6 vols. *Confucii* Chi King, ed. *Mohl*, Stuttg. 1830.

b) Le Tao-te-King, ou le livre de la raison suprême, par *Laotseu*, traduit avec une version latine et le texte chinois, par *G. Gauthier*, Par. 1838. [*A. Ljungstedt*, Port. Settl. and Missions in China. Boston, 1836. 8.]

perial court. (*c*) After this the Jesuits established numerous congregations, built churches, and translated the Scriptures, and even the Summa of St. Thomas, but with a careful accommodation to the religious customs and manners of the people. When reproached for this by the Dominicans at Rome, they defended themselves on the ground that it was indispensable to their success, and was as innocent as the apostles' conformity to the Jewish law. (*d*)

§ 398. *West Indies. Cont. from* § 290.

Gonzalez d'Avila, Theatro ecc. de las iglesias de las Indias. Madr. 1649ss. 2 vols. *Bourgoing*, Vertus des missionairs ou H. des miss. d'Amér. Par. 1654. 2 vols. *G. Baluffi*, l'America un tempo spagnuola sotto l'aspetto religioso (till 1843). Ancon. 1845. 3 vols. Comp. *Poppig*, Indien in d. Hall. Encykl. II. vol. XVII. esp. p. 381ss.—*L. A. Muratori*, Christianesimo felice nelle missione nel Paraguai. Ven. 1743. 2 vols. 4. (Abstract: Relat. des miss. du P. Par. 1754.) *Charlevoix*, H. du P. Par. 1756. 3 vols. 4. Nurem. 1768. *Pauke's* Reise in d. Miss. nach P. edit. by *Frost*, Vien. 1829. In an unfriendly spirit; *Ibagnez*, Regno Giesuitico del P. Lissab. 1770. Uebers. v. *Le Bret*, Koln. (Lps.) 1774. [*R. Southey*, Tale of Paraguay. Lond. 12mo. *Ibid.* II of Brazil. Lond. 1810.–19. 3 vols. 4. *Abbe Raynal*, Phil. and Pol. Hist. of the Settl. and Trade of Europeans in the W. I. from the French by *J. Justamond*, Lond. 1787. 12. Views of the Planting of Colonies and Missions in Mexico and Peru may be found in the works of *Prescott*, *Bernal Diaz*, (transl. by. *M. Keatinge*, Lond. 1800. 4.) *De Solis*, (transl. by *Townsend*, Lond. 1724.) *Robertson's* America, and other works.]

In Brazil, baptism was administered to prisoners while dying, and wherever it could be performed under the protection of the Portuguese arms. A splendid ecclesiastical establishment was immediately formed in every country conquered by the Spaniards. But although the natives were generally protected by the laws and defended against the colonists by the monks, they were hastening rapidly to extinction. Even where they were subjugated to the Spanish yoke and Christianized (Indios aldeidados), they did not renounce, but continued at the same time the worship of their ancient gods. The inquisition, however, took care that the outward semblance of C ristianity was maintained. With an heroic courage, the Jesuits and Capuchins pressed forward into the open primitive forests of the country, and along with the gospel, carried in their most simple and cheerful form the blessings of civilization. But when the Jesuits urged at Madrid, that the great obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the nations, was the cruelties and evil examples of the Spaniards, they obtained permission to establish Christian colonies among the Indians who were as yet independent, and which no Spaniard was to enter without their permission. Such was the origin of the republic of *Paraguay* (after 1610), governed by the Jesuits in a patriarchal style. The converted savages were treated as children, but as pious and happy children, and although much wealth was derived by the order from the country under its subjection, the prosperity and happiness of the people was entirely the fruit of its exertions.

c) *Wertheim*, Ricci. (Pletz, neue theol. Zeitsch. 1833. P. 3.)

d) *Platel*, (p. 472.) La moral pratique des Jés. 1669ss. vols. II. VI. VII.

CHAP. VII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The orig. authorities for the Hist. of the 30 yrs. War. (Monatsbl. d. Allg. Zeitg. 1845s. Dec. Jan. June.)—*Londorp*, d. K. Maj. u. d. h. Reichs *Acta publ.* (Frkf. 1621ss.) Tub. 1789ss. 17 vols. f. (*Pappus*) Epit. rer. Germ. 1617–43. c. animadvv. *J. G. Boehm*, Lps. 1760. Theatrum Europ. Frkf. 1735ss. vol. I.–IV. *Khevenhiller*, (p. 358.)—*Schiller*, Gesch. d. dreiss. Kr. Lps. 1791. 2 vols and oft. Fortges. v. *Woltmann*, Lps. 1809. 2 vols. [Thirty Years' War, from the Germ. of Schiller by *A. J. W. Morrison*, New York. 1847. 12.] *K. A. Menzel*, Gesch. d. dreiss. Kr. (Gesch. d. Deutsch. vol. VIss.) Brsl. 1835–9. 3 vols. *Sölti*, d. Rel. Kr. in Deutschl. Hamb. 1840s. 2 vols. *F. W. Barthold*, Gesch. d. deutschen Kr. v. Tode G. Ad. an. Stuttg. 1842ss. 2 vols. [*Menzel's* Hist. of Germany has been transl. by *Mrs. G. Horrocks*, Lond. 1848. 3 vols. 12. See also *Kohlrausch's* Hist. of Germ. and *Col. Mitchell's* Life of Wallenstein.]

§ 399. *Occasions.*

The Catholic and Protestant parties in Germany continued to stand in an antagonistic and threatening attitude with respect to each other. The house of Hapsburg, the head of the Catholic party, by the vast extent of territory which it had acquired, became, in fact, dangerous to the liberties of Europe, but its power was thus far restrained by its divisions at home and its intellectual inferiority. In Bavaria, and in most of the prelatical countries, Protestantism, which had been in the ascendant about the middle, was nearly suppressed at the close of the sixteenth century. That which had been found impossible to be accomplished among the people, the Jesuits attempted among the princes. *Jacob*, Margrave of *Baden* (1590), and *Wolfgang* William, Count Palatine of *Neuburg* (1614), proclaimed themselves converts to the Catholic Church. (*a*) In consequence of the early death of the Margravine, the conversion of the former was attended by no important results among his subjects, and the Count Palatine's own confessor was still a defender of Protestantism. Political reasons were doubtless the reason for the conversion of the count himself, but by means of it a country previously supposed to be lost became open to the efforts of the papacy. The ecclesiastical reservation was respected according to the will of those who for the time had possession of the government. Hence nearly all the property of the Church in Northern Germany and Suabia fell gradually into the hands of the Protestant princes, or was administered by Protestant bishops as electoral princes. But when the Elector *Gebhard*, High Steward of Cologne (after 1577), who had always been unfriendly to the Catholic party, gave himself up to his passion for Agnes of Mansfeld, and sought to legalize his forced marriage with her in the Reformed Church, he was deposed by the pope, the Bishop of Liege, a Bavarian prince, was elected by the chapter in his place, and he was abandoned even by the Lutherans (1583). (*b*) Sentence of proscription was pronounced by the imperial aulic council upon *Donauwörth*, for improper treatment of a Catholic procession, and not only was the decree enforced by Bavaria, but Protestantism itself was violently oppressed, and the liberty of the imperial cities was impaired (1607). In view of the dan-

a) Unsere Jacobs, M. v. B. christl. erhebl. u. wohlfundirte Motiven, warum wir a. Trieb uns. Gewiss. d. luth. Lehre verlassen, durch *Jo. Pistorium*, Cöln. 1591. 4. *Beihing*, Muri argillati civit. sanctae h. e. rel. cath. fundamenta, quibus insistens Wolfg. C. Pal. in civit. sanctam faustum pedem intulit. Col. 1615. 4. Uebers. v. *Vetter*, Col. 1615. 4.

b) *J. D. Koeler*, de actis et fatis Gebh. Tr. Altorf. 1723. 4. *F. W. Barthold*, G. Tr. v. Waldburg. (Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1840.)

ger, the Elector *Frederic* V. of the Palatinate induced a few Protestant states to form a Union (1608). In opposition to this, *Maximilian* of Bavaria, a man of a powerful and practical intellect, whose interest was identified with the success of the Catholic cause, placed himself at the head of a league composed of the ecclesiastical princes. (*c*) Saxony, as the representative of Lutheranism, took sides with the emperor. As long as the Jesuits kept the question of the religious peace in a state of suspense, the Union refused at the Diet of *Ratisbon* (1613) to submit to the decision of the majority in all matters connected with religion, and when their complaints were not attended to, the members of it withdrew entirely from the diet.

§ 400. *The Bohemian War. Cont. from* § 357.

Müller, fünf Bücher v. Böhm. Kr. Drsd. 1840. *Richter*, v. Böhmen-Aufruhrs u. d. dreiss. Kr. Ursachen u. Beginn. Erf. 1844.—*C. A. Peschcck*, Gesch. d. Gegenref. in Böhmen. Drsd. 1844. 2 vols.

Under the influence of the heir-apparent to his throne, the Emperor *Matthias* ventured to oppress individuals among the Bohemians, or allowed the Catholic land proprietors to do so. A petition was therefore presented to the emperor on this subject, by the Utraquists. His answer, however, was of a threatening character. Two imperial counsellors, supposed to be the authors of this, were thrown from a window of the castle in Prague, and the members of the diet favorable to the Utraquists seized the reins of government. *Ferdinand II.*, a pupil of the Jesuits, and resolved to venture every thing to bring about the triumph of Catholicism, had already suppressed by a quiet exercise of power the Protestantism which had been predominant in his patrimonial inheritance of Carinthia and Styria, when on the death of Matthias he was crowned emperor at Frankfort. (*a*) The Bohemians pronounced him an enemy to the liberties and religion of their country, and declared that he had forfeited the throne (Aug. 17, 1619). They then chose *Frederic* V. of the Palatinate for their king. The League took up arms in behalf of Ferdinand, while the Union and Saxony, from motives of prudence and from a rigid adherence to the strict principles of Lutheranism, remained inactive. Frederic knew nothing of royalty except how to enjoy its pleasures; whatever power he possessed in Bohemia was destroyed at the battle of the White Mountain near Prague (Nov. 8, 1620), and the conversion of Bohemia was effected by the Jesuits and the soldiers from Lichtenstein. The Bohemian literature was committed to the flames by the commission for the reformation of the people. John of *Nepomuk*, who had once been the archbishop's vicar and confidant in a hierarchical controversy with King Wenceslaus, and had been thrown during a fit of passion by that king into the river from the bridge of the Muldau (1393), now became the national saint of the new Catholic kingdom of Bohemia. The legend of his death was intentionally enlarged, and he was looked upon as the martyr for the seal of confession. The qualities and incidents which history has attributed to John Huss were now transferred to this saint of the bridge, that

c) *K. M. v. Aretin*, Gesch. Maxim. I. Passau 1842. f. 2 vols.

a) *F. Harter*, Gesch. K. Ferd. II. u. sr. Eltern b. z. Krönung in Frankf. Schaffh. 1850. 4 vols.

the memory of the reformer (Master Jan) might be effaced from the minds of the people. (*b*)

§ 401. *The German War.*

The emperor was resolved to destroy Frederic V. even as a prince of the empire, and it was principally for this reason that he now kept up and strengthened his army. The office of elector in the Palatinate was given to Bavaria (1623). In all his patrimonial Austrian possessions the Protestant religion was entirely suppressed. The Duke of Savoy had long since (1602) consumed the revenues from the sale of the Jubilee indulgences, in maintaining free companies for surprising the army of the Reformed Church, and the people of Geneva merely instituted an annual thanksgiving in commemoration of his failure (l'escalade). But in the *Valteline*, on the Italian border, the Catholics murdered their reformed fellow-countrymen (July, 1620), and Spanish and Austrian troops took possession of the country, as well as of some parts of the Gray League. (*a*) When all opposition in Germany had been put down by Wallenstein, the emperor proclaimed the *Edict* of *Restitution*, (*b*) that it might be an authentic explanation of the Religious Peace. According to this, all those foundations belonging to the Catholic Church which had been confiscated since the Treaty of Passau were to be restored, the Calvinists were excluded from the privileges granted in the Religious Peace, and Catholic states were not to be impeded in their efforts to convert their subjects. The violent proceedings which ensued during the execution of this edict were followed by others of still greater violence, until Protestantism appeared once more on the point of utter extinction. (*c*) But just at this critical moment the Catholic powers began to contend among themselves. France and Rome became alarmed at the formidable power of the house of Hapsburg. Wallenstein reminded the pope that Rome had not been plundered for more than a hundred years, and a passage into Germany was opened by France for *Gustavus Adolphus* (June 24, 1630), who both from policy and religion espoused the cause of Protestantism, and re-established it by his bold military exploits. (*d*) After his heroic death (Nov. 6, 1632) the war was maintained by the Swedish generals, who were secretly supported by Richelieu. They, however, held out with great difficulty, since by the treaty of Prague (1635) the Elector of Saxony once more forsook not only the common cause, but even the foreign policy of Protestantism, until France openly came to their support. Neither party can be said to have been successful, and Germany was desolated by a civil and religious war, by no means na-

b) The first Altar in 1621. Canonization in 1629. Life in Jo. Nep. by the Jesuit Balbi about 1670. (Acta SS. Maj. vol. III. p. 667.) The history: *Pelzel*, Gesch. Wenzels. vol. I. p. 266. Urkundenb. p. 109. 154ss. The expedient of two persons called Jo. of Nep. was resorted to even in Acta SS. p. 670. 673.

a) (*Cp. Waser.*) Veltlinisch Blutbad. Zür. 1621. 4. *De Porta*, Hist. ref. Ecc. Rhaet. II. p. 280ss.

b) *Londorp*, Th. III. p. 1047.

c) *Caraffa* de Germ. sacra restaurata. Col. 1639.

d) Erinnerungen an G. A. Eigenhändige Einl. z. Gesch. s. Leb. ed. by *Rühs*, Hal. 1806. *Pufendorf*, Cmmtr. de reb. Suec. ab expedit. G. A. Ultraj. 1686. Frcf. 1707. f. *A. F. Gfrörer*, Gesch. G. A. u. sr. Zeit. Stuttg. (1837–48.) 1853. *Geijer*, Gesch. v. Schw. vol. III. *Heising*. G. A. in Deutschl. Brl. 1846. [*W. Harte*, Life of G. A. Lond. 1759. 2 vols. 4. *J. F. Hollings*, Life of G. A. Lond. 1838. 12.]

tional in its objects, but equivocal in its nature and prosecuted by the leaders for various subordinate ends.

§ 402. *The Peace of Westphalia.*

I. Instrumentum P. W. ed. *Berninger*, Monast., 1648. *Meiern.*, Gott. 1747.—*A. Adami* Arcana P. W. Fref. 1698. 4. ed. *Meiern*, Gott. 1737. 4. Mémoires de M. D. (*C. du Mesme d'Avaux.*) Col. Gren. 1674. *J. G. v. Meiern.* Acta P. W. publica. Hann. 1734ss. 6 vols. f. m. Register. Gött. 1740. f.—

II. *Pütter*, Geist d. W. F. Gott. 1795. *Senkenberg*, Darst. d. W. F. Frkf. 1804. *Woltmann*, Gesch. d. W. F. Lpz. 1808ss. 2 vols.

Those who had commenced the war did not live to witness its conclusion. Austria was compelled to acknowledge that Protestantism and Germany were not to be overcome by violence. With a formidable desperation the people of the different nations demanded peace. After many tedious and intricate negotiations at Munster and Osnabruck, a peace was concluded in October, 1648, to be henceforth a fundamental law of the German nation. Under the guarantee of France and Sweden, Bavaria retained, besides the electoral dignity, the Upper Palatinate, and an eighth electorate was formed for the Lower Palatinate, which was now restored. France and Sweden were recompensed for their trouble by certain territories of the empire. All damages were compensated by means of the secularized property of the Church. The right of each state of the empire to form alliances with foreign powers, provided it was not in opposition to the emperor and the empire, was formally acknowledged. With respect to the controversy between the two churches, the five articles of the Deed of Osnaburg were adopted, in which the principle of a complete legal equality of both parties with respect to each other, was assumed, and all ecclesiastical and political protests were rejected: "The Religious Peace of Augsburg shall be inviolably kept by each. In all imperial courts and deputations the number of members from each religious party shall be equal. In the Imperial Diet, if the two religious parties differ from each other, nothing shall be decided by a majority of votes but by compromise. With respect to ecclesiastical property the possessions of all parties shall be decided by the state of affairs, on the 1st of January, 1624. Wherever a free exercise of religion was publicly tolerated in that normal year it shall be continued, but where this was not the case liberty of domestic worship shall be permitted. The relations of the Reformed Church toward the Catholics are established on grounds similar to those of the churches professing the Augsburg Confession. But the legal relations of the two Protestant parties toward each other to continue precisely as they were at that time, whether settled by treaty or by usage. A prince who may go over from one Protestant party to the other, may grant religious toleration to those who belong to the same creed with himself, but he shall allow the established Church to remain unmolested." The evangelical Hungarians had received support from Rakoczy of Transylvania, and in the treaty of *Linz* (1643) had secured the restoration of their ecclesiastical rights. The Silesian principalities, but none of the other Austrian patrimonial states, were included in the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia. Through the mediation of Venice and France, at the treaty of *Milan* (1639) the Gray League recovered its Italian possessions, but with the stipulation that the Protestants should be

excluded. A peace without a genuine reconciliation was thus concluded for every part of Europe, and the balance of power between the Catholic and Protestant Churches was secured by the imperial constitution, but the empire was divided and sacrificed to foreign influences.

CHAP. VIII. THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.

Crusius. (p. 356.) *Leo All.* (p. 355.) *R. Simon*, H. crit. des dogmes et controv. des chretiens or. Trevoux. 1711. *Heineccius*, Abbild d. ältern u. neuern gr. K. Lps. 1711. 4. *M. le Quien*, Oriens chr. Par. 1740. 3 vols. f. Libri symb. Ecc. or. ed. *J. Kimmel*, Jen. 1843. Appendix LL. symb. ed. *Weissenborn*, Jen. 1850. [*J. M. Neale*, H. of the Holy Eastern Church. Lond. 1850. 2 vols. 8. *T. Smith*, Greek Church, its Docc. & Rites. Lond. 1680. 8. *John Covill*, Some Account of the Greek Church. Lond. 1722. f.]

§ 403. *Connections with Protestants.*

A Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession (*a*) and a letter of salutation to *Joasaph II.* (*b*) the Patriarch of Constantinople, was sent by Melancthon, by the hands of a Greek, but no reply was ever received. By means of a preacher connected with an embassy at Constantinople, the theologian of Tubingen was induced to send another translation to the Patriarch *Jeremias II.* (1574). The answer of that prelate was written in accordance with the very strictest forms of Greek orthodoxy, and as it expressed a desire that the correspondence, if agreeable to them, should have no further discussion of doctrines, but be confined to an exchange of friendly civilities, the intercourse was broken off (1581). (*c*) *Cyrillus Lucaris*, a native of Candia, who had been educated at Padua, formed connections when in Lithuania with reformed clergymen, which were continued by means of Dutch and English ambassadors after he became Patriarch of Alexandria (1602) and subsequently of Constantinople (1621). To prevent the further progress of the Roman Church, and to infuse new life into the formal worship of his own Church, he formed an alliance with the young Church of the West, and even transmitted to Geneva the form of a Calvinistic Confession of Faith. (*d*) This was enough, without the subsequent efforts of the Jesuits, to excite the Greek bishops against him. On the ordinary accusation of high treason he was strangled (1638), (*e*) and the Oriental patriarchs execrated his memory. (*f*)

a) Ἐξομολόγησις της ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως. Basil. 1559.

b) *Corp. Ref.* vol. IX. p. 921.

c) Acta et scrr. Theoll. Wirt. et Patr. Const. Vit. 1584. 4. f. *Schnurrer*, de actis inter Tub. Theoll. et Patrr. Const. (Orr. acad. ed. *Paulus*. Tub. 1828.)

d) Ἀνατολικὴ ὁμολογία τῆς χρ. πίστεως. Gen. (iat. 1629. *Kimmel* p. 24.) 1633.

e) *Aymon*, Monumens authent. de la rel. des Grecs. Haye. 1708. 4. *Th. Smith*, Collect. de Cyr. Luc. Lond. 1707. *Bohnstedt*, de Cyr. Luc. Hal. 1729. 4. *Mohnike*, Cyr. Luc. (Stud. u. Krit. 1832. P. 3.) *Twesten* Cyr. Luc. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. W. 1850. N. 39ss.)

f) *Kimmel*, p. 398. 408. 825.

§ 404. *The Russian Church.*

For Lit. see § 232. *Strahl*, Beitrr. z. russ. KGesch. Hal. 1827. vol. I. *Ullmann* ü. Strahl. (Stud. u. Krit. 1831. P. 2.) *H. J. Schmitt*, kath. Gesch. d. neugr. u. d. russ. K. Mayence 1840. *A. N Muravieff*, H. of the Church of Russia, transl. (in Russian. Petersb. 1838.) by *Blackmore*, Oxf. 1842. [*P. Rycaut*, The present State of the Arm. & Greek Churches. Lond. 1679. 8.]

In the course of political development the Russian Church necessarily became independent of the see of Constantinople. As the Patriarch Jeremias was much embarrassed for want of funds, it was not difficult to obtain his consent that a patriarch should be appointed for Moscow, as the third Rome (1589). (*a*) The Russian patriarchs were however obliged, until the middle of the seventeenth century, to obtain confirmation at Constantinople. The Roman Church, ever since the time of Gregory, has had its eye upon a union with the Russian Church. A hope of such a union was encouraged by the Tzar Iwan *Wasiljewitsch*, as he was anxious to obtain the assistance of the emperor and the mediation of the pope in an unsuccessful war which he was carrying on against the Poles (1581). But in spite of the artful policy of the Jesuit *Possevino*, (*b*) the hope became extinguished in proportion as the necessities of the Tzar diminished. The efforts of that emissary were, however, more successful in some Russian provinces, which fell with Lithuania into the hands of the Poles. *Michael Rahosa*, the Metropolitan of Kiew, together with a portion of the clergy, at the Synod of Brzesc (1596), submitted to the pope, hoping they might share the advantages of the Catholic clergy, and save the orthodox Church from the apostasy which had commenced among the nobility. The *Union* was effected in conformity with the agreement which had been formed at Florence, with a great respect at first for old ancestral usages. (*c*) But gradually the forms of worship became latinized through the influence of the Roman monks, who entered the convents belonging to the Union, while all those churches which did not enter that connection sunk under the temptations and persecutions to which they were subjected. To confirm the views and feelings of the Oriental Church in opposition to the encroachments of Roman and Protestant elements, a Russian catechism was composed (1642) by *Petrus Mogilas* the orthodox Metropolitan of Kiew, and was confirmed by all the associated patriarchs of the Greek Church, as the confession of the Oriental Catholic Church. In this, the doctrines of the Church are simply presented in the manner and style of the ancient Church; but in accordance also with the latest developments they had gradually attained, and as the reception of it was ranked among the three cardinal theological virtues, it has become prominent in the practical system of the Church. (*d*) The accession of the false *Demetrius* to the throne of the Tzars was favored by the Poles on the ground of its being a Catholic enterprise, and failed at Moscow (1606) principally for the same reason. (*e*) Ger-

a) *Karamsin* vol. IX. p. 181. *b*) *Ant. Possevini* Moscovia. (Vilu. 1586.) Antu. 1587.

c) Jura et privilegia genti Ruthenae cath. a M. Pontificibus Poloniaeque Regibus concessa. Lemb. 1787.

d) Ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως τῆς καθ. καὶ ἀποστ. ἐκκλ. τῆς ἀνατολ κῆς. (*Kimmel* p. 56.)

e) *Cilli*, H. di Moscovia. p. 11ss. *G. F. Mueller*, Samml. russ. Geschichten. Petersb. 1732ss. vol. V. *Karamsin* vol. X. p. 109ss. [M. Merimée, The Russ. Impostors, or The False Demetrius. Lond. 1852. 8.]

man colonists, Protestant as well as Catholic, sometimes entered Russia, and enjoyed full liberty with respect to private religion, but seldom possessed the privilege of holding public worship. (*f*)

§ 405. *Abyssinians and Maronites.*

Job. Ludolfi H. aethiopica. Fref. 1681. f. & Cmt. ad H. aeth. Fref. 1691. f. *Veyssiere de la Croce*, H. du Chr. d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie. Haye. 1738. Danz. 1740. Comp. *C. W. Isenberg*, Abess. u. d. ev. Mission, bearb. v. *C. J. Nitzsch*, Bonn. 1844. 2 vols.—*Schnurrer*, de Ecc. Maronitica. Tub. 1810s. 2 P. 4. (Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. I. sect. 1.) *N. Murad*, Notice hist. sur l'origine de la nation Mar. et sur ses rapports avec la France. Par. 1844. [*J. Ludolphus*, H. of Ethiopia. Lond. 1680. f.]

The attempt made by the Roman Church to make up for its losses in the West by a reconciliation with the Oriental churches, was encouraged for only transitory and selfish purposes, or was used to conceal real designs. The only country which appeared to come up to a sincere union with the Roman Church was *Abyssinia*. As a Christian land, this country had been almost forgotten by European nations, and the Judaizing Christianity which once prevailed there had now sunk so low as to be nothing more than a system of magic. The Emperor Seltam *Seghed* was induced, by his peculiar relations to the Portuguese, to break off the connection of the Abyssinian Church with the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria (1621), and to accept of a Jesuit from Rome as the patriarch of that Church. But the displeasure created by this movement was so much increased by the influence of the hermits and monks that it soon amounted to an insurrection, during which the Jesuits were banished, and all connection with Rome was broken off (1634). The *Maronites* still remained in connection with the Roman Church, as the possession of their own patriarch, the use of their sacred language, the marriage of their priests, the reception of the cup in the Lord's Supper, and their other sacred usages, had been conceded to them. Their college at Rome (after 1584) became an emporium for all kinds of Syrian and Western learning.

f) *J. C. Grot*, Bemerkungen ü. d. Rel. Freih. d. Ausländer im russ. Reich. Petersb. u. Lpz. 1797ss. 3 vols.

SIXTH PERIOD.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE PRESENT TIME.

I. Acta historico-ecc. Weim. 1736–58. 24 vols. Nova Acta hist. ecc. W. 1758–73. 12 vols. Acta hist. ecc. nostri temp. W. 1774–87. 12 vols. Rep. d. nst. KGesch. (Index to all the preceding.) W. 1790. Acten, Urkunden u. Nachr. z. nst KGesch. W. 1789–93. 5 vols. Neueste Rel. Gesch. ed. by *Walch*, Lemg. 1771–83. 9 vols. Fortges. v. *Planck*, L. 1787–93. 3 vols. *Le Bret*, Mag. d. Staaten-u. KGesch. Ulm. 1771–88. 10 vols. (Köster.) Die nst. Rel. Begebenheiten. Giess. 1778–95. 18 vols. *Henke:* Archiv. f. d. nst. KGesch. Weim. 1794–9. 6 vols. Rel. Annal. Brnschw. 1800–2. 6 St. u. Beitrr. z. nst. Gesch. d. Rel. Brl. 1806. 2 vols. Archiv. f. alte u. neue KGesch. ed. by *Stäudlin* u. *Tzschirner* L. 1813–22. 5 vols. Vater, Anhau z. nst. KG. Brl. 1820ss. 2 vols. *Stäudlin*, *Tzschirner* u. *Vater*, KHist. Archiv. Hal. 1823–6. 4 vols. Acta hist. ecc. Saec. XIX. (1835. 36. 37.) ed. by *Rheinwald*. Hamb. 1838–40.—Archives du Christianisme. Gén. et Par. since 1817. Allg. KZeitung, Darmst. ed. by *E. Zimmermann* since 1822, by *K. Zimmermann* u. *Bretschneider* since 1833, by Palmer since 1850, and by Schenkel since 1853. Ev. KZeitung. Brl. ed. by *Hengstenberg* since 1827. Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol. Lpz. ed. by *Illgen* since 1832. v. *Niedner* since 1846. Berliner allg. KZeitung, ed. by *Rheinwald* since 1839. v. *Bruns*. 1845.—June 1853. Among the polit. journals, especially the Augsb. allg. and the Leipsic, more recently Deutsche, allg. Zeitung.

II. *J. A. v. Einem*, KGesch. d. 18. Jahrh. Lps. (1776ss.) 1782ss. 3 vols. *J. R. Schlegel*, KGesch. d. 18. Jhh. Heilb. 1784ss. 2 vols. u. v. *Fraas*. 3 vols. 1 Abth. (Both as Uebers. u. Forts. v. of Mosheim.) *P. J. v. Huth*, KGesch. d. 18 Jhh. Augsb. 1807ss. 2 vols. Unparth. KGesch. A. u. N. T. v. *Heinsius* & oth. Jen. 1735–60, 2–4 vols. *Hagenbach:* Wesen u. Gesch. d. Ref. 4 vols. Lps. 1839, Die KGesch. d. 18. u. 19. Jahrh. Lps. (1842s.) 1848ss. 2 vols.—*Robiano*. Continuation de l'Hist. de l'égl. de Berault-Bercastel, 1721–1830. Par. 1836. 4 vols. Neueste Gesch. d. K. Chr. 1800–33. from the Ital. 3 ed. Augsb. (1832ss. 1836.) 1841. 6 vols. *F. A. Scharpff*, Voriess. ü. neueste KGesch. (since 1789.) Freib. 1852.—*Grégoire*, H. de Sectes religieuses depuis le commencement du siècle dernier. Par. (1810. 2 vols.) 1828ss. 5 vols. In the abstract by *Tzschirner* (Archiv. f. KGesch. 1813. vol. I. St. 1s.) *Stäudlin, Wiggers*. (p. 5.)—*F. C. Schlosser*, Gesch. d. 18 Jahrh. u. d. 19. b. z. Sturz d. franz. Kaiserr. Heidlb. 1836–44. 5 vols. till 1797. (The general view of 1823 is revised in the 1st & 2d vol. of the 3d ed. 1843.) [*Schlosser's* Hist. of the 18th and a part of the 19th centt. has been transl. by *D. Davidson*, Lond. 1846. 6 vols. 8. Wm. Russell, Alison, De Koch, Lord John Russell, and Raumer, have written Histories of Europe during this period.]

§ 406. *General View.*

As the violence of the struggles occasioned by the Reformation was now much abated, the secular tendency of the public life which had already become prominent in the departments of art and literature, now extended its influence wherever it could properly find place. The efforts of public men were at first confined to the enterprises of the princes to maintain the balance of power, i. e., each state gained as large conquests as the power and jealousy of other states would permit. The result of these contests was the division of the Southern States of Europe between the two Houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon, the violent interference of Russia in all the national assemblies of Western Europe, the intellectual and military elevation of Prussia, the naval supremacy of Great Britain, and the partition of Poland. But the struggle

for national liberties which had commenced in England and the Netherlands simultaneously with the Reformation, became, through the influence of the North American Revolution, the grand idea of the age, and by means of the French Revolution the central point of all public affairs. The Church was deeply affected by these convulsions, no longer, however, as the first, but only as the second of those powers which were involved in these popular movements. Its work now was to assist the people, sympathize with them, and administer consolation. Indeed, within its own pale was completed the same struggle which was reserved for the whole world, a conflict between religious independence and ancestral usages. Three great periods are distinctly marked out by the great crisis of this struggle; the supplanting of ancient usages until near the middle of the eighteenth century, the overthrow of the existing state of things until 1814, and the renewal of the struggle in its most earnest form and the commencement of an adjustment of affairs until 1853. Still the mathematical limits assigned to intellectual influences could not be more important than the active elements originated during this period, or those which attained to a complete sphere of activity. Both the original forms of the Western Church passed through this contest, not so much in conflict with each other as each by themselves, struggling with their own internal forces. Germany was the special battle-field of Protestantism, and France of Catholicism.

CHAP. I.—THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL CHURCH UNTIL 1750.

§ 407. *German Orthodoxy.*

Among those who belonged to the school of the strictest faith there were still some persons of eminence who showed that they were truly sincere in their efforts to live a life of piety. An example of an excellent Christian prince was especially presented in the life of *Ernest* the *Pious* (1601–75), who, with a royal solicitude worthy of St. Louis, healed the wounds inflicted on his people during the thirty years' war; and not only in the spirit of his theologians, but in the higher spirit of an apostle, labored affectionately for the welfare of the Church at home and abroad. (*a*) His brother, *John Frederic*, on the other hand, who doubted the existence of a God, but believed in that of the devil, in consequence of the secret rancor and proselyting zeal of the theologians, fell a victim to the darkest influences of the popular faith (1628), (*b*) rivalling even that of the Catholic countries of that period, in its zeal for burning witches. *Paul Gerhardt* (d. 1676), who committed his way to God, and betook himself to foreign countries, because his tender conscience would not allow him to remain in Berlin, where his Lutheranism was in danger, was the first of a vast chorus of harmonious voices to express the emo-

a) *Gelbke*, Herzog Ernst d. Fr. Gotha 1810. 3 vols. comp. *Hunnius*, Consultatio, ob und wie man die in d. luth. K. schwebenden R. Streitigk. beilegen möge. Lüb. (1632.) 1638.

b) *B. Röse*, Joh. Friedrich VI. Neust. 1827.

tions of the Christian heart in all its relations to God, by popular hymns. (*c*) But the German Protestantism of that period gave forth its sublimest utterance in the severe, but harmonious and seraphic music of John Sebastian *Bach* (d. 1750), the chorister of Leipsic. Though contented in the contracted sphere of domestic life, he longed correctly to convey to others the unutterable feelings which were struggling in his own heart. The Passion-Oratorios which he composed were the direct offspring of the Protestant mode of worship. Contemporary with him was *Handel* (d. 1759), whose ambition was displayed both in private life, and in the style of his art, whose works are of the richest and most brilliant character, and in whose celebration of the Messiah was employed an array of musical instruments which had never before been collected. Both composers lived in seclusion, but were highly honored during their lives. (*d*) In consequence of the war, however, and the exclusive prevalence of an orthodoxy confined to the strict letter of the standards, there was nothing whatever of literature, or of its popular elements during this period. The theology of the Form of Concord was developed entirely in a controversial style with reference to opposing systems, and might be called a new scholasticism, without the philosophical acuteness of the old. This orthodoxy may have been the language of sincere piety, but it was violently maintained by means of a contracted education, by an unscientific course of instruction, by oaths, and by censorships. As every deviation from it was closely watched and threatened, all intellectual movements became constrained, and were animated only when engaged in controversy, and in accusations for heresy. Even Calovius, Koenig, and Quenstedt, who were leaders, only transcribed the productions of their predecessors, and of each other. But with all their subtilties one can scarcely refrain from thinking that they have described God very much like some mighty Lutheran pastor who is obliged to save his honor by blows. (*e*) The authority of the Scriptures was actually felt only through certain passages much used in controversy, the explanation of which was firmly settled by each party for itself. The pure and powerful prose which Luther had used was forgotten, men of learning wrote in a tolerable Latin, and the sermons, though sometimes powerful, unrestrained, and alarming, were generally disputatious, allegorical, insipid, pedantic, or ordinary. (*f*) Orthodoxy, and the most unwearied ecclesiasticism, were compatible with a worldly spirit and the rudest manners. The zealots for orthodoxy assailed each other with reference to some attenuated definitions of subjects which lay beyond the bounds of human knowledge, (*g*) and the exhortation to unity in essentials, freedom in non-essentials, and charity in both, was only as a voice in the desert. (*h*)

c) *E. G. Roth*, P. G. Lps. 1829. *E. C. Langbecker*, Leben u. Leiden. P. G. Brl. 1841. *O. Schulz*, P. G. geistl. Andachten. Brl. 1842.

d) *Forkel*, Leben J. S. Bachs. Lps. 1804. 4. [*C. Burney*, Memoirs of Handel, and also by the same, Gen. Hist. of Music, Lond. 1776–89. 4 vols. 8., condensed by *T. Busby*, Lond. 1819. 2 vols. 8.]

e) *Hartmann*, v. Seegensprechen. Nürnb. 1680. p. 158. 180.

f) *Schuler*, Gesch. d. Geschmacks im Pred. Hal. 1792. vol. I. p. 165ss.

g) *A. Tholuck*: D. Geist d. luth. Theologen Witt. im 17. Jhh. Hmb. 1852. D. akad. Leben d. 17. Jhh. Hal. 1853.

h) *F. Lücke*, ü. Alter, Verf. urspr. Form u. Sinn des kirchl Friedensspruches, Gött. 1850.

§ 408. *George Calixtus.* 1586–1656.

De causa hodierni odii philos. et solidae erudit. Helmst. 1619. Epit. Theol. Hlm. 1619. & often. Commercii liter. Calixt. Fasc. 1–3. ed. *E. Henke*. Hal. Jen. Marb. 1833–40.—*Calovii* H. syncretistica d. i. chr. Bedenken ü. d. lieben KFrieden. 1682 confiscirt. (Giess.) 1685. 4. *Moller*, Cimbria liter. Hafn. 1744. f. Th. III. p. 121ss. *E. Henke*, d. Univ. Helmst. im 16 Jhh. Hal. 1833. – *Walch*, K. Str. vol. I. p. 216ss. IV, 666ss. *Planck*, Gesch. d. prot. Th. v. d. Konkordienf. p. 90ss. *H. Schmid*, Gesch. d. synkret. streitigk. in d. Zeit d. Cal. Erl. 1846. *W. Gass*, Cal. u. d. Synkret. Brl. 1846.

The University of *Helmstadt* had been accidentally exempted from the operation of the Form of Concord, (§ 351,) and by the protection which its princes had afforded it, it became for a long time an asylum for the Humanists. Here contemptuous language with respect to human reason and philosophy, such as was ventured upon by *Daniel Hoffmann*, was punished as an offence against the philosophical faculty. (*a*) From this school sprung *Calixtus*, an upright and extensively educated man, who, for nearly half a century was a professor in Helmstadt, where, in the spirit of Melancthon, he sought in the historical method for a more unfettered form of theology. By his doctrine of the necessity of good works, by his separation of ethics from theology, and by his assertion that the doctrine of the Trinity was not plainly revealed in the Old Testament, suspicions of his orthodoxy were awakened, first among his pupils at Koenigsberg, and finally led to a denial of an honorable burial to his lifeless remains. He endeavored to strengthen the power of the Protestants in Thorn by a fraternal connection with the members of the Reformed Church (p. 420.) He was regarded by the Catholics as their most sagacious opponent, and the whole Catholic Church of Germany was invited by him to escape from the power of the pope. But he had become acquainted with a Christianity unfettered by the subtleties of the Form of Concord, and made known in the Scriptures, in the primitive Church, and in Christian experience. Conscious that he had thus attained a universal Christianity, he demanded that the various churches should recognize it, and thought that they might once more be united, or at least might mutually tolerate each other, if they could all be induced to return to the œcumenical symbols and laws of the first five centuries. This plan was called by the zealous Lutherans *Syncretism*. *Calovius*, an exasperated but honest watchman of Zion, with his colleagues in Luther's chair, furiously and indefatigably assailed this heresy of one whom they regarded as a papist and Mameluke, who should be cut off from the body of the Church by a new creed. (*b*) But Helmstadt adhered to its beloved instructor, he was also protected by his prince, and Jena protested against the unreasonable reproaches of his adversaries. (*c*) These reproaches were supposed to be justified by his assertion that the Reformation was merely a particular mode of return to the ancient Church, and by the references made to him by many then going over to the

a) De Deo et Chr. Hlmst. 1598. On the other hand: J. Martini Vernunftspiegel, d. i. Bericht, was d. Vft. sammt drs. Perfection, Phil. scy. Witt. 1618.—*G. Thomasius*, de controv. Hofmanniana. Erl. 1844.

b) Consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae. 1655. (Consilia theol. Wittenb. Frkf. 1664. f. vol. I.) Denuo ed. *E. L. T. Henke*, Marb. 1846. 4.

c) *Musaeus*, ausf. Erkl. ü. 93 vermeinte Rel. Fragen. Jen. 1677.

Catholic Church. He was much respected by the higher classes, and his reputation at home was much increased by the honors which he gained in foreign countries. His influence upon the theology of his own times was almost imperceptible, but he seemed rather a type of what was about to prevail in the succeeding age.

§ 409. *Pietism. Spener.* 1635–1705.

I. *Spener:* Das geistl. Priesterth. Frkf. 1677. 12. and oth. Brl. 1830. Allg. Gottesgel. aller gläub. Chr. u. rechtsch. Theol. Frkf. 1680. 12. a. d. often. Die Freih. d. Gläubigen v. Ansehn d. Menschen in Glaubenssach. Frkf. 1691. Theol. Bedenken. Hal. 1700ss. 4 vols. Consilia et jud. th. Fref. 1709. 3 vols. 4. Lat. u. deutsche th. Bed. in zeitgem. Ausw. v. *Hennicke*, Hal. 1838. Wahrh. Erzähl. dessen, was wegen d. sogen. Piet. vorgegangen. Frkf. (1697.) 1698. Amst. 1700. 12.—*Löscher*, Timoth. Verinus. Witt. 1718ss. 2 vols. u. vieles in d. Unschuld. Nachrr. 1701–20. Work written to compose the strife of parties: (*Buddeus*) Wahrh. u. gründl. Erzähl was zw. d. sog. Piet. geschehen. Without place. 1710.

II. *C. H. v. Canstein*, Muster e. rechtsch. Lehrers in d. Leben Sp. Hal. 1740. *Snabedissen*, Sp. (Rochlitz, jährl. Mitth. 1823. vol. III.) *W. Hossbach*, Sp. u. s. Zeit. Brl. (1828.) ed. by *G. Schweder*, 1853. 2 vols. *Knapp*, Leben u. Char. einiger frommen u. gel. Männer d. vor. Jhh. Hal. 1829.—*W. Thilo*, Sp. als Katechet. Brl. 1840.—*Walch*, R. Str. vol. I. p. 540ss. II, 1ss. IV, 1030ss. V, 1ss. *Planck*, Gesch. d. prot. Th. p. 180ss. [A new Life of Spener has been announced as in preparation by *K. Horsbach*, in 2 vols. Lps. 1854.] Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. W. 1853. N. 23s.

Philip Jacob *Spener* received a pious and liberal education in the city of Strasbourg, and while yet a youth became the first among the clergy in Frankfort (1666). He subsequently became the superior court preacher in Dresden (1686), but fell into disgrace on account of his zeal as a confessor, and was appointed (1691) Provost in Berlin. He was deeply impressed with the conviction that practical piety was in danger of being lost in a conformity to the outward letter of Christianity. By devotional explanations of the Scriptures, and Christian conversation in private religious meetings (collegia pietatis, after 1670), a high degree of religious earnestness was awakened. His "Pious Desires" (*a*) encouraged the hope of reforming the corrupt Church. In that work he showed that the Church should be once more built up under the influence of the Scriptures, that the spiritual priesthood of the congregation should be restored, and that the clergy should be educated to live a life of personal godliness. Then Christianity would be preached in apostolical simplicity, and become a religion of the heart and of daily conduct. In Leipsic, where the exposition of the Scriptures had long been discontinued, a society of educated young men was formed under the influence of Spener, for the scientific explanation and practical application of the Scriptures (July 18, 1687). (*b*) The German devotional lectures upon the New Testament opened (1689) by three men who had obtained the degree of Magister, among whom was Aug. Herm. *Francke*, were attended with great diligence by large numbers of students and citizens. On account of their excessive displays of piety in their outward conduct, these persons were called *Pietists*, and were accused of aiming to bring public worship and science into contempt. They were therefore compelled by the theologians to leave Leipsic (1690), and in connection with Thomasius they founded a new

a) Pia desideria o. hertzl. Verlangen nach gottgefäll. Besserung d. wahren ev. K. (First publ. as a praef. to Arndt's Postilla ev. 1675.) Frkf. 1675. lat. Frkf. 1678. 12.

b) *C. F. Illgen*, Hist. Collegii philobiblici Lips. Lps. 1836s. 3 P. 4.

salt-spring at *Halle* (1691). After the first exhibitions of popular favor had passed away, the rigid demands which Spener made in behalf of morality, and his liberal but logical system of doctrines, raised up against him many opponents not only among the worldly classes, but among the orthodox. Once more Wittenberg, now enfeebled by age, defended its Lutheranism, (*c*) and the theology of the schools with almost one voice exclaimed against Pietism as against a new sect. The controversy, however, was carried on not by seizing and attacking the thing itself, but according to the polemical fashion of the times, by accusing it of many erroneous sentiments, and enlisting in petty quarrels against it the passions of the people, the civil courts, and even the divine decisions. Those tendencies which had been originated by Spener, but which had been kept within due limits by the mildness of his disposition, were soon carried to an extreme by his followers. They contended that all true regeneration must be preceded by a high-wrought penitential conflict, that none but a regenerated divine should be allowed to minister in holy things, a proud sectarian spirit was awakened, injury was done to the serious pursuit of literature by the pure devotional form which theology then assumed, some were led to indulge in enthusiastic hopes of a millennial kingdom, and of the final extinction of hell, (*d*) and many high-sounding pious expressions were introduced which really had no meaning. It must, however, not be forgotten that the Orphan House was the result of Francke's pietism, and will ever commemorate the triumph of his faith in God and his benevolence toward men. (*e*) As soon, however, as the opposition began gradually to abate (after 1720), the energy as well as the free reforming spirit of Pietism was gone, and it appeared to be merely a languid religion of feeling, which, while it shrunk from every semblance of worldly pleasure and splendor, regarded Christianity under the single aspect of a system which proclaimed the naturally miserable state of man in consequence of sin, and the necessity of justification through the expiatory death of Christ. Protestantism, by its influence, penetrated the hearts of men more profoundly, and the pious morality of domestic life was strengthened by it, but especially in the courts of some of the inferior princes it degenerated into a miserable system of legality and ceremony before God. Registers were kept for souls, and many idle persons supported themselves comfortably by using the new language respecting breaking into the kingdom, and the sealing of believers, while serious-minded persons were utterly unfitted for their ordinary social duties, until in despair they committed suicide. (*f*) The orthodox, on the other hand, in their opposition to such fanaticism, gave their countenance to an extraordinary degree of cheerfulness, and thought the condition of their Church was remarkably flourishing. (*g*)

c) Christluth. Vorst. in aufricht. Lehrsätzsen n. Gottes Wort u. d. symb. KBüchern u. unrichtigen Gegensätzen aus H. Dr. Spener's Schrr. Witt. 1695.

d) *J. W. Petersen*, Μυστήριον ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, d. i. Geheimn. d. Wiederbr. aller Dinge. Offenb. 1701ss. 3 vols.

e) A. H. Francke, by *A. H. Niemeyer*, Hal. 1794. by *Guerike*, Hal. 1827.

f) *Semler*, Lebensbeschr. vol. I. p. 47ss.

g) *Hossbach* vol. II. p. 126. *Tholuck*, Geist d. luth. Th. p. 272ss. 278.

§ 410. *Philosophical Influences. Cartesius to Wolf.*

Although science received from the hand of *Bacon* of *Verulam* (d. 1626) a tendency toward physics and the useful arts, (*a*) many divines long thought it absurd to concede an authority to Copernicus which was superior to that of the word of God. (*b*) The more modern philosophy had its origin with *Des Cartes* (d. 1650), in an inquiry proceeding from doubt, after something absolutely true and certain, and which the reflecting mind might find in itself alone, without reference to theology. It was, however, employed in the Netherlands for the representation of the doctrines of revelation, and took the place of the formulae of Aristotle. The consciousness of a knowledge of God which from its own nature was satisfactory, was awakened there by this philosophy, but as it soon became suspected of political liberalism, it was prohibited by the Orange party (after 1656). (*c*) The tragical philosophy of *Spinoza* was founded on a profound religious basis independent of all dogmas, but Christianity was utterly foreign to his speculations, and during the century in which he lived he was regarded as an atheist. (*d*) In England, the doctrines of a sound common sense were reduced by *Locke* (d. 1704) to a philosophical system, which asserted for the experience of the senses at least a paramount influence in the intellectual world, and demanded a complete toleration for every kind of religious opinions. He himself, however, never intended to advocate any sentiment inconsistent with the creed of his Church. (*e*) In Germany, *Leibnitz*, fully confiding in the primogeniture of the human mind, rescued philosophy from the abyss of Spinoza by defending a free individuality originally determined only by the prime monad, and a necessary agreement of revelation with the everlasting truths of reason. He however conceded that the historical mysteries of Christianity were beyond the reach of reason, and with a character in its special peculiarities quite different from the ordinary German spirit, he kept aloof from all ecclesiastical controversies. (*f*) His philosophy became intelligible to ordinary minds by the labors of *Wolf* (d. 1754), who, though he lived in perfect harmony with the Church, sometimes demonstrated its doctrines in a mathematical style, and sometimes allowed them to pass as mysteries adapted only to the world of sense. But on account of the dread which Pietism displayed toward the

a) Novum Organon Scientiarum. 1620. ed. *Brücker*, Lps. 1830. *Gfrörer*, Stuttg. 1831. [*Bacon's* Nov. Org., or True Suggestions for the Interpret. of Nature. Lond. 1850. 8. Also in Works, 3 vols. 8. Philad. 1840. Account of Bacon's Nov. Org. in Lib. of Us. Knowledge. Lond. 1827. 8.]

b) *Calor.* Syst. vol. III. p. 1038. *Hollaz.* Exam. ed. *Teller*, p. 369.

c) *Cartesii* Opp. Frcf. 1692ss. 2 vols. 4.—*Huetii* Censura. Par. 1689. 12. ed. 4. 1694. *J. E. Erdmann*, Darst. u. Kritik d. Cart. Ph. Riga. 1834. *C. F. Hock*, Cart. u. seine Gegner. Vienna. 1835. *Bordas Demoulin*, le Cartesianisme. Par. 1843. [*W. Whewell*, Hist. of the Inductive Sciences. Lond. 2 ed. 1847. 3 vols. 8. *Tennemann's* Manual, p. 305–8. *Henry's* Transl. of the Hist. of Phil. vol. II. p. 48–60.]

d) Opp. ed. *Paulus*, Jen. 1802. 2 vols. *Gfrörer*, Stuttg. 1830. *H. C. W. Sigwart*, d. Spinozismus. Tüb. 1839. *Amand Saintes*, H. de la vie et des ouvr. de Sp. fondateur de l'exegese et de la phil. moderne. Par. 1842.

e) Works of J. L. Lond. 1714. 3 vols. 1824. 9 vols. [Philos. works. with prel. disc. by *St. John*, Lond. 1843. 8.]

f) Opp. lat. gall. germ. ed. *Erdmann*, Ber. 1839ss. 2 vols. 4.—*L. Feuerbach*, Darst. u. Krit. d. Leibn. Ph. Ansp. 1837. *G. E. Guhrauer*, G. W. v. Leibn. Brsl. (1842.) 1846. 2 vols. *A. Helffrich.* Spin. u. Leibn. Hamb. 1846. [*J. M. Mackie*, Life of G. W. von L. Boston. 1848. 18mo.]

doctrine of a pre-established optimism, and toward all philosophy, he was driven from Halle (1723) by the mandate of a king who cared for nothing but what he regarded as useful. The result of this philosophy, so far as the Church was concerned, was a natural theology whose essential principles were derived from the Christian system, though it appeared to be independent of all revelation. (*g*) From this school proceeded the *Wertheim version* of the Bible, an insipid and impudent attempt to present the Scriptures in a form adapted to what was said to be the demands of modern criticism. The power of the empire was found to be still sufficient to suppress such a work as this. (*h*)

§ 411. *Peaceable Movements in Theology.*

The French theologians contended for the palm of criticism with the learned monks of St. Maur, but they could gain the prize only by the unrestrained freedom of their historical inquiries. Among the theologians of the Academy of *Saumur*, *Amyrald* (Amyraut, d. 1664) taught that the grace of God was so universal that it was not withheld even from the heathen, and yet in a certain sense was limited; (*a*) *Pajon* (d. 1684), that its influence was principally upon the understanding, through the medium of the Scriptures and the whole course of a man's life; (*b*) *Placaeus* (Laplace, d. 1665), that original sin was a corruption to which no guilt was attached until it had proceeded to actual transgression; and Louis *Capellus* (Chapelle, d. 1658) justified the freedom of his criticism upon the language of Scripture principally in opposition to those who maintained the divine origin of the Hebrew vowel points. (*c*) To defend their churches against these liberal views, the Calvinistic orthodox divines urged upon the Swiss a new confession of faith (1675), the legal influence of which, however, had ceased even at the commencement of the eighteenth century. (*d*) *Coccejus* (d. 1669), who had been educated in the school of Des Cartes, demanded that theology should be of a purely biblical character, since in his estimation the Scriptures were every thing and meant every thing. (*e*) Many literary men in France were driven, by the persecutions endured by the Protestants, to foreign countries, where their literature became the means of their support; and taking advantage of the freedom of speech enjoyed especially in the Netherlands, they addressed themselves in a polished style to the educated classes. *Bayle* (d. 1706) collected a treasure which those who came after him might use either for or

g) Theol. naturalis. Lps. 1736. 2 vols. 4.—*Canz*, Ph. Leibn. et W. usus in Th. Frcf. et L. (1728.) 1749. 2 vols. *Ludovici*, Entw. e. Hist. d. Wolf Ph. 2 ed. Lps. 1737. 3 vols. *H. Wutke*, Ch. Wolf's eigne Lebensbesch. Lps. 1841.

h) (*Lorenz Schmid*, d. 1751.) Die göttl. Schrr. vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus. One Theil is the hist. of the Israelites. Werth. 1735.—*J. N. Sinnhold*, ausf. Hist. d. sogen. Werth. Bibel. Frkf. 1739. 4.

a) Traite de la praedest. et de ses principes différents. Saum. 1634.—*C. E. Saigey*, Moïse Amyr. Strasb. 1849. *A. Schweizer*, M. A. (*Zeller's* th. Jahrbb. 1852. H. 1s.)

b) *V. E. Löscher*, de Claudii Paj. doctr. et fatis. Lps. 1692. *A. Schweizer*, Pajonism. (*Zeller's* th. Jahrbb. 1853. H. 1s.)

c) Syntagma thesium theol. in Acad. Salmuriensi disputatarum Salm. (1660.) 1664. 4.

d) (*J. H. Heidegger*) Form. Consensus Ecc. Helv. (*Niemeyer*, Col. Conff. p. 729.)—*C. M. Pfaff*, de F. C. Helv. Tub. 1723. 4. (*Burnaud*) Mém. pour servir á l'Hist. des troubles en Suisse à l'occasion du Cons. Amst. 1726. *Escher*, helv. Cons. in d. Hall. Encykl. II. vol. VI.)

e) Summa doctr. de foedere et testamentis Dei. L. B. 1648.—Alberti, *διπλοῦν κάππα*, Cartesianismus et Coccej. descr. et refutati. L. B. 1678. 4.

against Christianity; and he himself was the first specimen of that peculiar style of Protestantism which, while it is zealous for truth and freedom, suspends its inquiries at the point where faith seems inconsistent with reason, and contents itself with a statement of the arguments on both sides. (*f*) In the Netherlands the Arminian congregations began to decline, for the spirit of Zwingle was now evidently reviving in all parts of the Church there. Even in England, where the literary spirit (Latitudinarianism) was especially odious to the orthodox beneficed clergy, it became extensively prevalent, particularly in the diocese of Cambridge. By its distinction between what it called essential and non-essential doctrines, it evidently intended to draw a line between the doctrines of the Scriptures and those of the Church. The Apostles' Creed was presented as containing every thing indispensable to salvation, kindness toward those who differ from us in opinion was much insisted upon as a Christian virtue, and a reconciliation with the dissenters was therefore regarded as practicable. (*g*) In Germany, *Thomasius* (d. 1728) became connected with the Pietists because they were oppressed by the established Church, but they soon found that the tendency of his instructions was to form a bold and satirical spirit, and he became convinced that while they professed to be seeking the honor of God, they were really influenced by a desire for their own honor and power. This intelligent German had the posthumous reputation of having turned the public mind against the trials for witchcraft, (*h*) and yet even in the close of the century in which he lived witches were occasionally put to death in Upper Germany. Pietism having sustained a defeat in its conflict with the Wolfian school in the very place where it was strongest (1740), now betook itself discontentedly to a quiet obscurity. During the struggle, however, even the theology of the schools had become penetrated by its fervent spirit. This was first apparent in the case of *Buddeus* (d. 1729), who was historically familiar with philosophy, and yet gave to theology a simple and scientific form. *John Albert Bengel* (d. 1752), whose pious hopes were founded on calculations not proved to be erroneous until 1836, was not deterred by them from investigating with religious conscientiousness the original text and meaning of the Sacred Scriptures, (*i*) while *Wettstein* (d. 1754) took delight in critical labors, and without regard to received doctrines endeavored to ascertain which of the innumerable readings was the original text of the New Testament, and to illustrate it by every thing resembling it in antiquity. He was never, however, permitted to pursue his labors to their final results, for as his criticism was even then suspected of being friendly to Socinianism, he was deposed (1730) at Basle, and received with much hesitation by the Arminians. (*k*)

f) Dictionnaire hist. et crit. Rot. 1696. 2 vols. f. and often. Amst. 1740ss. 4 vols. f. Nouvelles de la rép. des lettres. Amst. 1684–1715.—*Maizeaux*, Vie d. B. Amst. 1730. 12. *L. Feuerbach*, Pierre B. Lpz. 2 ed. 1844.

g) (*Arthur Bury*) The Naked Gospel. By a true son of the Church of Engl. 1690. 4.—*P. Jurieu*, la rel. du Latitudinaire. (Roter. 1696.) Utr. 1697.

h) *H. Luden*, Thomasius nach s. Schicksalen u. Schrr. Brl. 1805. *A. Eichstadii* Or. de Thom. Jen. 1838. 4. *C. F. Fritzsche*, de rationalismo. Hal. 1838. 4. Cm. I. p. 7ss. 15.

i) *J. C. Burk*, Bengel's Leben u. Wirken. Stuttg. (1831.) 1832. Bengel's liter. Briefwechs. mitgeth. v. *Burk*, Stuttg. 1836.

k) *C. R. Hagenbach*, J. J. Wettst. u. seine Gegner. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1839. P. 1.)

§ 412. *Law and Legal Views in the German Church.*

The deputies of the Protestant states at the permanent Diet of Ratisbon (after 1663) formed a tribunal (Corpus Evangelicorum), which possessed no real power, but was designed to secure the rights guarantied by the Peace. (*a*) The jurisdiction over the individual national Churches remained with the secular authorities, and was exercised by the consistories and ministerial council, with the co-operation of the states of the respective countries, and, in some provinces of the Reformed Church, with the aid of the minor synods. Every ecclesiastical usurpation was therefore easily repelled, the Church was sometimes used as a police for the execution of the laws, and the property of the Church was sometimes used for secular objects. The press was the only organ by which ecclesiastical privileges and wants were made known, and even this was placed under the restraints of a censorship. In the literary works of that period, the fact that princes exercised so much ecclesiastical power is variously explained. When the internal inconsistencies of the episcopal system (p. 441) had become evident, the formation of a *Territorial system* naturally followed from the right of reforming the Church which had been assumed by the imperial diet, from the advancement of political rights, and from the ascendency of a worldly spirit. According to this system, the ecclesiastical was merely an element of the civil power. This legal view of the subject was generally adopted about the commencement of the eighteenth century, in consequence of the liberal use which *Thomasius* made of it, and the judicious limitations assigned to it by *Boehmer*. Still the consciousness of her own rights which the Church possessed, confirmed by the records of a thousand years, soon occasioned a theological opposition to this view. Chancellor *Pfaff* of Tubingen was the author of the *Collegial System* (1719), according to which the Church is an independent corporation, whose power can be lawfully assumed by princes only by treaty with it. Both views have contended with each other side by side, and have alternately exerted an important influence upon the administration of the Church. (*b*)

§ 413. *Legal Relations to the Catholic Church.*

Although the modern state was inclined to compromise the religious differences among its subjects, both Churches tolerated each other only so far as they could not invalidate a right actually acquired during the recent conflicts. In *Germany*, this hostility was fostered especially by the oppressions which members of the evangelical Church sustained from their Catholic rulers, and by the enticement of some princes to the Catholic Church. (*a*) Catholic dynasties were established in the *Electoral Palatinate* when the Catholic line of the Palatine house of Neuberg came to the throne (1685), and in *Electoral Saxony* when *Frederic Augustus* became convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith on his becoming a candidate for the Polish crown

a) *Schauroth* u. *Herrich*, Samml. aller Conclusorum u. Verhandl. d. Corpus Evv. Regensb. 1751–86. 4 vols. f. *H. W. v. Bülow*, Gesch. u. Verf. d. Corpus Evv. Regensb. 1795.

b) *Nettelbladt*, de tribus systematibus doctr. de jure sacr. dirigendorum. (Obss. jur. ecc. Hal. 1783.)

a) *Struve*, Rel. Beschwerden zwischen den Kath. u. Evangelischen. Lps. 1722. 2 vols. *Oertel*, vollst. Corpus gravamm. ev. Regensb. 1771ss. 5 vols. f.

(1697). The oppression of the Protestants became legalized in the Palatinate, when a clause in the Peace of Ryswick (1697) required that public worship should henceforth be conducted in the same manner in which it had been performed while the French occupied that territory. It was only by the reprisals which Prussia made, that the Reformed Church recovered any portion of its immunities. (*b*) In *Saxony*, all the privileges of the Protestant Church were maintained by the zeal of the people and the states, so that not even a verse in any of their highly animated hymns would they suffer to be stricken out. The reigning family in its subsequent generations was sincerely and piously attached to its Church, but its precarious and foreign throne was purchased by a renunciation of its important position in Protestant Germany, and its success in drawing over some individuals was gained at the expense of the alienation of a loyal people. In *Brunswick*-Wolfenbüttel, the Princess *Elizabeth* was induced to forswear her vow at confirmation (1707), that she might become the mother of an imperial family, and her grandfather *Anthony Ulrich*, whose counsel she had followed in this matter, embraced the same faith with a policy which could then have referred to no consequences except in another world. (*c*) In *Wurtemburg*, when *Charles Alexander* went over to the Catholic Church, the courage of a single officer was sufficient to give a check, though in a somewhat tumultuous manner, to the progress of the defection (1735). (*d*) In *Salzburg*, certain peaceable congregations which had been inclined to the evangelical Church, and had been tolerated as industrious subjects ever since the sixteenth century, fell under the notice of the Archbishop Count *Firmian*, who undertook their conversion by violent means (1729). One hundred elders then assembled, at early dawn on Sabbath morning, in a lonely cave of the Schwarzach, and swore on the sacred host and the consecrated salt that they would be faithful to the evangelical faith and the triune God, and that in every misfortune they would maintain a fraternal affection for each other. An archiepiscopal patent of emigration (Oct. 31st, 1731) drove them under the severest circumstances from their houses and their estates. Public sympathy was enlisted to console the sad train of these confessors for the loss of their beautiful mountain homes, and twenty thousand of them found a hospitable reception in Prussia. (*e*) In *Hungary*, few magnates long resisted the temptations to apostasy presented to them, in the form of bishops' sees and offices in Church and State. The Protestants of that country, although protected by the laws, were robbed by those who professed to administer those laws, not only of their churches, but even of

b) *J. J. Moser*, Bericht v. d. clausula A. IV. Pacis Rysu. Frkf. 1732. 4. *Pütter*, syst. Darst. d. pfälz. Rel. Beschwerden. Gött. 1793.

c) Codex August. Th. I p. 346s. Acta hist. ecc. vol. I. p. 113ss. *Weisse*, neues Mus. f. sächs. Gesch. vol. I. P. 2. *F. Förster*, Fr. Aug. II. Potsd. 1839.—*Aug. Theiner*, Gesch. d. Zurückk. d. reg. Häuser v. Braunschw. u. Sachsen in d. Schooss d. kath. K. Einsied. 1843. To be corrected by: *W. G. Soldan*, dreissig Jahre des Proselytism. in Sachs. u. Br. Lps. 1845. *W. Heeck*, A. Ulrich u. Elis. v. Br. Wolfenb. 1845.

d) *J. v. Moser*, Lebens-Gesch. 3 ed. Frkf. u. Lps. 1777. vol. I. p. 134ss.

e) *Schelhorn*, de rel. ev. in prov. Salisb. ortu et fatis. Lps. 1732. 4. M. Zus. v. *Stübner*, L. 1732. *J. Moser*, actenm. Ber. v. d. schweren Verf. d. Evv. in S. Erl. 1732. 12 St. *Göking*, Emigrationsgesch. Frkf. u. L. (1732.) 1737. 2 vols. 4.—*K. Panse*, Gesch. d. Ausw. d. ev. S. Lps. 1827. Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1832. vol. II. P. 2.

their children. Once more at the Diet of Oedenburg (1681) their religious freedom was solemnly acknowledged, but with a reservation in favor of the right of the proprietors of the soil. In order to break down the national aristocracy, whose exorbitant privileges were principally maintained by the Protestant nobility, a murderous tribunal was instituted at Eperies (1687), and the Jesuits, by their crafty policy for conversion, destroyed the soul together with the body. By the exclusion of its complaints from the general diet, the evangelical Church was completely abandoned (1715), and reduced to less than one half its former size by a process of bloodless martyrdoms. In the other patrimonial countries of Austria the evangelical mode of worship was utterly annihilated. The few who remained secretly faithful to their religion, and endeavored to transmit it to those who should come after them, as soon as they were detected, were banished to Transylvania, the only asylum now left for evangelical Christians and exiles. (*f*) In *Poland*, the Dissidents, gradually abandoned by the aristocracy, gradually lost also their ecclesiastical and civil rights. In 1717, a law was enacted which forbade them to build any new churches, and another passed in 1733 excluded them from the general diet and from all civil offices. The superior clergy, under the direction of the Jesuits, now went so far as to think of their complete extermination. The power of the Jesuits was exhibited in the terrible vengeance they inflicted (1724) upon the Protestant city of *Thorn*, when the general hatred broke out in a popular insurrection against the Jesuit college in that place. Despairing of all other relief, the Dissidents threw themselves under Russian protection (1767), from which they obtained a restoration of their rights. They were, however, so persecuted on account of this proceeding, that they never found peace until they obtained it under the favor of a foreign rule at the dissolution of the Polish kingdom (after 1772). (*g*) As soon as *Louis XIV.* began to reign independently in *France* (1661), the work of restoring unity of faith was commenced. The Huguenots were deprived of many churches and schools under the pretence of reviving the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes. In a fit of repentance for his excesses, the king allowed himself to be persuaded to atone for them by purifying his kingdom from all heretics. Many conversions among the nobility to obtain the favor of the court, and among the people for trifling sums of money, seemed to promise an easy accomplishment of this undertaking. Children were taken from their parents, "booted missions" of dragoons were sent in every direction (after 1681), and the whole mighty power of the monarchy was enlisted in the work of conversion. In spite of the terrible penalties denounced against all emigration, the evangelical classes, wherever it was possible, fled to other lands. A home was offered to the fugitives in every part of Protestant Europe, but especially in Holland and Brandenburg. France lost

f) § 357. Acta hist. ecc. vol. XVII. p. 223. 476ss. *Walch*, nst. R. Gesch. vol. IV. p. 227. VI, 209. IX, 1ss. Gesch. d. Prot. in Ung. (Archiv. f. KG. vol. I. St. 2.) Die Schlachtbank v. Eperies. (*J. v. Hormayr*, Taschenb. f. vaterl. Gesch. Lps. 1837.) [A Hist. of the Prot. Church in Hung. to 1850, with reference also to Transylvania, with Preface by D'Aubigné, transl. by J. Craig, was publ. in Lond. 1854. 8.]

g) § 360. (*Jablonsky*) Das befrübte Thorn. Brl. 1725. *Lilienthal*, 3 Actus v. Thorn. Tragöd. Königsb. 1725. *Walch*, nst. R. Gesch. vol. IV. p. 1. VII, 3ss.

more than half a million of its most industrious and trusty citizens. The edict of Nantes had long been disregarded, but it was at last formally revoked in the year 1685. In the *Cevennes* alone, a mountain tribe which had descended from the Waldenses, and had been excited to enthusiasm by a series of abuses, took up arms against their king. A young artisan at the head of his Camisards exposed his naked bosom to the swords of the marshals of France. Prophetic visions produced by an epidemic disease of the imagination and the boldest military exploits, were witnessed in the same persons. But as many of these prophets and heroes as escaped the slaughter of the battle-field and the axe of the executioner, were allowed only the privilege, which many of them scorned, of freely going into exile (1704). The former were known in England under the appellation of the Little Prophets, proclaimed the approach of the age of the Holy Spirit, the subversion of the pope and of the Turks, and created much astonishment among the people, until with honest confidence they tested their pretensions by an attempt to raise the dead. Two millions of the Reformed still remained in France, bereft of all civil rights, and with no congregations except in the wilderness. The terrible laws of 1724 could not be carried into effect upon a whole population, but examples were made of individuals, and many pious preachers were hung. But Protestantism heroically re-collected its energies, and again held its first national synod in 1744. (*h*) In *Switzerland*, a civil war was the consequence of the protection which Zurich extended to a few converts in Schweitz. The evangelical party was beaten near Vilmergen (1656), but without producing any permanent change in the strength of either party. Once again the old grudge broke forth on account of the oppression of the Reformed inhabitants of Toggenburg by the Abbot of St. Gall, and an unseasonable religious war grew out of an insignificant brawl respecting a church. A second bloody battle at Vilmergen (1712) was decisive against the Catholics, religious liberty was proclaimed in Toggenburg, and the superfluous wealth of the abbot was shared between Zurich and Berne. (*i*)

§ 414. *Attempts at Union.*

K. W. Hering, (p. 468.) Unionsversuche s. d. Ref. v. G. E. G. (Deutsche Vierteljahrschr. Stuttg. 1846. N. 31ss.) *C. G. Neudecker*, d. Hauptvers. z. Pacific. d. ev. K. in Deutschl. 1846.

Some attempts at union were now made which proceeded sometimes from the action of individuals and sometimes rather from circumstances. The ultimate object of these, generally, was to effect a reconciliation between the Protestant and the Catholic Churches, but the only result was to show how

h) § 366. *Soulier*, H. du Calvinisme, sa naissance, son progrès, sa décadence et sa fin en France. Par. 1686. 4.—*Rulhières*, Éclaircissements hist. sur les causes de la révocat. de l'édit. de N. Par. 1782. 2 vols. *Ancillon*, H. de l'établissement de François refugiés dans les états de Brandenb. Ber. 1690.—*De la Baume*, H. des rév. des Cevennes. Par. 1709. *Brueys*, H. du fanaticisme ou des Cév. Par. 1713. 2 vols. 12. *J. C. K. Hofman*, Gesch. d. Aufruhrs in d. Sev. Nördl. 1837. Comp. *Walch*, Bibl. vol. II. p. 105ss.—*Ch. Coquerel*, H. des églises du désert depuis la fin du règne de Louis XIV. jusqu'à la rév. Par. 1841. 2 vols. [*Ch. Weiss*, *G. de Felice* (p. 426). Edinb. Review, April, 1854. in Eclectic Mag. Aug. 1854. p. 434ss. Memoirs of the Wars of the Cevennes, professedly by *Cavallier* himself, and transl. into Engl. Dublin. 1826.]

i) *Hottinger*, Helv. KGesch. vol. IV. *J. v. Mueller's* Schw. Gesch. fortges. v. *Vuillemin*, Zür. 1845. vol. X. p. 482ss.

profound was the gulf between these bodies. A more immediate and practicable object was to unite by more intimate bonds of association the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. The feelings of the Romish party were principally enlisted in the recovery of those who had departed from them, and who on their professed return to their Mother Church were often obliged to anathematize the objects of their former veneration, (*a*) while those of the Protestants were directed to the attainment of national unity. *Spinola*, Bishop of Tina, with a commission from both the emperor and the pope, visited (after 1675) many of the Protestant courts of Germany that he might lay before them certain ambiguous proposals of accommodation. (*b*) The only country in which any hope of success seemed to present itself was Hanover, where the reigning family was anxious to live on terms of closer intimacy with the emperor. *Leibnitz* also, that he might give peace to the world and advance the cause of science, availed himself of some plans which had been handed down by tradition from Calixtus, and entered into some negotiations with Bossuet. The latter was willing to concede the marriage of the clergy, the cup in the sacrament, and the mass in the common language of the people, while the former thought the Catholic form of government might be received as a human institution, and by the play of his fancy wrought himself into a belief of the Catholic dogmas. (*c*) He however was anxious that the question of the reception of the decrees of the Synod of Trent should remain open until the decision of a general council, in which Protestants might have a seat, and their votes might be given respecting it. As Bossuet was of course obliged to adhere to these decrees, and the prospect of a succession to the British throne was opened to the house of Hanover, all hopes of success in such negotiations were necessarily frustrated. (*d*) *John Fabricius*, who had taken upon his conscience the responsibility for the action of the Princess Elizabeth in going over to the Catholic (*e*) Church, was so overwhelmed by the contempt of the Protestant world, that he was obliged to resign his professorship in the University of Helmstadt (1709). It was not long, however, before he was abundantly compensated for this latter step. For nearly half a century, John *Duraeus* (d. 1680), an Anglican clergyman and an apostle of Protestant union, travelled about for the accomplishment of his great object. But each of the three great Protestant Churches contended not only for a faith in the Christ revealed in the Scriptures, which was the only basis of union insisted upon by him, but for all those peculiarities which separated it from the others. An agreement for mutual ecclesiastical recognition (tolerantia ecclesiastica) was formed on the principles of Calixtus at the religious conference at Cassel (1661), and re-

a) *Mohnike*, z. Gesch. d. ungar. Fluchformul. Greifsw. 1823. Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1842. H. 1.

b) That which was made public: Concordia christiana. Vien. 1681.

c) Oeuvres posthumes de M. Bossuet. Amst. 1753. 4. 1 vol.—Systema theol. Leibnitzii. Par. 1819. mit Uebrs. v. *Röss* u. *Weiss*, Mainz. 1820. 3 ed. 1825. comp. *G. E. Schulze*, ü. d. Entd. dass L. Katholik gewesen. Gött. 1827. *Pertz*, ü. L. kirchl. Gl. Bekenntn. Brl. 1846. [*Mackie*, Life of L. p. 208ss.]

d) *O. G. Schmidt*, pericula conjungendarum Ecc. a Leibn. facta c. similibus nostrae aetatis moliminibus comparata. Grim. 1844.

e) Erörterte Frage Hn. Fabricii, dass zwischen der Augsb. Conf. u. römischkath. Rel. kein sonderl. Unterschied sei. 1706.

sulted in the transfer of the University of Rintelen to the Reformed Church. The members of that Church were always inclined to recognize others as brethren, but the Lutheran divines would rather hold communion with the papists, and regarded the hope that even Calvinists might be saved as a temptation of the devil. (*f*) Frequently also, though not without remonstrance, individuals of the Reformed Church participated in the sacred Supper in the Lutheran churches. (*g*) After the Peace of Ryswick, the urgent importance of fraternal connections between the Protestant nations as a security against the dangerous exaltation of the Catholic powers, became still more apparent, and upon the princes of the house of Prussia was especially devolved the task of adjusting the dissensions which prevailed principally among the Lutherans, by a union of the two Protestant Churches. But as long as the energies of Lutheranism continued unabated, every attempt at reconciliation only seemed to widen the breach between them. (*h*) The appointment of a few bishops constituted a part of the ceremonial at the coronation of the first king of Prussia (1700), but this suggested the idea of a union by the introduction of the form of government which prevailed in the Anglican Church. (*i*) Temples of peace and union churches were however consecrated in vain; but although Leibnitz broke off the negotiations, it was in the full confidence that the object would one day be brought of itself to a successful conclusion.

§ 415. *The English Revolution. Cont. from* § 364.

E. Hyde of Clarendon, H. of the Rebellion in Engl. 1649–66. Oxf. 1667. 3 vols. f. *Burnet*, H. of his own times, 1660–1713. Lond. 1724. 2 vols. 4. and often. [Secret H. of Charles II. Lond. 1722. 2 vols. *Clarke*, Life of James II. Lond. 1816. 2 vols.] *Ch. F. Wurm*, d. Engl. K. 1689–1702. Hmb. 1834. *F. C. Dahlmann*, Gesch. d. engl. Rev. Lpz. 1843. 5 ed. 1853. [H. of the Engl. Rev., from the German of Dahlmann by *E. Lloyd*, Lond. 1844.] *T. B. Macaulay*, Hist. of Engl. from the accession of James II. Lond. 1848–53. 4 vols. [*J. McIntosh*, H. of the Rev. in Engl. Lond. 1834. 4. *A. H. Trevor*, Life and Times of William III. of Engl. Lond. 1835–6. 2 vols. 8. *P. Grimblot*, Letters of William III., Louis XIV. and their Ministers, &c. Lond. 1847. 8. *J. Vernon*, Court and Times of William III. in Letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury. ed. by *G. P. R. James*, Lond. 1841. 3 vols. 8. *A. Currel*, H. of the Counter-Rev. for the Re-estab. of Popery under Charles II. and James II., and *C. J. Fox*, H. of James II. (in Bogue's Eur. Lib.) Lond. 1846. 8.]

On the death of Cromwell, the English people, weary of the tyranny of a theocratic republic, recalled the Stuarts to the throne (1660). *Charles II.*, though he wavered between infidelity and Catholicism, followed in the footsteps of his father, and the majesty of the kingdom trembled under the injuries inflicted by a dissolute despotism. The Episcopal Established Church was restored, and the Puritans had to bear the blame for the blood shed during the revolution. Bishops were forced even upon the Scottish Church, and if any royal favor was shown to the dissenters, it was only from a regard

f) *Tholuck*, Geist d. luth. Th. Witt. p. 115. 169. 211.

g) *Ibid.* p. 122ss. and Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1852. N. 5s.

h) Erinnerungen an d. Kurf. v. Brandenb. u. Könige v. Preussen hins. ihres Verhaltens in Angeleg. d. Rel. u. K. Hamb. 1838. *E. Helwing*, ü. F. W. des grossen Kurf. rel. Ansichten u. kirchl. Politik. Lemgo. 1847.

i) Relation des mesures, qui furent prises dans les années 1711–13 pour introduire la liturgie Angl. dans le R. de Prusse et dans l'Elect. de Hannovre. Extrait d'un manusc. d. Dr. Sharp, Lond. 1767. 4. *Henke*, Mag. 1795s. vol. IV. p. 158ss. V. p. 219ss. Darlegung der im vor. Jahrh. wegen Einführ. d. angl. KVerf. in Pr. gepflognen Unterhandl. Lpz. 1842.

to the Catholics. The *Test Act* was therefore passed in Parliament (1673), by which every one was prohibited from holding any public office unless he had acknowledged the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, and had received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in an Episcopal church. *Leighton* (d. 1684), who had always kept the gospel free from any connection with politics, resigned the archbishopric of Glasgow as soon as the violent measures of the Episcopal Church had cut off all hope of its reconciliation with the Presbyterians. (*a*) Milton, having published a treatise in which he endeavored to justify the sentence of death which had been passed upon the king, gave in his darkness and solitude a bright picture of his severe puritanic Christianity in his poem of Paradise Lost. (*b*) *James II.* (after 1685) publicly professed his adherence to the Catholic Church, received a Roman nuncio at his court, proclaimed free toleration of all religions, imprisoned those bishops who protested against it, called around him a retinue of Catholic officers, and formed the design of governing a disaffected people without the aid of Parliament. That people, however, soon forsook him. His son-in-law *William III.* of Orange, the great champion of the Republic and of Protestantism, became king by an agreement in which the constitution of the empire and of the Church was distinctly settled (1689). England retained the Episcopal form of government for its established Church, Ireland was placed under the jurisdiction of the Church of England, and most of the dissenters obtained the privilege of public worship. Socinians and Catholics, however, were excepted, and were never placed on a level with other dissenters until 1779. The Test Act also remained in full force. In Scotland, where the inclinations of the people were in favor of it, a Presbyterian form of government was maintained. The supreme ecclesiastical authority is vested in a General Assembly, composed of commissioners from the fifteen provincial Presbyteries, assembled annually at Edinburgh.

§ 416. *Freethinkers or Deists.*

J. Leland, View of the Principal Deistical Writers. 1754. 2 vols. *Trinius* Freydenker-Lexicon. L. u. Brnb. 1759. Zugabe, 1765. *U. Thorschmid*, Vers. e. vollst. engl. Freyd. Bibl. Hal. 1765ss. 4 vols. *G. Less*, neuste Gesch. d. Ungl. (*Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. II. p. 3ss. III. 375ss.) *Schlosser*, Gesch. d. 18. Jahrh. vol. I. p. 382ss. *G. V. Lechler*, Gesch. d. engl. Deismus. Stuttg. 1841. [*Noack*, Die Freidenker in Engl. Lps. 1854. 12. *Hagenbach*, KGesch. des 18. u. 19. Jhh. Vorles. 10. vol. I. Lps. 1848.]

It was in *England* that we discover the first efforts of the mind to break away from all traditionary theology. The struggle between the two Churches there was severe, and the established clergy did not hesitate to defend their Catholic position directly in the face of their Protestant faith. But the civil freedom there enjoyed gave to every one full opportunity, not indeed with-

a) Rob. Leighton e. apost. Mann in stürm Zeit. Brl. 1835. [*Jerment*, Life and Remains of L. Lond. *J. Pearson*, Life prefixed to Works. Lond. 1846. Works with a Memoir, by *Aikman*, Edinb. 1840. 8vo.]

b) Defensio pro populo Anglicano. Lond. 1651. Paradise Lost. 1667. De Doctr. chr. l. II. ed. *C. R. Sumner*, Lps. 1827.— *W. Hayley*, Life of Milton. Lond. 1796. 4. *G. Weber*, in Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1852. [*Todd's* Life of Milton. Lond. 8. *J. Ivimey*, Life and Times of J. Milton. New York. 1833. 12.]

out some danger, (*a*) to express opinions adverse to the established faith. A series of authors with no official connection with the ecclesiastical establishment, but within the pale of the Church itself, defended by arguments from common sense, and in some instances with considerable learning, the position that the natural consciousness of the divine existence and man's own conscience was all that was necessary for a perfect religion. Christianity was therefore regarded by some of these writers as of no value except as it contained the germ of this natural religion; by others it was resisted as priestcraft; and by all its historical importance and origin was denied. Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* (d. 1648), a statesman of considerable seriousness and enthusiasm with respect to religion, was the first to develope this idea of a natural religion, which he of course pointed out as an element in paganism. (*b*) *Hobbes* (d. 1679), one of those vigorous thinkers who deny their intellects and sell them to arbitrary power, endeavored to prove that Christianity was an oriental phantom, which had been raised by the influence of Grecian philosophy to be an instrument of absolute monarchy. (*c*) The Earl of *Shaftesbury* (1713), advocating a religion of mere morality, mingled in his writings an apparent reverence for Christianity with the most delicate irony. (*d*) *Toland* (d. 1722) made an assault upon the Jewish character of Christianity and the genuineness of its original records, and endeavored to establish a pantheistic religion of a purely earthly nature. (*e*) The peculiar way in which *Mandeville* (d. 1733) represented the passions and vices of men as necessary to the prosperity of the state, made his work a satire upon the morality and the perfect standard advocated by the Church. (*f*) *Collins* (d. 1729) attacked the views of miracles, and the whole system of sensuous metaphysics in vogue among the divines of that period. (*g*) *Woolston* resolved the miracles of Jesus into a series of allegories, and died in defence of his opinions in prison (1733). (*h*) *Tindal* (d. 1733) contended that the Scriptures were nothing but original documents of natural religion, that Christianity was as old as creation, and that the Church was an institution of the

a) *Blanco White*, Law of anti-religious libel. Dubl. 1834.

b) De veritate prout distinguitur a Revel. (Par. 1624. 4.) Lond. 1633. 4. and often. De Rel. Gentilium. 1645. ed. *J. Voss*. Amst. 1700. [transl into Engl. Lond. 1705. 8. Life of Lord H. of C. written by himself. Lond. 1824. 8.]

c) Leviathan. Lond. 1651. f. (in Lat. de materia, forma et potestate civitatis ecc. et civil.) Amst. 1670. 4 and often. Hist. ecc. carmine eleg. concinnata. Aug. Trinobant. 1688. [Eng. Works, ed. by *Wm. Molesworth*, Lond. 1839–43. 9 vols. 8. Latin works, ed. by *R. Blackbourne*, Lond. 1839. 8.]—*Thomae Hobb.* Vita Carolop. 1681. 12.

d) Characteristics of Men, Manners, and Times. Lond. 1733. 3 vols. 12. [*Cooke*, Life of Shaftesbury. Lond. 1836. 2 vols. 8.]

e) Christianity not mysterious. Lond. 1696. Adeisidaemon s. T. Livius a superst. vindicatus. Hag. Com. 1709. Nazarenus, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity. Lond. 1718. Pantheisticon. Cosmop. 1720. [*Toland's* Miscell. Works, with Account of Life and Writings by *Des Maizeaux*, Lond. 1747. 2 vols. 8.]—*Mosheim*, Vindiciae antiq. chr. discipl. adv. Tol. ed. 2. Hmb. 1722. 4. [Theol. and Philolog. Works of Toland. 1732. 8.]

f) Fable of the Bees. Lond. 1706. 2 vols. 12. with comm. Lond. 1714. [Free Thoughts on Rel. the Church, &c. Lond. 1729 12.]

g) A discourse of Freethinking. Lond. 1713. The scheme of literal prophecy considered. Lond. 1726. 2 vols. [Hist. and Crit. Essay on the 39 Artt. &c. Lond. 1724. 8. Grounds and reasons of the Chr. Rel. Lond. 1724. 8.]—*Thorschmid*, Lebensgesch. C. Drsd. 1754.

h) Disc. on the Miracles. Lond. 1727. with 5 continuations till 1729. *Curll*, Life of W. Lond. 1733. *Lemker*, Nachr. v. W. Schicks. Lps. 1740.

state. (*l*) *Morgan* (d. 1743), who under the influence of motives partaking very little of a spiritual character, had wandered through every variety of the most heterogeneous parties in the Church, attempted finally to tear off the mask from every thing historical in Christianity, and show that it was an invention of priests. (*k*) *Chubb* (1747) maintained that Christianity was originally intended to be a revelation of the moral law of nature, the violation of which was to be atoned for by repentance or punished at the final judgment, but that it had been misunderstood and misrepresented by the apostles. (*i*) Lord *Bolingbroke* (d. 1751), a man possessed of the most eminent social qualities, pointed out to those who made a gain of religion, that the same worldly policy which then directed the events of history had done the same in all past ages. (*m*) The partial views which this author took from his peculiar position, were expressed in a ridiculous representation of the history of the English kings, written in what he conceived to be the peculiar views and manner of the Jewish chronicles. (*n*) Henry *Dodwell*, without attempting any compromise with science, endeavored to prove that by its very nature, religious faith excluded the exercise of all thought. (*o*) The numerous treatises written by the clergy in opposition to the Deists, called also Rationalists, exhibited a much higher degree of learning, (*p*) but as literary productions, they were no match for the better class of the works of their opponents. Concessions were made in them which rendered others absolutely necessary, and suggested doubts in circles to which professed opponents could gain no access. Many apostasies from the Church under the guise of indifference took place among the higher ranks. The noblest representative of this class was David *Hume* (d. 1776), a pleasant philosopher, who in the uncertainty at which he had arrived respecting all human affairs, concluded it best to be independent in all things. (*q*) Even after the most flourishing period of Deism had passed, the absurd scheme of an association of deists and atheists, or the mockery of a hell-fire club, was commenced in London (about 1780). (*r*) The great body of the people held firmly to the ancient Christianity, in behalf of which a new enthusiasm was awakened among the sects. In *Germany*, some isolated persons still went forth in pursuit of adventures against the Church. Matthias *Knutzen*, an itinerant can-

i) Rights of the Church against Romish and all other priests. Lond. 1707. and often. Christianity as old as the Creation. Lond. 1730. 4. and often. [Mem. of the Life, Writings, and Controversies of Tindal. Lond. 1733. 8. and often.]

k) The moral philosopher. Lond. 1737. 3 vols. Resurrection of Jesus. Lond. 1743.

l) The true Gospel of J. Chr. asserted. Lond. 1738. and others.

m) Letters on the Study and Use of Hist. Lond. 1752. 2 vols. 8vo. Philosophical works. Lond. 1754. 5 vols. 4. [Works with Life. Philad. 1841. 4 vols. 8.—*Warburton's* (Bp.) View of the Philos. of B. Lond. 1756. 8.]

n) Acta hist. ecc. vol. IX. p. 298. XI. p. 259ss.

o) Christianity not founded on Argument. Lond. (1742. 1743.) 1746.

p) Especially *Nath. Lardner*, Credibility of the Gospel History. Lond. (1727.) 1733–55. 2 vols. [Works with Life by *Kippis*, Lond. 1838. 10 vols. 8.]

q) Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding. Lond. 1748. Dialogues concerning Nat. Religion. Lond. 1778. Life of David Hume, by himself. Lond. 1777. [Philos. Works. Edinb. 1826. 4 vols. 8. Essays. Edinb. 2 vols. 8.]—*Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. VIII. p. 208ss. *Jacobi*, D. H. 1787. (Werke, vol. II.) *Zschiesche*, de Humio sceptico. Hal. 1835.

r) Acta hist. ecc. nostri temp. vol. XII. p. 348ss.

didate for the ministry from Holstein, asserted (1764) that a congregation of persons calling themselves *Conscientiarians* (conscientiarii) were extensively spread in various parts, who maintained that the Christian Koran was quite as inconsistent with itself, and as unworthy of confidence, as the Turkish Koran, and that we should, like Enoch and Noah, without the fable of Christ, depend entirely upon our reason. This they contended was the conscience which mother nature has implanted in the breast of every man, and which, as it is found not merely in one but in many and all intelligent persons, teaches us to injure no one, and to leave all to the possession of what belongs to them. Hence they taught that if any one despised this Bible, he must necessarily despise himself. They denied the existence of a God and a devil, a heaven and a hell, except such as is created by conscience, and they regarded married women and prostitutes as equally respectable, and all priests and magistrates as useless. These sentiments were boldly and plainly promulgated by popular tracts extensively distributed among the people. (*s*) The bitter railings which *Dippel* (d. 1734), under the name of the Christian Democritus, published against what he called the Protestant papacy and its vicarious atonement, were the offspring of a Pietism which he carried to such a degree of refinement that every thing historical and external in Christianity vanished from his system. (*t*) Excited by his writings, and following the path marked out by Knutzen, *Edelmann* (d. 1767) believed that he was called to be a second Luther, and looked upon the Scriptures as a collection of fragments, which were awkwardly put together after passing through hundreds and thousands of credulous lips. In rude but vigorous language he denied the claims of every religion founded upon revelation, that he might like a genuine freethinker, emancipated from the shackles of Christianity, prepare the way for a religion corresponding with reason and experience. Such a religion he contended would make a Christ of every man, whom he regarded as an individual though imperfect organ of the universal Spirit and the divine Logos. His writings were burnt by order of the emperor (1750), but he was protected by Frederic II. (*u*)

s) *J. Musaeus*, Ableinung d. Verleumdung, ob wäre in Jena e. neue Secte d. Gew. entstanden. Jen. (1674.) 1675. 4. In the Append. to Kuntzen's "Charteqven." Berl. Monatschr. Apr. u. Aug. 1801. *H. Rossel*, in the Stud. u. Krit. 1844. P. 4.

t) Collections of his writings: Ernstn. Weg z. Frieden m. Gott u. allen Creaturen durch Chr. Democ. (1709.) Berleb. 1747. 3 vols. 4. *Walch*, R. Str. vol. II. p. 718ss. H. J. W. (Hoffmann) Leben u. Mein. Dip. Darmst. 1782. *W. Klose*, J. Dipp. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 3.)

u) Unschuld. Wahrheiten. 1735ss. 15 St. Moses mit aufgedeckten Anges. Freyb. (Berleb.) 1740. 3 Anblicke. Die Göttlichk. d. Vernunft. 1741. Sendschr. den Vorzug. e. Freygeists vor e. armen Sünder zeigend. Freyst. 1749.—Selbstbiogr. (1752.) ed. by *Klose*, Brl. 1849.—*J. H. Pratje*, hist. Nachr. v. Ed. Hamb. 1755. *W. Elster*, Erin. an Ed. in Bezug a. Strauss. Clausth. 1839.

§ 417. *The Quakers.*

Catech. et fidei Conf. Roter. 1676. Lps. 1752. *Rob. Barclay*, Theol. vere chr. Apol. Amst. 1676. 4. and oft. *Penn*, Summary of the hist., doctr. and discipl. of Friends. 1692. ed. 6. 1707. m. Anm. v. *Seebohm*, Pyrm. (1792.) 1798. Rules of discipl. of the Soc. of Friends. Lond. 1783. ed. 3. 1834.—*G. Croesii* H. Quakeriana. Amst. (1695.) 1704. *Alberti*, Nachr. v. d. Rel. d. Q. Hann. 1750. *Gaughan*, H. of the people called Quakers. Dubl. 1789. 4 vols. *F. Clarkson*, Portraiture of Quakerisme. Lond. 1806. 3 vols. *H. Tuke*, [Principles of Religion as held by Christians commonly called Quakers, in Germ. & Engl. Lond. and Lpz. 1828. 8.] *J. J. Gurney*, Obss. on the society of Friends. Lond. 1824. ed. 7 1834. [*W. Sewell*, H. of the Quakers. Lond. and New York. 1840. 2 vols. 8. *W. R. Wagstaff*, H. of the Soc. of Friends. New York. 1836. 8.]

George Fox (d. 1691), a shoemaker from the county of Leicester, who felt called by inward visions to become a reformer of the ungodliness which prevailed around him, founded (after 1649) in the stormy times of the revolution the society of *Friends*, commonly called Quakers. (*a*) The essential principle of their faith was that every thing of a religious character in man is the result of an immediate operation of the Spirit of God, who would come to all who quietly waited for him. They therefore look upon all external rites as useless. This internal revelation proceeding from Christ ever since the fall, and given to impart everlasting life to man, they regard as of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures. They look upon the sacraments as merely symbols of an internal state of mind, and therefore not necessary to be received in an external form; they reject the office of the regular clergy, together with all systems of theology, on the ground of their being human inventions, and they wish to have no church but that of the Spirit. On religious grounds they decidedly refuse to render any military service, to swear, to pay tithes, and to conform to the fashions of the world. In consequence of the violent disturbances of public worship which Fox allowed himself and his followers to make, and their refusal to perform the duties ordinarily required of citizens, many of the Quakers were thrown into prisons and lunatic asylums, until *William Penn* (d. 1718), a man worthy of the crown as well as of the cross, determined to establish a home for his companions in the faith, as well as for religious freedom generally. He purchased the lands situated on the Delaware, and formed, under the sovereignty of the English crown, and by means of colonies nearly half of whose citizens were Quakers, the state of Pennsylvania, for a long time the cradle of liberty for the African and for the world. (*b*) The same privileges as were enjoyed by the Dissenters generally in England were acquired (1686) by the Friends, and their conscientious scruples were treated with the utmost indulgence. Only a few congregations still exist in Holland, in England they are decreasing, in Northern Germany they have become extinct, and but a sin-

a) Collect. of Chr. Epistles written by *G. Fox*, Lond. 1698. 2 vols. f. Journal of the Life, Travels, and Sufferings of G. Fox. Lond. 1691. and often. [Philad. 1836. 8. Complete Works of G. F. Philad. 1831. 8 vols. 8. *H. Tuke*, Memoirs of the Life of G. F. Lond. 12.]

b) Works. Lond. 1726. 2 vols. f. (*W. A. Teller*) Lebensbeschr. W. P. Brl. 1779. *Clarkson*, Memoirs of the private and publ. life of W. P. 1813. 2 vols. Memoirs of the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. Philad. 1840. vol. IV, 1. [*B. H. Draper*, Life of W. P. Lond. 1826. 24.] Correspondence of J. Logan with W. P. collected by *Hannah Penn*. Philad. 1821. [*J. M. Janney*, Life of W. P. and Sel. from Cor. and Autobiogr. 2 ed. Philad. 1852. 8. *Weems'* Life of W. P. Philad. 12. *W. H. Dixon*, Hist. Biogr. of W. P. from new sources. new ed. Philad. 1851. 12.]

gle congregation has become established in Pyrmont (1791). (*c*) Government among them is administered on democratic principles, by a series of assemblies gradually ascending to the highest, in each of which difficulties between members are settled by arbitration. Those who, in the contest for American freedom, in an admirable enthusiasm temporarily laid aside their peculiar principles and took up arms for their country, and those who partially renounced the rude exterior required by the society, while moderately enjoying their well-earned wealth, although tolerated by the society as fighting, free, lukewarm, or wet Friends, are never elected as deputies to their superior assemblies. The enthusiasm of an entire reliance upon temporary inspirations is somewhat moderated by an education inculcating stillness as one of its primary principles; but the secret inclination which has always characterized this system to break loose from all historical Christianity, has been developed during the nineteenth century in many American congregations by *Elias Hicks*. This has, however, given occasion for an expression of a more decided adherence to the Holy Scriptures on the part of the other, and the most numerous portion of the members. (*d*) In the communion of this people, *Elizabeth Fry* found the strength and courage which enabled her to penetrate the thousand prisons to which she conveyed the contrition and consolation of the gospel. (*e*)

§ 418. *The United Brethren. Zinzendorf.* 1700–1760.

Zinzendorf: Gegenw. Gestalt des Kreuzreichs Jesu in sr. Unschuld. Lps. (1745.) 4. Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ o. naturelle Reflexiones. (1746.) 4. Jeremias e. Prediger d. Gerechtigk. new ed. Brl. 1830. *Spangenberg*, Leben d. G. v. Z. (Barby.) 1772ss. 8 vols. *L. C. v. Schrautenbach*, d. Gr. v. Z. u. d. Brüdergem. sr. Zeit. (1782.) ed. by *F. W. Kölbing*, Gnad. 1851. *J. W. Verbeek*, d. G. v. Z. Leben u. Char. Gnad. 1845.—*Varnhagen von Ense*, Leben d. G. v. Z. (Biogr. Denkm. vol. V.) Brl. 1830.—Büdingische Samml. einiger in d. KHist. einschlag. Schrr. Büd. 1742ss. 3 vols. *Spangenberg:* Nachr. v. d. gegenw. Verf. d. ev. Br. U. (*Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. III.) 5. umg. A. Gnadau. 1823. Idea fidei fratr. o. kurtzer Bgr. d. chr. Lehre. Barb. 1779. Lebenslauf v. ihm selbst. (*Henke's* Arch. f. nst. KG. vol. II. St. 3.) Statuten d. ev. Br. U. Gnad. 1819.—*D. Cranz*, alte u. neue Brüderhist. Barb. 1772. (*Hegner*) Forts. B. 1791–1804. Gnad. 1816. 3 vols. *Gr. v. Lynar*, Nachr. v. Urspr. u. gegenw. Verf. d. B. U. 1778. 2 ed. Hal. 1781. *Ch. C. F. Schulze*, v. Entst. u. Einr. d. ev. Brüdergem. Goth 1822. *L. Schaaf*, d. ev. Brüdergem. Lps. 1825. *F. Lititz*, Blicke in d. Vergangenh. u. Gegenw. der Brüderk. Lps. 1846. [*A. G. Spandenberg*, Expos. of the Chr. Doct. as taught in the Prot. Church of the U. B. with Pref. by *La Trobe*, Lond. 1796. 8. *D. Crantz*, H. of the U. B. Lond. 1780. 8. *K. Hagenbach*, KGesch. des 18. u. 19. Jahrh. 2 ed. Th. I. Vorles. 18. Lps. 1849. 2 Th. 12.]

Louis, Count of *Zinzendorf*, even when a boy at the orphan house, was filled with the idea which Spener had inculcated, of reforming the Church and establishing it among the heathen by planting it in their midst as a grain of mustard-seed. His aspirations received a permanent direction under the influence of the Moravian brethren, who had formed a settlement on his estates at Berthelsdorf, to which other newly-awakened persons were added, until he succeeded in laying (1722) the foundation of the congregation of *Herrnhut*, on the Hutberg. Under his influence the hostile spirits among his people were conciliated, the ecclesiastical constitution which he proposed to

c) *J. E. Schmid*, Quäkergemeinde in Pyrm. Brnschw. 1805.

d) Ev. K. Z. 1828. p. 805ss. 1829. p. 782ss. 1840. p. 141ss.

e) Leben u. Denkwürdigk. der Frau Elis. Fry. Hamb. 2 ed. 1850. 2 vols. [*J. Timpson*, Memoirs of E. Fry. Lond. 1846. New York. 1847. 2 vols.]

them was accepted (1727), and in a short time their missionaries wandered forth among the heathen. The religion which he taught was founded upon the Bible, but inculcated very free opinions respecting it, and consisted principally in exercises of the most confiding love to the Saviour. This love exalted it above all distinctions in ecclesiastical creeds, but produced no anxiety to abolish them. Hence the congregation gradually became organized into three different tropes, called the Moravian, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. Their ordinary devotions were principally taken up with references to the corporeal part of the expiatory sufferings of Jesus, and their natural relations of conjugal life were strangely connected with those of a religious character. With a mind remarkably inclined to extravagance, and with inexhaustible powers for communicating with others on religious subjects by oral discourses, and singing directly from the heart, (*a*) in the half French court dialect of his time, and yet with a singular facility for suggesting the most exalted themes by the use of the most common comparisons, Zinzendorf was fond of playing with allusions to the wounds of the Lamb, and with the boldest images of sexual love. The offence which this gave to the theologians of his day, was hardly capable of augmentation by the fantastic notions which he advanced respecting the persons of the sacred Trinity, and various suspicious circumstances which became known in his community. (*b*) It was with the utmost difficulty that the count broke through the prejudices of his order so as to reach the clerical office, but he was finally recognized at Tubingen as a candidate, and ordained to the episcopal office by a Moravian bishop at Berlin. But having attained this official position, his rank and education were of important service to him in his spiritual duties. After a ten years' banishment from Saxony, he succeeded, as a Christian statesman, in inducing the ecclesiastical council of Electoral Saxony to recognize the connection of his congregations with the churches professing the Augsburg Confession (1748), and in obtaining from Parliament a regular enactment which recognized them as constituent members of the Episcopal Church (1749). Although the humblest of the humble, he demanded implicit submission to his official power of binding and loosing, (*c*) and infused into his works so much of the principle of life, that it could very soon exist without him. After a brief season of enjoyment, he generally withdrew from those who were in various ways excited and inspired. (*d*) But although the Brethren established settlements in all parts of the world, Zinzendorf was still prepared with the most restless and extreme activity to labor to win persons of every class in society to the love of his Lord. Each congregation is divided into choirs according to age, sex, and matrimonial connection. Within the general bond of the congregation is embraced at once all civil, and many

a) Geistl. Gedichte d. Gr. Z. gesammelt u. gesichtet v. *A. Knapp*, Stuttg. 1845. Stud. u. Krit. 1848. II. 3.

b) (After Fresenius, 1747ss. and Bengel, 1751.) Das entdeckte Geheimniss d. Bosh. d. Herrnh. Secte. Frkf. 1749. *J. Stinstra*, Warnung vor d. Fanaticism. from the Dutch. Brl. 1752. [*Stinstra's* Pastoral Letter against Fanaticism has been transl. into Engl. with a Narr. of the Rise and Prog. of the Moravians by *Rimius*, Lond. 1753. 8. *Mosheim*, Ecc. H. Cent. XVIII. § 17. nt. *l*. *Hagenbach*, KGesch. des 18. u. 19. Jhh. Erster Th. Vorless. 18. & 19.

c) Acta hist. ecc. vol. VI. p. 569ss. *d*) *Ibid.* vol. IV. p. 241ss.

professional and external relations, but some who are called Friends may also reside beyond the limits of the settlement (*ἐν διασπορᾷ*). As the congregation consists only of those who are called the Awakened, it follows that those who may become lukewarm fall under the discipline of the Church. This consists in admonition, exclusion from the Lord's Supper, from church fellowship, and finally from the congregation. The officers are deacons, elders, and bishops, though these last possess no exclusive prerogatives. Every settlement is under the government of a conference composed of its officers, and the whole Unity is governed by a conference of the elders, the seat of which is established at Berthelsdorf, and calls from every four to ten years a general synod, at which its own vacancies are filled and all important measures are decided upon. Every thing beyond the reach of human calculation is intrusted to a decision by the lot, as they believe that Jesus has such a direct connection with their affairs, that in such a proceeding he directs the result. (*e*) The system of government among the United Brethren is the same with that of the Pietists, although the mild and cheerful disposition of Zinzendorf could not accede to the requirement of penitential convulsions, and he therefore was not on intimate terms with the Orphan House. The objectionable expressions which Zinzendorf had used in the early part of his course, were finally recalled by himself, and still more decidedly by his judicious and learned successor, *Spangenburg* (d. 1792). (*f*) The piety of the Herrnhutters soon degenerated into a peculiar mannerism, and it became pervaded by a commercial worldly spirit. (*g*) Yet many a quiet or broken heart found a home among them, and the genuine Christ of earlier days found there a sanctuary in times of infidelity and unbelief.

§ 419. *The Methodists. Wesley.* 1703–91. *Whitefield.* 1714–70.

The works of J. Wesley. Bristol. 1771ss. 32 v. *R. Southey*, Life of J. W. & the rise and progress of Methodism. ed. 3. Lond. 1846. 2 vols. 8. *H. Moore*, Life of J. W. Lond. 1824s. 2 vols. *R. Watson*, Obss. on Southey's Life of W. Lond. ed. 4. 1833.—Life of G. Whitefield. Edinb. 1826. edited after the Engl. by *Tholuck* in Germ. Lpz. 1834. [*J. Gillies*, Memoirs of G. W. Hartford. 1835. 8. *R. Philip*, Life & Times of G. W. Lond. 1837. 12. New York. 1838. 12.]—*J. G. Burckhard*, vollst. Gesch. d. Meth. in Engl. Nürnb. 1795. 2 vols. *J. Crowther*, Portraiture of Meth. Lond. 1815. *J. W. Baum*, der Meth. Zür. 1838. *T. Jackson*, [Hist. of the Commencement, Prog. & Present State of Meth. Lond. 1838. *Isaac Taylor*, Wesley & Meth. Lond. 1851. 8. *J. Whitehead*, Lives of J. & C. Wesley. Lond. 1793. 2 vols. 8. Moore's Lives of J. & C. W. & Account of Great Revivals. Lond. 1824. 2 vols. 8. *J. Hampson*, Mem. of Wesley & H. of Methodism. Lond. 1791. 3 vols. 8. Doc. & Hist. Invest. of Meth. in its Connectional Prin. & Pol. 2 ed. Lond. 1852. Minutes of Conferences in Engl. from 1744 to 1824. Lond. 1824. 5 vols. 8. *S. Warren*, Chronicles & Digest of Laws, &c. of Meth. Lond. 1827. 2 vols. 12.]

A revival of great importance with respect to England and North America had its origin in an association of pious students whom John Wesley collected around him at Oxford (1729), and who were called Methodists, on account of their precise and strictly holy lives. During his long life the only thought that seemed to fill the mind of Wesley was that of the salvation of souls. In connection with him was *Whitefield*, under whose preaching the

e) Yet comp. Allg. K. Z. 1832. N. 113. *Schrautenbach*, p. 58s.

f) *K. F. Ledderhose*, d. Leben A. G. Spang. Heidlb. 1846.

g) Die Herrnh. in Leben u. Wirken, v. e. ehem. Mitgliede. Weim. 1839.

hearts of multitudes were shaken, and who felt that he needed more tongues and bodies and souls in the service of the Lord than was bestowed on men for ordinary purposes. As he travelled from land to land, wherever the English language was understood, this seraphic preacher flung his words like firebrands among all classes in every extreme of society. The Methodists did not at first desire a separation from the Episcopal Church; but when they were persecuted in various ways in that church, they began to form a society embracing many congregations, subject to a rigid system of ecclesiastical discipline, and under the jurisdiction of superintendents and synods. At an early period they held some communication with the Pietists and Herrnhutters, but they soon withdrew from the latter, as their religious life did not commence with a gentle development of the feelings, but with a violent assault upon the selfishness of human nature, and a painful process of regeneration. They therefore required that their converts should be able to tell of a distinct time in which they found divine grace, and they preferred to hear that that period was one of even violent corporeal excitement. On this account their eloquence, which glowed with pictures of hell, had the greatest success among those who had hitherto lived lives of irreligion, or at least were then incapable of feeling any higher appeal. As Wesley was Arminian, and Whitefield Calvinistic on the subject of divine grace, they finally separated from each other (1740), but the Wesleyans were the most numerous. Their principal danger was perceived and guarded against by Wesley, and consisted in an indifference to the moral law while the mind was taken up with the blessedness of a lively faith. It became most developed in the case of *Fletcher*, a man who may be truly called a mirror of a ministerial life, wholly lost in God. (*a*) The special providential mission of this people was to act as leaven in the midst of the Episcopal Church, then sunk in the deepest formality, and to take an interest in the poor and neglected classes among the people. Hence, although their number at the present time in both hemispheres probably amounts to a million, their influence, principally by means of uneducated itinerant preachers, is probably still more extensive. The sacred struggle for liberty which was so long sustained by Wilberforce, originated to a great extent among the Methodists. (*b*)

§ 420. *The Church of the New Jerusalem. Swedenborg.* 1688–1772.

Swedenborg: Arcana coelestia. (Lond.) 1749ss. 7 v. 4. ed. *Tafel*, Tub. 1833ss. 5 v. Vera chr. rel. compl. univ. Theol. novae Ecc. Amst. 1771. 2 v. 4. A series of writings by & respecting Sw. communicated by Imm. *Tafel* & Ludw. *Hofacker*, especially: Göttl. Offenbb. from the Lat. Tüb. 1828ss. 8 vols. Die Christusrel. in ihrer Aechth. Tüb. 1831s. 4 vols. Katechismus u. d. Lehre d. N. K. Tüb. 1830. (After the Catechism of the General Conference. Lond. 1828.) *Tafel*, vergl. Darst. u. Beurth. d. Lehrgegens. der Kath. u. Prot. Zugliech. Darst. d. Unterscheidungsl. Sw. Tüb. 1835. *Tafel*, S. u. s. Gegner. Tub. 1841. 2 vols.—*Möhler*, Tüb. Quartalschr. 1830. P. 4. revised in his Symbolik. Older matters in: *Stäudlin*, kirchl. Geogr. vol. I. p. 246ss. Latest liter. accounts in *Rheinwald*, Rep. 1834. vol. IX. p. 216ss. A. K. Z. Lit. Bl. 1836. N. 95ss. *Haug*, d. Lehre d. neuen K. (Studien d. ev. Geistl. Würt. 1842. vol. XIV.) *C. F. Nanz*, E. Sw. d. nord. Seher. Schw. Hall. 2 ed. 1850. [Many Works

a) Leben Fletschers, m. Vorr. v. Tholuck. Brl. 1833. [*J. Benson*, Life of F. Lond. 12.—Checks to Antinom. by J. Fletcher. New York. Works of J. F. New York. 4 v. 8.]

b) Life of W. Wilb. by his sons. Lond. 1838. 4 v. [Philad. revised by C. Morris. 1841. 2 v. 12.]

of Sw. have been translated by different persons & publ. by *O. Clapp* of Boston. 1848–51. *J. G. Wilkinson*, Biogr. of E. Sw. Boston. 1849. 12. *A. Vissold*, Practical nat. of the Doctt. of E. S. Bost. 1839. 12. *K. Hagenbach*, KGesch. (p. 498.) Th. I. Vorles. 21.]

Emanuel von *Swedenborg*, who was an assessor in the Miners' College at Stockholm, had been highly educated in many branches of science, and had contributed much to increase a knowledge of mechanics and mining operations in general. As he was continually pursuing his researches farther and farther into the mysteries of nature, during his internal religious conflicts, he attached himself to every kindred spirit of whom he could learn any thing, from the time of Birgitte to that of Jacob Boehme, and he came to the conclusion that he was himself honored by an intercourse with the spirits of another world, who manifested themselves to him inwardly, but with the necessary semblance of an external form. (*a*) Sometimes in quaint, but sometimes also in very ingenious language, in the style of a Northern Dante he described his visions, in which were pictures of every terrestrial state, and in a few instances of rare sagacity he made it appear as if he really had such an intercourse with spirits. (*b*) It was not, however, until he received a revelation directly from the Lord that he felt called upon to attempt the deliverance of Christianity from the corruption into which it had fallen from the time of the Council of Nicæa, and to establish the Church of the New Jerusalem as the third Testament of God to man, and the spiritual second advent of Christ. A few congregations of this new church, principally formed on the basis of his writings, which were regarded as sacred books, were collected together in England and in North America (after 1788), and were represented in annual General Conferences (after 1815). In Sweden his views have obtained extensive prevalence among the educated classes, and in Wurtemberg they have been promulgated by *Oetinger*, (*c*) and revived by the enthusiastic cooperation of the pious librarian, *Tafel*. The doctrines of Swedenborg are a fantastic species of rationalism, which, in place of the expiatory sacrifice of Christ and the Trinity, substitutes a three-fold revelation of the one God, who was obliged to become man, that he might give a human character to the doctrines of faith, and drive back the powers of hell. There is an organ in every man for communication with the spiritual world, which can be emancipated. The secret and spiritual sense of the sacred Scriptures are of no use except to illustrate the truths derived from the literal sense, and to elevate them to the view of reason. (*d*) The friends of this system, therefore, might on the one hand be fond of every mysterious phenomenon in nature and in the spiritual world, and on the other, receive Christianity as a religion of reason. (*e*) It was possible also for them to regard their views as the gradual and continued development of Protestantism, and while they merely contended for

a) (Kant) Träume eines Geistersehers, erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysik. Königsb. 1766. *Kieser*, in s. Archiv. vol. III. St. 1. Vol. VIII. St. 2. *J. Gorres*, Sw. s. Visionen u. Verh. z. K. Strassb. 1827.

b) Samml. d. Urkunden betr. Leben u. Charakter Sw. m. Anm. v. Tafel. Tüb. 1839.

c) *Oetinger*, Sw. u. andrer ird. u. himml. Phil. Frkf. u. L. 1765.

d) *Tafel*, d. Göttlichk. d. H. S. o. d. tiefere Schriftsinn. Tüb. 1838.

e) La rel. du bon-sens, exposé prélim. à la doctr. de la nouv. Jér. Par. 1832. *Oegger*, nouv. questions phil. Bern. 1835.

the laying aside of creeds, they preached that theirs was the Johannic church of the future. (*f*)

§ 421. *Minor Fanatical Parties.*

F. W. Krug, krit. Gesch. d. prot. rel. Schwärmerei. Sectir. u. widerkirchl. Neuer im Grossh. Verg. Elberf. 1851. *M. Göbel*, Gesch. des chr. Lebens in d. rhein. westph. K. 1852. vol. II. *F. W. Barthold*, d. Erweckten im prot. Deutschl. Ausgang. d. 17. u. erste Hälfte d. 18. Jhh. bes. d. frommen. Grafenhöfe. (Raumers hist. Taschenb. 1852 & 53.)

1. *John Labadie*, a canon of Amiens, dissatisfied with the Jesuits and their opponents, sought in the Reformed Church a people of God, who worshipped Christ in sincerity (1650). He agreed with that Church in its doctrinal views, and he was anxious to revive the external organization which prevailed in the apostolic age. The germ of his church was composed of certain regenerate persons, whom he formed into a devotional family, and which followed the deposed pastor of Middleburg as an independent congregation. The Mary of this community was the eminently gifted *Schurman*, (*a*) but he himself was every where rejected, until an asylum was granted him in Altona (1674). Deprived of its leader the congregation soon dwindled away in the Netherlands, and became the forerunners of the Pietists in a sectarian form. (*b*) 2. A gloomy flame was occasionally kindled in different places by the writings of Boehme. *Quirinus Kuhlmann* of Breslau, a poet, whose life was itself a continual poem, wandered over the earth full of glowing love for the Redeemer, and urged on by a vague impulse that he was to revolutionize the world, until he was burned at the stake in Moscow (1689.) (*c*) *Gichtel* (d. 1710) of Ratisbon broke up all his civil and social connections, that he might, like an oriental saint, abstract himself from nature, and lose himself entirely in the Deity. The results of his efforts among a class of persons aiming to be a priesthood after the order of Melchisedek, to expiate the sins of other men, and an angelic brotherhood striving to live free from earthly cares, pleasures, and toils, have come down through a series of individuals in Lower Germany to the nineteenth century. (*d*) Daniel *Mueller* (1716–82) thought that sacred history was intended to be an allegory to represent general ideas, that Adam and Christ were the same human formation of the one all-pervading Deity, that the sacred writings of all nations were equally divine, and that he, like an Elias, was called to redeem the world from the yoke of the letter. He travelled through the whole northern part of Germany to announce that the external church was about to be subverted, and, although he died under an impression that God had deceived him, he has even now some followers who reject the historical Christ, look upon infidels as their brethren, and are waiting for Mueller's return to set up a universal kingdom. (*e*)

f) *G. A. Werner*, since 1840: Ev. K. Z. 1845. p. 431s. Zeitsch. f. unirte ev. K. 1851. N. 31.

a) Εὐκλήρια s. melioris sortis electio. Alton. 1673. Dess. 1782. 2 vols.

b) Declarationsch. o. Erkl. d. reinen Lehre. Hervord. 1671. *Walch*, R. Str. ausserh. vol. IV. p. 853. *Moeller*, Cimbr. lit. vol. III. p. 35ss.

c) *Bayle*, Art. Kuhlm. u. Kuhlpsalter. Unsch. Nachrichten 1711. p. 755. 1748. p. 965ss. *Harenberg*, de Q. K. (Mus. Brem. Th. I. p. 651ss.) *Adelung*, Gesch. menschl. Narrh. vol. V. p. 3ss.

d) *Kindervater*, neue Engelbrudersch. Nord. 1719. *Reinbeck*, Nach. v. G. Lebensl. u. Lehre. Brl. 1732. (Harless) G. Leben u. Irrthümer. (Ev. K. Z. 1831. N. 77ss.)

e) *Keller*, Dan. Mueller, rel. Schwärmer d. 18 Jahrh. Lpz. 1834.

3. The *Hebrews*, founded by a candidate whose name was *Verschooren*, appeared (about 1730) in Leyden, as quiet separatists, who held that every one was bound to read the Scriptures in the original languages, and that the merit of Christ was so great that his elect people were freed from all guilt. (*f*) 4. The peasant *Janssen* carried his notions of predestination to such an extreme that he contended that every thing proceeded from God, and would finally return to God, consequently, that even all sin was effected by God, and that human guilt was only a fiction of the imagination. On his expulsion from East Friesland (1740) he returned thither professedly by the divine command, and proclaimed that the country was soon to be reduced to desolation. As the measures taken by the authorities were of no great force, he succeeded in maintaining himself with a small band of bold followers for several years. (*g*) 5. Elias *Eller*, criminally connected (1729) with *Anna*, a baker's daughter, afterwards converted by him, promised a pietistic circle of epicures at Elberfeld that the Messiah should be born a second time. She also, in the character of the woman clothed with the sun, knew how, in direct contradiction to the laws of nature, to show from the Apocalypse what her fortune was to be. The city of *Ronsdorf* was constructed by them, she was much esteemed as the mother of Zion, and he died in the midst of the highest honors (1744, 1750). (*h*) 6. In Brueggle, in the Canton of Berne, sprung up an excitement among the children, accompanied by pretended prophecies and visions. In this movement the two brothers *Kohler*, who, while boys, had been employed in various kinds of magical delusions, made themselves known as the two witnesses mentioned in the Apocalypse, and fixed upon a certain day in which they declared that Christ would return to the world. This day, however, was subsequently postponed, as they alleged, in consequence of their prayers. They poured forth the most abusive epithets upon the Church, and rioted upon the donations, and shamefully abused the wives of those who were duped by them. Jerome Kohler was strangled at the gibbet for blasphemy (1753), and although he confessed himself an impostor, his followers thought he was invulnerable, and they expected him to rise again on the third day. (*i*) 7. From the conventicles still proceeded many persons under the influence of religious excitement; Prophets, to prepare the way for the speedy return of Christ to the world; Separatists, who protested against the corruptions of the Church, and those who under the sensuous reaction of pietistic feelings, abused the liberty of God's children in the indulgence of the most unbridled licentiousness. The Counts of Witgenstein, from financial as well as pious considerations, till almost the middle of the eighteenth century, opened their little principality to all who were oppressed on account of religion. There Socinians and inspired persons lived together, and those who had been awakened under the most diverse influences, met together with all

f) Acta hist. ecc. vol. I. p. 360. VI. 1060ss.

g) Acta hist. ecc. vol. V. p. 13. 212ss. VI. 1068ss. Mas. Brem. vol. II. p. 144ss.

h) Gründl d. Verwüst. heil. Stätte o. d. Geheimniss d. Bosh. d. Ronsd. Secte. Frkf. 1750. *D. Schleiermatcher*, Apologie. Arnh. 1750. *J. W. Knevel*, Gesch. d. Bosh. d. Eller-Secte zu R. Marb. 1751. 2 vols.

i) Das entd. Geh. d. Bosh. in d. Brügglersecte. Zur. 1753. 2 vols. Acta hist. ecc. vol. XVII. p. 906. 1031ss.

their peculiarities. (*k*) It was there that Mother *Eve* (of Butler), as the new incarnation of the three divine persons, with her seducer and those whom she had seduced, hoped to establish her empire (1702.) Even when surrendering herself to natural indulgences of the flesh, as well as to shameful crimes against nature, she endeavored to lose herself in the wounds of Jesus, and misused the words of Scripture in the boldest manner. The company which she assembled were plundered by the count's police, and were soon lost in the Catholic Church, to which they fled for protection. (*l*)

§ 422. *Spread of Christianity.*

J. Wiggers, Gesch. d. prot. Mission. Hamb. 1845s. 2 vols.

As long as the Catholic powers had the dominion of the seas, Protestant missions were necessarily of a very limited extent. The United Brethren formed a central point, from which went forth missionaries to every quarter of the world (since 1732); but the gospel, as it was presented by the Herrnhutters, could captivate only a few individuals, and could operate only in a very narrow circle. (*a*) 1. The conversion of the aboriginal inhabitants to Christianity was indispensable to the safety of the English colonies in North America. It was commenced (1646) by John *Eliot*, with the conviction that all things were possible to those who diligently toiled and prayed with faith in Christ. The Puritans, who then possessed the supreme power, established a society for planting Christianity in foreign countries (1647), and the Methodists also forthwith crossed the sea. America, however, has become Christian, not so much in consequence of its conversion, as of its colonies. (*b*) 2. With the continual assistance of the Orphan House at Halle, Denmark has maintained (since 1706) a mission for its East Indian possessions at *Tranquebar*, from which also were obtained the first missionaries to the English East Indies and the West India Islands. In the East Indies the success has not been very great, and in the West Indies it has been confined wholly to the slaves. (*c*) 3. In *Lapland* missionaries had to be continually sent and sustained from Denmark and Sweden to uphold Christianity against the severe exactions of nature. (*d*) 4. Since the fifteenth century *Greenland* (p. 247) had been completely lost sight of by the nations of Europe. A Norwegian minister, *Hans Egede*, became possessed with a strong desire to win back this legendary country to the fellowship of European and Christian society. He finally suc-

k) *J. W. Winkel*, Casimir reg. Graf zu Sayn-Witt. Vielefeld. 1850.

l) Abstract of the public acts in: Vernünftige u. chr. aber nicht scheinheil Thomasische Gedanken. Hal. 1725. vol. III. p. 208ss.—*G. F. Keller*, d. Buttler'sche Rotte. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1845. H. 4.)

a) *Spangenberg* in Walch, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. VIII. p. 251ss. Uebersicht d. Missionsgesch. d. ev. Brüderk. Gnad. 1833. [*J. Holmes*, H. of Missions of the U. B. Lond. 1818. Periodical Accounts of the Missions of U. B. from 1790. Lond. 10 vols.]

b) *Eliot*, Chr. Commonwealth, or the rising kingdom of J. Ch. 1652s. 2 v. 4. *Mather*, Ecc. H. of New Engl. Lond. 1702. f. [& Boston. 1853. 2 vols. 8.]—*J. G. Müller*, d. Vorst. v. grossen Geiste unter d. Indianern. (Stud. u. Krit. 1849. II. 4.) [Life of *J. Eliot*, (Sparks' Am. Biogr.) Boston. 8. *D. Neal*, H. of New Engl. Lond. 1747. 2 vols. 8.]

c) Hall. Missionsberichte s. 1708 in verschiedener Gestalt bis jetzt. *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. V. p. 119ss. [Memoirs of Chr. F. Swartz & H. of Rel. in India. Lond. 1826. 12.]

d) Acta hist. ecc. vol. XI. p. 1. XV. 230ss. [*J. Scheffer*us, H. of Lapland with Sketches, &c. Oxon. 1674. f.] *Leem*, Lappen in Finnmark, from the Dän. Lpz. 1771. *Rudelbach* in Knapp's Christoterpe. 1833.

ceeded in obtaining the support of the Danish government, and of a commercial society (1721). On the western coast, the only part accessible, he found a country bound up in ice, where a few thousand Esquimaux, with no traditions of the past, wrest from the hand of nature the scantiest means of subsistence. Egede dedicated himself to the work of their improvement and conversion. Since that time civilization and Christianity, as far as was possible in such a sterile soil, has been planted and maintained there. (*e*) 5. An Institution was established (1728) by Prof. *Callenburg* of Halle, for the conversion of the Jews and Mohammedans, but as its sphere of operations was contracted, the results were of course inconsiderable. (*f*)

CHAP. II.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH UNTIL 1750.

§ 423. *The Papacy.*

Guarnacci, Vitae et res gestae R. Pontiff et Cardd. a Clem. X. usque ad Clem. XI. Rom. 1751ss. 2 vols. f. *Bower*, *Rambach*, vol. X. Th. 2. *L. Ranke*, die röm. Päpste. vol. III. p. 38ss. Respecting the memoirs of the Conclaves: *Ibid.* vol. III. p. 346ss.

When the hope of once more subjecting the world to the dominion of Catholicism, and the enthusiasm which sprung from it had passed away, the papacy gradually retired from the prominent position it had formerly held in the affairs of the world, and assumed the station of an Italian principality. And yet it could not bring itself down to a complete renunciation of the vast claims which it had once set up. In civil affairs the political tendencies began to predominate over the ecclesiastical. Hence, nothing remained for the popes but to enter their impotent protest in opposition to the undeniable and necessary facts of history. As they continued to urge the usual claims for money and jurisdiction upon the states, which were then rearranging and deciding upon their own affairs, they fell into perpetual conflict with the Catholic princes. The states of the Church inherited also the burden of a debt which had increased under nearly every administration. According to the selfish policy of the Conclave, and in consequence of the right of exclusion always exercised by the crowns of France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, no cardinals could ordinarily be elevated to the papal chair except they belonged to the great Italian families, had grown gray in the service of the Romish prelates, and were not very powerful for good or for evil. Such, indeed, was uniformly the case, except when the pious party were sufficiently strong to carry the election. *Innocent X.* (Pamfili, 1644–55) was made pope on the ground that he had never said much, and had done still less. He commenced

e) *H. Egede*, Nachr. v. d. Groenl. Miss. Hmb. 1740. [*Hans Egede*, A descrip. of Greenland & Life of the Author. Lond. 1818. 8.] *Paul Egede*, Nachr. v. Gr. a. e. Tagebuch. v. 1721–40. Copenh. 1790. (Extracts in the Acten z. nst. KG. vol. III. p 1. 57ss.)—*Rudelbach*, H. Eg. Grönl. Bischof (Chr. Biogr. 1850. vol. I.) [Iceland, Greenland, & the Faroe Isles. New York. 1830. 12.] *Kölbing*, Gesch. d. Miss. in Gr. Gnad. 1731. D. Ausland. 1834. N. 101ss. [Miss. Records resp. Greenland, Labrador, &c. (Pres. Board.) Phil. 1830. 8.]

f) Accounts of the Institution till 1791. *Steph. Schulz*, Leitungen des Höchsten n. s. Rath. a. Reisen d. Europa, Asien. Afr. Hal. 1771ss. 5 vols.

his reign with completely destroying Roman agriculture, by granting to the papal exchequer the entire monopoly of the trade in corn, and by his dependence upon Donna Olympia gave occasion for the taunt that the vicar of Christ was in petticoats, and that a new Joanna was in possession of St. Peter's keys. (*a*) *Alexander VII.* (Chigi, 1655–67) lived to enjoy the triumph of welcoming the accomplished daughter of Gustavus Adolphus to the Capitol. This extraordinary woman had become tired of Protestantism and of the Swedish crown, and had resigned them both, that she might independently enjoy the glories of art and science in the midst of the natural luxuriance of a southern clime. Though of a masculine temperament, she still loved a system of faith which made a merit of celibacy, and while she spurned all restraints upon thought, she nevertheless felt the need of a present infallible authority. Hence, while she humbled herself to embrace with full confidence the abstract notion of the papacy, her imperious disposition and her keen wit came not unfrequently into collision with the actual pope. The negotiations of the papal court with Louis XIV. respecting portions of territory belonging to Parma and Modena, the royal prerogative of appointing the superior ecclesiastical officers in the newly acquired provinces, and the insult to the dignity of the French ambassador at Rome, were terminated of course in the humiliation of the pope by the treaty of Pisa (1664), since the king was already in possession of Avignon, and threatened to advance upon Rome itself. During his pontificate he lost the reputation of a saint, but acquired that of a poet, and was regarded by the Roman people as a great man in little things, but a little man in great things. While the Jesuits attempted to prove that the pope was infallible, even in matters of fact, the Florentine ambassador decided that a true word never passed his lips. (*b*) *Clement IX.* (Rospigliosi, 1667–69) filled once more the important position of a mediator between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers. He endeared himself to the people by the mildness of his disposition, but the affairs of government went on as they best might, without his direction. *Clement X.* (Altieri, 1670–76), a feeble octogenarian, was saluted pope by all parties, as if by inspiration, after a long struggle, but did nothing except to weep over the administration of his family favorites. *Innocent XI.* (Odeschalchi, 1676–89) adopted vigorous measures for the restoration of strict morals both in Church and state. He endeavored to relieve the finances, but seemed to think that nothing was needful but to save as much as possible. A few bishops in France had resisted the royal claim to administer the revenues of even those churches which had not been founded by the crown during a vacancy in the diocese to which they belonged, and to appoint persons to the livings dependent upon such vacant bishopries. The pope gave his countenance to their appeal.

a) *Rosstauscher*, H. Inn. X. Vit. 1674. 4. *Gualdi* (*Leti*), Vita della D. Olympia Maldachini. Without place. 1666. 12. ü. v. *Richerz*, Lps. 1783, but not to be depended upon.

b) *Philomati* labores juveniles. Par. 1656. f.—*Conring*, H. elect. Al. Hlmst. 1657. 4. (Opp. vol. V.)—*Arkenholz*, Mém. concern. Christine R. de Suède. Amst. 1751s. 4 v. 4, ü. v. *Reifstein*, Lps. 1753ss. 4 vols. 4. *Grauert*, Chr. u. ihr. Hof. Bonn. 1837s. 2 vols.—Relation de tout ce qui se passa entre le P. Al. et le Roi de France. Col. 1670. 12. *Desmarais*, H. des démêlez de la cour de France avec la cour de Rome. Par. 1706. 4. (*Leti*) Il sindicato di Al. con il suo viaggio nell' altro mondo. Gen. 1663. 12.

Louis XIV. took possession of Avignon, and threatened to sunder all connection between France and the Roman See. Innocent refused to grant canonical confirmation to all those bishops who had been appointed by the king. That he might be master of his own city, and restore the administration of justice, he abolished the privilege which ambassadors had sometimes exercised, of making their quarters at Rome an asylum (la franchise). On this the French ambassador, whose retinue was equal to an army, abused both the ecclesiastical and the sovereign rights of the pope. Innocent died without being moved from his purposes, hated by the great and by the Jesuits, cursed by the people as a miser, and yet revered as a saint. (*c*) *Alexander VIII.* (Ottoboni, 1689–91), who was elected through French influence, re-established the whole system of nepotism and simony, supported his native city of Venice in its war against the Turks, and obtained by the favor of France the abolition of the freedom of its ambassador's quarters, but he could come to no agreement respecting the royal prerogative in the French Church. *Innocent XII.* (Pignatelli, 1691–1700) took the predecessor whose name he bore, for his model, and endeavored to secure by laws the whole succeeding century against nepotism and simony. His nepotes were the poor, and the Lateran was his hospital. His efforts for the restoration of Church discipline extended to so high, and yet to such minute subjects, that some scoffers boasted that he had reformed the Church in its head and members. In the peace which he concluded with France the king kept possession of the royal prerogative he had previously claimed. *Clement XI.* (Albani, 1700–21), an independent prince and a zealous pathetic preacher, endeavored without success, in the complicated mazes of the war of succession, to obtain by spiritual or carnal weapons some share in the inheritance. His protest against the assumption of the crown by the Elector of Brandenburg, was regarded in Germany as a papal extravagance. When the aversion of the bishops to the prerogatives of the Sicilian monarchy had come to an open rupture, the pope imagined that he could destroy the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the crown by interdicts. But the only effect which they produced was that he was obliged to support at Rome the three thousand clergymen who were expelled from the Two Sicilies for their observance of the interdict. (*d*) *Innocent XIII.* (Conti, 1721–24), a kind prince and a conscientious bishop, on the pledge that he should receive the palfrey and the feudal quitrents, invested the emperor with the sovereignty of Naples, vainly protested against the bestowal of Parma and Piacenza as imperial fiefs, and from respect to France was obliged to appoint a contemptible wretch to the cardinalship. *Benedict XIII.* (Orsini, 1724–30), who could be induced to accept of the papal office only by a regard to his monastic vow of obedience, seemed always to have regarded the convent of the Dominicans as his world, while his hypocritical favorite, Coscia, bartered away both Church and state, until primitive Christian simplicity be-

c) Vita d'Inn. XI. Ven. 1690. 4. *Bonamici*, de vita et rebus gestis Inn. XI. Rom. 1776. L'état du siège de Rome. Col. 1767.

d) Opp. (Bulls, Discourses, Letters) Rom. 1722. Frcf. 1729. 2 vols. f.—*Buder*, Leben u. Thaten d. klugen u. berühmten Cl. XI. Frkf. 1721. 3 vols. (*P. Polidoro*) L. VI. de vita et rebus gestis Cl. XI. Urb. 1727. 4. *Reboulet*, H. de Cl. XI. Avign. 1752. 2 vols. 4.

came utterly ridiculous in a court so recklessly conformed to the world. A peace was concluded with Naples, by which it was stipulated that the Sicilian monarchy should be recognized, but that important cases of dispensation should be reserved for the Roman Curia. (*e*) *Clement XII.* (Corsini, 1730–40), who, after a brilliant career was raised to the throne when old and blind, was the patron of justice, art, and literature, as far as he could be so through his family favorites. He secretly favored the conquest of Naples for a Spanish prince. (*f*) *Benedict XIV.* (Lambertini, 1740–58), a learned, well meaning, and facetious master, but averse to public affairs, set an example to his people of noble yet simple manners. As an author he diminished the number of the saints of the Romish Church, as a pope he abolished many of their festivals, and lived in harmony with the great heretical king, (*g*) and endeavored to preserve the dignity of the Roman court by judicious concessions to the Catholic princes, that they might not become unwilling to present their petitions there. (*h*)

§ 424. *The Gallican Church.*

(*Picot*) Essai hist. sur l'influence de la rel. en France pendant le 17. S. Par. 1824. 2 vols. translated as Denkwurdigkeiten d. franz. K. by *Räss & Weis*, Frnkf. 1828s. 2 vols.

In France all the splendors of an absolute monarchy were developed under *Louis XIV.* (1643–1715), in the midst of a wealthy and intellectual nation, which found consolation for its secret wounds in the gratification of its vanity and frivolity. During the contest with Innocent XI. the king convoked an assembly of bishops and barons at Paris (1682), in which the legal views which ordinarily prevailed in France were formally pronounced. It was there maintained: 1. That Peter and his successors have received power from God in spiritual, but not in secular affairs. 2. That this power is limited, not only by the decrees of the Council of Constance relating to the authority of General Councils, but, 3. By the established prescriptions and usages of the Gallican Church; and, 4. That the decisions of the pope, when not sustained by the authority of the Church, are not infallible. These propositions of the Gallican clergy were proclaimed by a royal ordinance, to which all the instructions of the schools were to be conformed, but in Rome they were publicly burned by the common hangman. The whole power of the pope was founded on the opinion that no bishop elect could be consecrated without the papal sanction. All newly elected bishops were therefore very zealous for the reconciliation which was soon effected with Innocent XII. by the revocation of the four propositions. Public opinion, however, in France, has never drawn back from the positions assumed in them. (*a*) The prelates appointed

e) Opp. theol. Rom. 1728. 3 vols. f.—Icona et mentis et cordis Ben. XIII. Frcf. 1725. Leben. u. Thaten Ben. XIII. Frkf. 1731. *Alex. Borgia*, Ben. XIII. vita. Rom. 1752. 4.

f) Acta hist. ecc. vol. IV. p. 1003ss.

g) *Aug. Theiner*, Zustände d. kath. K. in Schlesien. 1740-58. a. d. Archive d. h. Stuhls. Ratisb. 1852. 2 vols.

h) Opp. ed. *Azevedo*, Rom. 1747ss. 12 vols. 4.—Acta hist. ecc. vol. IV. p. 1058ss. Vie du P. Bén. XIV. Par. 1783. 12. Hist. pol. Bl. 1853. vol. 31. H. 3.

a) *E. du Pin*, de pot. ecc. et temp. s. declaratio cleri gall. den. rep. Vind. 1776. 4. Mog. 1788. 4. *Bossuet*, Defensio declarationis. Lux. (Gen.) 1730. 2 vols. 4. & oft. In his Oeuvres 1836. vols. IX. *Baum-*

according to the vacillating policy of the king and his favorites, formed a spiritual nobility in the court so completely submissive that even their liberal position with respect to Rome depended entirely upon the royal will. But when secular literature became flourishing and subjected the intellect of Europe to its sway, the consequences of the restoration of Catholicism entirely disappeared, and many learned, profound, and brilliant writers were produced within the Church itself. As the great historical works published by the monks of St. Maur and in the Oratory at Rome, were generally undertaken in an ecclesiastical spirit, and without a wish to sacrifice their learned leisure to the prejudices of an inquisitorial tribunal, they seldom, and never intentionally, contained any thing displeasing to the hierarchy. *Petavius* (d. 1652) composed his work on the history of doctrines (p. 6, nt. *c*.) with the hatred to heretics which is peculiar to the Jesuits, but the power of Catholicism derives very little support from the medley of opinions he has brought together from the ancient Church. *Peter de Marca*, Archbishop of Paris (d. 1662), attempted to justify the liberties of the Gallican Church by examples derived from past ages (p. 6, nt. *b*). *Mabillon* (d. 1707) wrote against the impudence with which the bodies taken from the catacombs were honored and sold at Rome for relics. (*b*) France was so much beloved by this man of documents that even the prayers of the hierarchy could only prevail upon him slightly to mitigate the form of his expressions. *Huet* (d. 1721), at one time Bishop of Avranches, attempted to prove the truth of Christianity by pointing out vestiges of it in all antiquity, and the uncertainty of all human knowledge. (*c*) *Richard Simon* (d. 1712), with a bold and subtle learning, ventured beyond the views then commonly entertained respecting the origin, preservation, and interpretation of the sacred Scriptures. He forsook the Oratory of his own accord, was violently assailed by the Protestants, and although he could not survive the loss, he burned his manuscripts on account of the displeasure of his contemporaries, and for fear of the Jesuits. (*d*) Salignac de la Motte *Fenelon*, the swan of Cambray (d. 1715), apostolical in his spirit, intellectual, and guided only by the impulses of his own affectionate heart, described an education conformed to man's nature, in contrast with the mode of training pursued by the Jesuits. (*e*) *Bossuet* (d. 1704), the eagle of Meaux, made concessions to the court and to the world without injury to his own dignity or to his Church. In the service of the king he defended the freedom of the Gallican Church, and for the advantage of the pope he attacked the Protestants. His attractive representation of Catholicism was made to show that the latter had abandoned the Church only because they were ignorant of its true character. Language was subject to his control as if he were its king, his

garten, v. d. Freih. d. gall. K. Hal. 1752. *Grégoire*, Essai hist. sur les libertés de l'égl. gallicane. Par. 1817.

b) *Eusebii Romani* Ep. de cultu Sanctorum ignotor. Par. 1688. 4. ed. 2. 1705. 4. Both in Ouvrages posthumes. Par. 1724. 2 vol. I. p. 209ss.

c) *Huetii* Commentar. de rebus ad eum pertinent. Amst. 1718. 12.

d) H. crit. du V. T. (Par. 1678. 4.) Rot. 1685. 4. H. crit. du N. T. Rott. 1689. 4.—Life prefaced to Lettres choisies de M. Simon par de la *Martinière*, Amst. 1730. 4 vols. 12. *K. H. Graf*, ü. R. S. (Beitr. zu d. Th. Wiss. Jena 1851. vol. I.)

e) Oeuv. Spirituelles. Antv. 1718. 2 v. & often. Correspondance de Fén. Par. 1827. 3 vols.—*Ramsay*, H. de Fén. Hay. 1723. 12. Cobl. 1826. *De Beausset*, H. de Fén. Par. 1809. 3 vols.

eloquence was lofty, ingenious, on difficult subjects sometimes wonderfully fine, and in consequence of a strain of sadness which prevails in it, generally pathetic. (*f*) The pulpit orators contemporary with him were: *Flechier*, Bishop of Nismes (d. 1710), whose cool considerateness made every exalted thing on earth bow to the doctrine of the cross; the Jesuit, *Bourdaloue* (d. 1704), whose discourses, with no brilliant passages, and with no effort to obtain applause, move all hearts by their vigorous beauty; *Massillon*, Bishop of Clermont (d. 1742), who, while revealing in the noblest language of an accomplished education, the secrets of the human heart, the captivating middle path between the extremes of good and evil, and the intricacies of daily life, made virtue seem attractive, and even the king dissatisfied with himself; and finally the missionary, *Bridaine* (about 1750), who, with popular vigor as a messenger of God, gave utterance to the thunders of the eternal world. (*g*)

Jansenism.

Leydecker, H. Jansenismi. Traj. ad Rh. 1695. (*Gerberon*) H. générale de Jans. Amst. 1700. *Luchesini*, H. polem. Jans. Rom. 1711. 3 vols. Abrégé hist. des détours et des variat. du Jans. Without place. 1739. 4. *Dom. de Colonia*, Diction. des livres Jansenistes. Lyon. 1752. 4 vols. 12. [Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. VII.]

§ 425. *I. Port-Royal.*

Fontaine, Mém. pour servir à l'H. de P. R. Col. (Utr.) 1738. 2 vols. 12. *J. Racine*, H. d. P. R. Par. 1767. 2 vols. More complete in his Oeuvr. Par. 1799. 4 vols. Relation de la paix de l'egl. sous. Cl. IX. avec des lettres, actes etc. 1706. 2 vols. (Quesnell) La paix de Cl. IX. Brux. 1701. 2 vols. 12. *H. Reuchlin*, Gesch. v. P. R. Hmb. 1839–44. 2 v. *C. A. Sainte Beuve*, P. R. Par. 1840–2. 2 vols. [Rel. Mag. vol. 3. p. 369. Art. in Meth. Quart. Rev. April. 1853. p. 191–212.]

A controversy which had for some time been slumbering, was revived by *Jansenius*, a deceased Bishop of Ypres. His work, which together with his testament was edited by a friend, (*a*) contained an exact representation of the Augustinian and Pelagian systems of doctrine, from which it appeared that many of the scholastic writers and popes approached much nearer the heretic than the saint. To the system of external accommodation which so extensively prevailed in the ethical system of the Jesuits, was here opposed the cordial sincerity of a spirit wrought by God, which, being freed by grace from the power of concupiscence, and implanted in the soil of divine love, cannot sin, and finds its freedom in the service of God. The Jesuits attacked the book as soon as it appeared, and *Urban VIII.* directed against it the bull *In eminenti* (1642). The University of Louvain, however, in behalf of the Netherlandic clergy suggested the inquiry, whether the pope condemned the rejected propositions as the propositions of Jansen or of Augustine? When

f) Oeuv. Ven. 1736ss. 5 vols. 4. Par. 1744. 4 vols. f. Oeuv. posth. Amst. (Par.) 1753. 3 vols. 4. Oeuv. compl. Par. 1836. 12 vols. 4.—*De Beausset*, H. de Boss. Par. 1814. 4 vols. *Tabaraud*, Supplém. aux H. de Boss. et de Fén. Par. 1822. *A. Caillot*, Vie de Boss. Par. 1836. Respecting his alleged marriage: (*Weis*) Katholik. 1827. P. 6 N. 1. A. K. Z. 1827. N. 83. [A work by *M. Floquet* on the Life & Writings of Bossuet is announced in Paris in 1854, and is said to contain important discoveries.]

g) *Maury*, Essai sur l'éloquence de la chaire. Par. 1810. vol. I. Lit. hist. will be found in *Ammon*, Handb. d. Kanzelberedts. Nürnb. 1812. p. 488. Examples: Musterpred. franz. Kanzelredner. übers. v. Lincke, m. Vorr. v. Krehl. Meiss. 1833.

a) Augustinus s doctrina Aug. de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine et medicina adv. Pelag et Massilienses. Lov. 1640. f. & often.

the government had decided in favor of the bull (1647) it was generally received in all parts of Belgium. In France, the Abbot of *St. Cyran* (d. 1643) the early friend of Jansen, a John in the prison of Richelieu, and with a higher ambition than that ancient preacher, had already collected a band of youthful disciples, whose enthusiasm for the liberty of the Church had been excited by a severe doctrine and discipline. (*b*) *Anthony Arnauld* (d. 1694), the shrewd and profound Doctor of the Sorbonne, with an hereditary hatred of the Jesuits, took his stand in favor of Augustine. (*c*) With him stood, after a brief struggle in youth, his sister *Angelica*, the Abbess of the Cistercian convent of *Port-Royal*, and a convent-mother, whose gentle spirit was pervaded by the most thorough earnestness of monastic life. (*d*) Engaged in the same cause was also a community of highly educated men, who lived in the manner of the ancient anachorets in the vicinity of *Port-Royal des Champs*. *Innocent X.* condemned five propositions taken from the work of Jansen (1653). Arnauld's friends explained that the five propositions were not intended by the author to be understood in the sense in which they were condemned by the pope. But *Alexander VII.* assured the world (1656) that they were actually condemned in the sense intended by Jansen. The party at Port-Royal and four bishops objected that this was a simple question respecting an historical fact (la question du fait), on which the Church could decide with no higher authority than science. This revival of Augustinism originated in the same spirit which had induced the Reformers to revive it, a deep religious earnestness in opposition to the extreme levity which prevailed in the Church. The general duty of seeking edification in the perusal of the sacred Scriptures was defended, and the absolute recognition of the sovereignty of God was a shield against the absolute authority of the papacy and the monarchy. But the Port-Royalists denied that there was any such affinity between themselves and the reformers, and entered with peculiar zeal into the conflict with Calvinism. They also acknowledged that the principle of all good works must lie in a pious disposition, (*e*) and yet they were models of the severest penances and self-denials. Their devotional books, written in the purest style of the most accomplished French authors, very soon took the place of the Jesuitical literature. *Pascal* (1623–62), an eminent mathematician even in early youth, had his religious spirit awakened during a dangerous illness, and in the midst of continual debility, to consider the natural condition of the Christian. In opposition to a sceptical world, and in brilliant flashes of thought, he proved from the very contradictions of men the necessity and truth of Christianity as a restoration of religion to those who longed to know the divine will. By the enthusiasm and wit of his Letters, the origin of which was then so mysterious, but exhibited a perfect sympathy with the Port-Royalists, the public mind was completely carried against the lax piety and licentious confessional morality of the Jesuits, (*f*) although these

b) Oeuvres chretiennes et spirituelles. Lyon. 1679. 4 vols. 16.

c) Oeuvres d'Arnauld, Laus. 1773. 48 vols. 4. After *Laujuinais* études biogr. (Par. 1823.) *Hesekiel*, in the KHist. Archiv. 1824. vol. II. P. 1.

d) Entretiens ou conférences de la mère Angélique. Brux. 1757. 12.

e) *A. Arnauld*, de la fréquente communion. Par. 1643. & often.

f) Pensées. Par. 1669. 16. & often. Brl 1836. transl. into Germ. (by Kleuker) Brem. 1777, by Blech.

were the representatives of worldly interests, and in some respects of even sound common sense. (*g*) *Clement IX.* gave the Jansenists an opportunity, by means of certain equivocal expressions, to reconcile their convictions with the papal will (1669). *Innocent XI.* was at heart not very far from them. But *Clement XI.* and *Louis XIV.* were determined upon their extermination. Most of them fled to the Netherlands, Port-Royal was abolished, and so completely destroyed that even the graves were rifled of their contents. (*h*)

§ 426. II. *The Constitution Unigenitus.*

Acta Const. Unig. ed. *Pfaff*, Tub. 1721. 4. Col. nova Actt. Const. U. ed. *Dubois*, Lugd. B. 1725. 4.—Anecdotes sécrètes de la Const. U. Utraj. 1732. 3 vols. Magd. and Lpz. 1755ss. 6 v. La Const. U. déférée a l'egl. univ. Col. 1769. 4 vols. [Papae Clementis XI. famosissima Bulla sic dicta Unig. &c. Rom. 1713.]

The illustrations of the New Testament published by Paschasius *Quesnell* (d. 1719), a Jansenist who had been expelled from the Oratory, was a book much beloved by the people, and recommended by many high authorities of the Church for devotional uses. (*a*) But the Jesuits deemed it of great importance for the overthrow of Jansenism that this book should be condemned. The same thing was also demanded by *Louis XIV.*, and *Clement XI.* was finally induced to condemn, by the *Constitution Unigenitus* (1713), 101 propositions taken from Quesnell's New Testament as heretical, dangerous, or offensive to pious ears. Among these were many doctrines of the fathers, and even of the Scriptures, but which were capable of a Jansenist explanation. Hence a large portion of the French clergy and people, with the Archbishop of Paris, the Cardinal de *Noailles* at their head, publicly resisted the Constitution. The king commenced the work of executing it by force, and died, not without some misgivings that he might have gone too far in this matter. Under the regency of Orleans, who cared no more for the pope than he did for Christ himself, many bishops, in opposition to the papal enactment, appealed to a future council. But as the minister Dubois was anxious to attain the dignity of Cardinal, the regency decided (after 1719) against the appellants, and when *Louis XV.* undertook the government under the Cardinal *A. H. Fleury*, those who had made the appeal were compelled by depositions, imprisonments, and banishments, to withdraw it, and the Constitution was by an act of royal sovereignty enforced as a law of the kingdom (1730). The last attempt in behalf of Jansenism was by means of miracles and wild convulsions at the grave of a popular saint, *Francis* of

with Pref. by Neander. Berl. 1840. Pensées (in their orig. form), fragments et lettres publ. p. *Prosp. Faug re*, Par. 1844. 2 vols. Les Provinciales. Par. 1656s. 4. & often. Lemgo. 1774. 3 v. Oeuvres. Hay. 1779. Dijon. 1835. 2 vols. [Pascal's Thoughts on Rel. ed. by Bickersteth. Lond. 1847. 8. New York, & Provincial Letters. Edinb. 1847. New York & Philad. 1847.]—La vie de P. par sa soeur Mad *Perier*. (Prefixed to Pensées. Amst. 1684. & often.) *Bossut*, Discours sur la vie et les ouvr. de P. (Oeuv. de P. 1779. 1819.) *H. Reuchlin*, P. Leben u. Geist sr. Schrr. Stuttg. 1840. *Bordas Demoulin*, Eloge de P. Par. 1843. Neander in Wiss. Abhh. Brl. 1851. p. 74ss. *J. Mueller* in d. D. Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1853. N. 30. [Art. in Kitto's Journ. of Bibl. Lit. vol. III.]

g) *Dumas*, H. des cinq. propss. de Jans. Liège. 1699. 2 vols.

h) Mém. sur la déstruction de P. R. des Champs. 1711. *Grégoire*, les ruines de P. R. Par. 1809.

a) Partially publ. after 1671, but the whole issued: Le Nouv. Test. en François avec des réflections morales. Par. 1687. 2 vols. 12. and often.

Paris, who had died with the appeal in his hand (1727). Strange things were related, which made a deep impression upon even unbelievers, but the miracles found a grave in the dungeons which the government provided for those who asserted them. (*b*) *Beaumont*, Archbishop of Paris, gave orders that all dying persons who could not prove in their certificate of confession that they had accepted of the Constitution, should be denied the sacrament, and it was accordingly refused to the Duke of Orleans. The archbishop was summoned to answer for this act at the bar of the Parliament of Paris (1752). All interference in spiritual affairs on the part of that body was then forbidden by the king. The Parliament appealed to their oath, which bound them to assist every citizen in the maintenance of his rights. A peace was finally mediated by means of a mild pastoral letter from *Benedict XIV.* (1756). (*c*) Jansenism has however subsequently propagated itself in three different forms. In the Netherlands it has a peculiar form of ecclesiastical government, with no connection with the Roman Church, but with the Archbishop of Utrecht presiding over the two Bishops of Harlem and Deventer. (*d*) The mystical element has been continued among a few enthusiasts (Convulsionnaires), who, having elevated their feelings to a high degree of spasmodic exhilaration by a certain amount of corporeal abuses, wounds and crucifixions, pour forth predictions of the overthrow of the throne and of the Church. (*e*) The liberal element in the form of a theological spirit has extensively prevailed among a large portion of the clergy in France, Germany, and Italy.

§ 427. *Mysticism, Quietism, and Pious Humor.*

Antoinette *Bourignon* (d. 1680) of Ryssel, proposed to God at first, that she would love him and his creatures at the same time, but afterwards, under an impression that she loved him alone, and in the midst of a busy scene of external confusion, she held continual conversation with God like a woman in the society of her husband. She would consent to be judged by no other authority than the Bible, although she herself professed to stand in no need of a written word of God, and had herself saluted as the mother of all believers with a new revelation to man. She was persecuted by the Jesuits, and had some connections with the Jansenists, but she was herself indifferent with respect to both Churches, and had many admirers and bitter opponents in both. (*a*) The *Alambrados*, who may almost be regarded as the Quakers

b) Vie de M. Franç. de Paris Utr. 1729. and often. Recueil des mir. sur le tombeau de P. Par. 1734s. 3 vols. *Montgeron*, la verité des mir. (Par. 1737.) Col. 1745ss. 2 vols. 4. Mém. de Me. de Pompadour. Par. 1830. vol. I. p. 57.—Procès verbaux des plusieurs médecins, dressés par ordre de sa Majesté au sujet de quelques personnes soidisantes agitées des convulsions. Par. 1752. *Mosheim* Dss. ad H. ecc. vol. II. p. 307ss.

c) Apologie des jugemens rendus contre le schisme par les tribunaux séculiers. Par. 1752. 3 vols. *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. I. p. 58. 489ss.

d) *Dupac de Bellegarde*, H. de l'égl. metropol. d'Utrecht. Utr. 1784. ed. 3. 1852. *Walch*, nst Rel. Gesch. vol. VI. p. 828s. Theol. Quartalsch. Tub. 1826. P. 1s. *Augusti*, d. Erzb. Utrecht. Bonn. 1838.

e) *Grégoire* vol. I. p. 378ss. (Archiv. f. KG. vol. I. St. 2. p. 189ss.)

a) Oeuvres p. *P. Poiret*, Amst. 1679ss. 19 vols. In the first vol. is her Life by herself and by Poiret.—*Walch*, Rel. Streit. auss. d. luth. K. vol. I. p. 621. IV, 891ss. *W. Klose*, A. Bur. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 3.) [Apol. for Mad. Bourignon. Lond. 1699. 8. Translations: Acad. of Learned

of Catholicism, have at different times (since 1575), but probably under the excitement of Protestant influences, made their appearance in Spain. *Michael Molinos* of Saragossa, a zealous curate at Rome, recommended as the true way of salvation that the soul should seek to become affectionately one with God by quiet prayer and a complete annihilation of its own independent existence. The French ambassador, in the name of the Jesuits, demanded that this (*Quietism* should be rejected by the Church (1687). Molinos, after abjuring the condemned propositions, died while suffering a severe imprisonment in a convent (1696). (*b*) Madame Guyon of Paris (d. 1717) followed in his footsteps, and even went beyond him in some respects, but with a love to God so exceedingly ardent, that few have equalled it even in their earthly attachments. (*c*) *Bossuet*, whose clear understanding could see nothing but a dangerous fanaticism in a love which had so completely surrendered all regard for self, that in its longings after God it had no desires even for salvation, prepossessed the mind of the court against her. But *Fenelon* denied the justice of her condemnation, and showed how true mysticism was to be understood in accordance with the models of Catholic antiquity, and how it should be looked upon as the genuine worship of God in the heart, and therefore the basis of all the external forms of the Church. (*d*) Twenty-three propositions extracted from his book, Bossuet had condemned at Rome. Fenelon received a copy of this condemnation just as he was ascending the pulpit of his cathedral. With the humility so natural to his disposition, he immediately submitted to it, and exhorted his congregation to conform to its directions (1699). (*e*) In Germany, *Angelus Silesius* (Scheffler of Breslau, d. 1677), a physician, but subsequently a priest, although he renounced the Protestant Church and the friendship of Jacob Boehme, carried with him an intense love of the Saviour. Although the extreme longings of his heart threw him into the abyss of Pantheism, his profound speculations are so transparent, his bold expressions are so childlike, and his poetry is so delightful, intellectual, and affectionate, that they have always been looked upon as sacred in both Churches. (*f*) *Abraham a S. Clara* (U. Megerle, d. 1707) has given a bold and ingenious expression of the popular humor which prevailed in Sua-

Divines. Lond. 1708. Confusion of the Builders of Babel. Lond. 1768. Light of the World. 1696. Light risen in Darkness. 1703. abridged, Lond. 1786. Renov. of the Gosp. Spirit. Lond. 1817. 12.]

b) Guida spirituale Rom. 1681. In Spanish even in 1675. in Lat. by *Francke*, 1687, and in Germ. by *Arnold*, 1699.—Recueil des div. pièces concernant le Quiétisme. Amst. 1688. Other things in *Wissmann*, II. ecc. P. II. p. 541. *C. E. Scharling*, Mystikeren M. Molinos's Laere og Skjaebne. Kjöbenh. 1852. 4.

c) La Bible de Me. Guyon. Col. (Amst.) 1715ss. 20 vols.—La vie de M. de la Mothe Guyon, écrite par elle-même. Col. 1720. 3 vols. 12. and often. Brl. 1826. 3 vols. *C. Hermes*, Züge a. d. Leben d. Fr. v. G. Magdeb. 1845. [*T. C. Upham*, Life, Opinions, and Experience of Me. G. New York. 1851. 2 vols. 12. Eclect. Mag. Aug. 1853. p. 431ss. Life and Rel. Opinions of Mad. G. and of Fenelon. Lond. 1851. 2 vols. 12. *L. M. Child*, Lives of Lady Russell and Mad. G. Boston. 1830. 12.]

d) Explication des maximes de Saints sur la vie intérieure. Par. 1697. 12. and often.

e) (*Jurieu*) Jugement sur la Théol. myst. et sur les démêlez de l'evêque de Meaux avec l'archevêque de Cambray. (Amst. 1699.) *Beausset* and *Tabaraud*. (p. 515–16.)

f) Cherubinischer Wandersmann. Brsl. 1657. and often. Munich. 1815. 1827. Brl. 1820. 1838. Heilige Seelenlust o. geistl. Hirtenlieder der verliebten Psyche. Brsl. 1657. Munich. 1826. Wittmann, A. S. als Convertit, myst. Dichter u. Polemiker. Augsb. 1842. (*W. Schrader*, A. S. Hal. 1858. 4.) *A. Kahlert*, A. S. Brsl. 1858.

bia and Vienna with respect to the perversities of the world, and in favor of the pious morality of his native land. (*g*)

§ 428. *Newly Established Orders.*

Bouthillier de la Rancé (d. 1700), after a dissipated youth, became, in consequence of a painful accident, dissatisfied with the world, distributed his wealth among the poor, resigned all his livings except that of La Trappe, of which he had been an abbot even in his boyhood, and betook himself to a residence in that convent (1662). That he might revive the original rule of Cisteaux, he imposed upon the monks there a terrible system of self-denial, which deprived them even of the pleasures of conversation and reading. A few colonies of the *Trappists* were founded in Italy, Great Britain, Germany, and America, and some were formed for nuns. (*a*) In France, where popular instruction was not regularly attended to by either the Church or the State, the Society of the *Brothers of the Christian Schools* (Ignorantins) was founded for that purpose by Baptist de la Salle (1724), but more especially for the education of future teachers. A Neapolitan named *Liguori* (d. 1787), with whom the will of the pope was equivalent to the will of God, formed the Congregation of the Most Sacred Redeemer (Redemptorists, Liguorists), a friendly variety of the Jesuits, and in subsequent times affording to them a refuge and a hope. (*b*) In addition to the associations without regular vows, were established sisterhoods for the *Adoration of the Heart of Jesus and Mary*, for the cultivation of a sensuous kind of worship which had been recommended ever since the middle of the seventeenth century by the Jesuits, at the suggestion of love-intoxicated nuns. The establishment of this order had been frequently declined, but it was finally (1765) authorized at Rome, and was introduced in some places. It was a subject of debate among divines whether the actually bleeding heart, or a mere symbol of divine love, was the object of adoration. By the people, however, these votaries were often ridiculed as Cordicolatras or Marionettes. (*c*)

§ 429. *Spread of Christianity. Cont. from* § 394ss.

1. The Church in *China* continued to make some gradual advances, principally through the assistance of the missionary seminary at Paris (after 1663). Instances of oppression were not numerous, and were generally of short duration. But the mendicant friars were more and more urgent in their complaints at Rome against the mingling of Christianity with idolatry.

g) Judas der Erzschelm. Bonn. Salzb. 1687ss. 4 vols. and often. Huy! u. Pfuy! der Welt. Würtz. 1707. 4. and often. Reim dich o. ich liss dich, d. i. allerly Materien, Discurs u. Predigten. Salzb. 1787. 4. and often. Das Gediegenste a. s. W. Blaubeuren. 1840ss. Werke. Lindau 1846ss.

a) *Rancé:* Lettres, publ. par B. Gonod, Par. 1846. Tr. de la sainteté et des devoirs de la vie monastique. 1683. 2 vols. 4. On the other side: *Mabillon*, Tr. des études monast. 1691. and often.— *Marsollier*, Vie de l'Abbe de la Trappe. Par. 1703. 2 vols. 12. *Chateaubriand*, Vie de Rancé. Par. 1844. Ulm. 1845. L. D. B. Hist. civile, rel. et littér. de l'abbaye de la Tr. Par. 1824. *Ritsert*, Orden d. Trappisten. Drmst. 1833. *Gaillardin*, les Trappistes. Par. 1844. vol. I.

b) Oeuvres complètes. Par. 1835. 14 vols. 8. and 12. *A. Giatini*, vita del b. Alfonso Lig. Rom. 1815. 4. Vienna. 1835. *Jeancard*, Vie du b. Alf. Lig. Louvain. 1829.

c) Benedicti XIV. de servor. Dei beatif. IV, 30. Archiv. f. KG. vol. I. St. 2. p. 177ss. *Wachler* in Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1834. St. 1.

For a long time the Jesuits, however, succeeded by craft and power to defend themselves against the orders sent to them from Rome on this subject. The legate *Tournon* died while enduring a confinement at Macao, brought upon him by their means (1710). At last their adversaries were successful (1746). No sooner, however, were the sacred usages of the nation rejected, than a persecution seldom suspended was commenced, from which only a few unimportant fragments of the Church were ever saved. 2. In the *East Indies* likewise, the hope of success depended upon the compliance of the missionaries with the customs of the Brahmans, and their incorporation of the religious and social usages of the people into the system of Christianity. When the Jesuits at Pondichery represented in one of their sacred dramas the destruction of the Indian gods by the Knight St. George (1701), a persecution was immediately commenced in that country; and when the bull against the admixture of heathenish customs with the Christian religion was enforced (1742), the progress of the mission was at an end. (*a*) 3. In *Thibet*, the gospel was preached (after 1707) by the Capuchins, and they were allowed to erect a hospitium there. But the worship of the Dalai Lama was itself too much like an ascendant papacy, to present much hope of success in the proclamation of a Roman Christianity. (*b*) 4. In *South America*, a splendid church organization according to the European style was developed. In a portion of North America, where the dominion of France was extended, were also established component parts of the Gallican Church.

CHAP. III.—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH UNTIL 1814.

I. Matters Preliminary to the Revolution.

§ 430. *French Philosophy. Cont. from* § 416.

Corréspondance liter. phil. et crit. par *Grimm* et *Diderot*, Par. 1813ss. 16 vols. Extracts: Brandenb. 1829.— *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. I. p. 473ss. (*J. A. v. Stark*) Triumph d. phil. im 18. Jahrh. Frkf. 1803. 2 vols. recently edit. by *Buchfelner*, Landsh. 1834. (*v. Schütz*) Gesch. v. Staatsverandr. unter Ludwig XVI. u. Entst. Fortsch. u. Wirks d. sogen. neuen Phil. Lps. 1826-33. 6 vols. *L. Lermenier*, de l'influence de la phil. du 18. S. Par. 1833. Lps. 1835. *Schlosser*, vol. I. p. 477. II. 443ss.—Liter. of the French Classics in *Ebert*. [*J. D. Morell*, Hist. and Crit. View of the Spec. Phil. of Eur. in the 19th cent. Lond. 1847. 2 ed. 8. New York. 1848. 8. *P. Damiron*, Essai sur l'H. de la phil. en Fr. au XVIIe. s. 3 ed. Par. 1846. 2 vols. 8. *G. H. Lewes*, Biog. H. of Phil. Ser. II. vol. IV. Lond. 1845. 4 vols. 18. *Tennemann's* H. of Phil. Lond. 1850. 8.]

The government of royal mistresses (Pornocracy) in the court, the persecution of the Protestants, the maltreatment of piety in the Jansenist controversy, the natural development of the national mind, and the influence of English Deism, conspired to form in France an opposition similar to that Deism, but such as naturally sprung up against an infallible Church in a despotic and corrupt state. *Bodins* Septiloquia recognized the claims of all religions, that the religion of godliness and rectitude in them all might be

a) § 397. nt. *d*.

b) Relazione del principio et stato presente della miss. del Tibet. Rom. 1742. 4. *Stäudlin* im Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. I. St. 3.

acknowledged. (*a*) In a fictitious book of travels, *Vairasse* distinguished between true Christianity and the hierarchy, against which his book was directed. (*b*) Even in the canting court of Louis XIV., who finally gave his consent that even Tartufe should be performed in his presence, it was not looked upon as inconsistent with the rules of good society to ridicule religion as well as hypocrisy. *Voltaire* (d. 1778) was not quite insensible to the possibility of the existence of a God, in whose honor he erected a plain church, nor to the beauty of Christianity, but in a series of sprightly essays after 1715), with the most naïve simplicity and ignorance of facts, he gave up all its historical relations, and sacrificed the life of religion itself to a spirit of universal scoffing. *Montesquieu*, before laying the foundation of his future government, presented the mirror of an unbiased common sense before the received doctrines and the compulsory measures of the Church (1721). Philosophy so entirely withdrew to the territory presided over by the five senses, that the mind of man was finally regarded as a dream of the flesh, and love as the hypocrisy of selfishness. This worldly philosophy was carried to its complete results by *Condillac* (d. 1780), in Holbach's circle it was fearlessly applied to practical life, (*c*) while *Helvetius* (d. 1771) tempered it with an elevated humanity. In this spirit, *Diderot* (d. 1784), whose religion it was to destroy all religion, edited the *Encyclopedie* (after 1751), intended to be a general survey of all human knowledge, clear and grand with respect to the worldly tendencies of the mind and in its efforts against all kinds of slavery, but hostile to all eternal realities and aspirations above the world. Besides these were a host of inferior works, in which the oriental simplicity of the Scriptures was made the subject of amusement either by bold derision or by sentimental wantonness, and all systems of faith were ridiculed as priestcraft. *Raynal* deprived history of its true glory as a picture of a divine household; even in *Buffon's* sublime researches, the Creator is placed far behind a self-producing nature; *Lalande* proclaimed the laws of a heaven without a God; and in fact the gospel was generally regarded as a mere astronomical myth. (*d*) The enthusiastic spirit of *Rousseau* (1712–78) found many things in the gospel for which his nature had a strong affinity, but in consequence of his rejection of all history, he was compelled to oppose every thing in it of a historical character. By holding up a state of nature in contrast with the artificial condition of human society, the Jesuitic education then in vogue, and the supernatural revelation of the Scriptures, he contributed more than all the scoffers to endanger the Church, since he thus showed how one could speak with earnestness and even transport of divine things, without being a Christian. (*e*) This opposition was powerful at that time, because those who were the favorites of the nation, who gave laws to the fashion-

a) Colloquium heptaplomeres de abditis rerum sublim. arcanis. 1593. *Guhrauer*, das Heptapl. des Jean Bodin. Bre. 1841.

b) Hist. des Sevarambes. Par. 1677ss. 3 vols. 12. Sulzb. 1689. 3 vols.

c) Systeme de la nature. Lond. (Amst.) 1770. 2 vols and often. Liegn. 1783. 2 vols.

d) *Dupuis*, Origine de tous les cultes. Par. 1795. 3 vols and often. 1837. In the Extracts by Rhé, Stuttg. 1829.

e) *Me. de Stael*, Lettres sur les ouvr. et le caractère d. R. Gén. 1789. (*Masset-Pathay*) H. de la vie et des ouvr. de R. Par. 1821. 2 vols. *Wachler*, biogr. Aufs. 1835. p. 31ss.

able world, and were honored with the friendship of the northern monarchs, were its principal representatives, and spoke of Christianity as a superannuated stage of civilization. The measures adopted by the government against them were but partial, and generally operated in their favor. As the hierarchy, who had little else at command but learned lore, were no longer allowed to burn the authors, they defended themselves by burning the books. These works, however, expressed the general sentiment of the French nation. On the side of the hierarchy were the civil power, immense wealth, and a nobility with which it was in numerous ways connected. On the other side was nearly a whole nation, including a majority even of the hierarchy and the nobility, with the conviction that their power was founded upon a deception, and that their wealth had been unjustly drawn from a heavily taxed people.

§ 431. *Clement XIII.* (1758–69) *and the Jesuits.*

Boxer, Rambach, vol. X. 2. p. 381ss. (*Le Bret*) Samml. d. Schrr. d. Aufheb. d. Jesuitenord. betr. Frkf. u. L. (Ulm.) 1773–84. 4 vols. [*J. Poynder*, II. of the Jesuits. Lond. 1816. 2 vols. 8. *A. Arnould*, Les Jesuites, Histoire, Types, Moeurs, Mysteries. Par. 1846. 2 vols. 8.]

Clement XIII. (Rezzonico) was chosen pope through the influence of the Jesuits, and with pious conscientiousness exposed the papal authority to the most imminent hazard, that he might avert their fate. They had indeed gained a victory over the Jansenists, but it was at the expense of the popular favor. On account of their influence at courts they were hated by statesmen, their engagements in trade involved them often in difficulties with the merchants, and their power over the conscience made them obnoxious to all classes. The very dislike which so many of that age felt toward Christianity, and the whole spirit of the coming generation now making itself perceptibly felt, seemed to demand them as the first sacrifice. The result was by no means certain, since all the nations of Southern Europe had been educated in their school. On the request of the Portuguese government, *Benedict XIV.* had forbidden them to engage in commerce, and when dying, he committed to the Patriarch of Lisbon the work of reforming them. The order to this effect was, however, revoked by Clement. By an exchange with Spain, Portugal had obtained a portion of Paraguay (1753). The Portuguese were however driven back by an Indian army, and although the Jesuits denied any participation in an insurrection which then occurred, it was certain that the insurrection was impossible without their connivance. Carvalho, Marquis of *Pombal*, was anxious to withdraw the monarchy and the nation from all connection with the hierarchy and the nobility. But although the minister possessed unlimited power, he knew he could not effect such a revolution while surrounded by the Jesuits. An attempt to assassinate the king supplied an occasion for impeaching them of high treason. The result was that they were for ever excluded (Sept. 3, 1759) from Portugal, and their property was confiscated. The pope interceded for them in vain; his nuncio was sent out of the country (1760), and all connection with Rome was broken off. (*a*) It

a) L'administration de M. de Pombal. Amst. 1789. 4. *J. Smith*, Memoirs of the M. de Pombal. Lond. 1843. 2 vols. 8.—(*Klausing*) Samml. d. nst. Schrr. d. Jes. in P. betr. A. d. Ital. Frkf. u. L.

was thus proved that the overthrow of the Jesuits was not impossible. The bankruptcy of the Jesuit *la Valette* in France, was seized upon as an occasion for making the whole order responsible for the unfortunate speculation in trade by one of its members, and for examining its constitution. The Parliament of Paris summoned the Jesuits before its bar (1762), an apostolical brief, in which the holy Father unburdened his heart of its troubles, and Jesuitism was identified with Catholicism, was laid aside as if it were the letter of a private individual, and when public opinion had been gained over by the publication of the dangerous doctrines of which the Jesuits were accused, they were banished from France as dangerous to the state (1764). (*b*) The other Bourbon courts ordered them to be hastily and violently seized and transported beyond the boundaries of their respective territories (1767). It was in vain that the pope issued a bull (1765), in which he showed that the order was sacred, and indispensable to the interests of the Church. He only ventured to annul the edicts of the Duke of *Parma*, and to threaten others with an excommunication (1768). France, however, took possession of Avignon; Naples, of Benevento; and all the Bourbon princes declared such fanatical decrees of excommunication utterly unreasonable. (*c*)

§ 432. *Clement XIV.* (1769–74) *and the Jesuits.*

Lettres intéressantes du P. Clém. XIV. trad. du latin et de l'ital. p. le Marq. *de Caraccioli*, (not altogether authentic.) Par. 1776s. 3 vols. and often. ital. u. deutsch. Lettere ed. altre opere di Ganganelli. Firenze. 1829. Clem. XIV. Epp et Brevia selectiora, ex. secret. tabb. Vatic. ed. *A. Theiner*, Par. 1852.— *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. I. p. 3. 201ss. *Caraccioli*, Vie du P. Clém. Par. 1775. Leben Clem. XIV. Frcf. u. L. 1775. (by *Reumont*) Gang., Clem. XIV. u. s. Zeit. Brl. 1847. *A. Theiner*, H. du Pontif. de Clem. XIV. Par. 1852. 2 vols. [*M. D'Alembert*, An Account of the Destruction of the Jesuits in France, from the Fr. Lond. 1766. 12.]

In the Conclave there was a severe struggle between the parties of the king and of the Jesuits. The Bourbons were however victorious, and secured the election of *Ganganelli*, a Minorite, who had always disapproved of the measures of his predecessor, on the ground that they sacrificed the interests of the papacy itself to those of the Jesuits. *Clement XIV.* was of low origin, his character was not very commanding, but he possessed considerable talents, a noble manliness, and at the same time a general mildness of disposition, and for a pope he was eminently liberal. He governed without the aid of cardinals or nepotes, and instead of aiming to build magnificent edifices, he endeavored to alleviate distress in cottages. He abolished the reading of the sacramental bull (in coena Domini), and it was never afterwards resumed. (*a*) By some concessions made to Portugal and the Bourbon

1759–62. 4 vols. Deductio chronol. et analytica, ubi horrendae manifestantur clades a Jes. Soc. Lusitaniae ejusque coloniis illatae, ed. *J. de Seabra Silvius*, Olisip. 1771. 2 vols. *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. II. p. 57ss. *G. v. Murr*, Gesch. d. Jes. in P. unter Pomb. Nürnb. 1787. 2 vols. *J. F. M. v. Olfers*, ü. d. Mordvers. gegen d. König Joseph v. P. Berl. 1839. 4.

b) Extraits des assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses, que les Jés. ont enseignées avec l'approbation de leurs Supérieurs. Verifiés par les commissaires du Parlement. Par. 1672.—*Choiseul*, Staats-Denkwürd. v. ihm selbst. from the Fr. Bern. 1790. Nova Acta hist. ecc. vol. XIII. p. 433ss. *Tabaraud*, Essai sur l'état des Jés. en France. éd. 2. Par. 1828.

c) *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. III. p. 109ss.

a) At least not until Easter, 1830, according to the author's personal observation.

courts, harmony was once more established with them. When they urged him to abolish the order of the Jesuits, he hesitated for a while, debating whether it were better to destroy than to reform it, but at last, on the 16th Aug., 1773, the brief called *Dominus ac Redemtor noster* (*b*) announced its abolition, on the ground that the peace of the Church required such a step. In Rome, the execution of this bull was secured by the employment of a military force. The number of members connected with the order at that time in twenty-four provinces was 22,589. Their treasures and papers had been placed where they could not be found. The suppression was enforced in all the Catholic courts, and even *Maria Theresa* acquiesced in it when copies of her own confessional secrets had been transmitted to her from Rome. (*c*) Frederic II., however, had so much pride that he would not put down the order for a while in Silesia, and it was favored in the Polish provinces of Russia, under a vicar general. (*d*) In other countries also the order maintained a secret existence, waiting for a revival which it was taught by some old legends to expect, and individuals have every where been found protesting against the lawfulness of its abolition. The fate of the Jesuits, like that of the Templars, was not altogether undeserved; but like the latter, they were condemned without a legal sentence or a process of law, and many meritorious persons connected with them were rewarded with a helpless old age. The missionary and educational operations of all Catholic countries were much embarrassed by their suppression. Avignon and Benevento were restored to the pope, but he could not prevent the governments of Spain, Naples, and Venice from doing as they pleased with the Church and its property in those countries. He was well aware, that by the decree for the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, he had signed his own death-warrant, and he died (Sept. 22) abandoned by all, with some evidence of having been poisoned. (*e*)

§ 433. *Pius VI.* (1774–99) *and his Age, until* 1789.

Conclave. (*Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. V. p. 259ss.) (*C. C. Ade*) Lebens- u. Regierungsgesch. P. VI. Cesena. (Ulm.) 1781–96. 6 vols. *P. P. Wolf*, Gesch. d. röm. K. unter P. VI. Zür. 1793ss. Lps. 1802. 7 vols. (*J. F. Bourgoing*) Mém. sur Pie VI. Par. 1799. 2 vols.—Ueber die gegenw. Lage d. rom. Kath. (*Plancke*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. I.)

The Bourbons consented to the election of *Angelo Braschi*, because they felt assured from his moderation that his partiality for the Jesuits would not be sufficient to induce him to attempt their restoration. The treasures *Pius VI.* acquired from the states of the Church during the first tranquil years of his reign, were spent in building and in draining the Pontine marshes. His liberality is extolled by numberless inscriptions. The convents were at that time assailed by innumerable caricatures, and were regarded as no longer tolerable except as hospitals for diseased minds. (*a*) Many princes saw that they

b) Dated from July 21. Acta hist. ecc. vol. I. p. 145ss.

c) After Fessler and Hormayr: A. K. Z. 1832. N. 160.

d) *Lutteroth*, Russl. u. d. Jes. 1770–1800. Uebers. v. *Birch*, Lps. 1845.

e) *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. V. p. 282ss. *Le Bret*, Mag. vol. VI. p. 144ss. On the other hand, v.: Wie lebte u. starb Gang., by *J. Reichenbach*. (?) Neust. 1831.

a) E. g. Trop. est trop. Capitulation de la France avec ses Moines. Haye. 1767. 12. (by *Born*) Naturgesch. d. Mönchth. 1783.

might, without the least infringement of their faith, and very much to their credit as friends of general improvement, take possession of the immense wealth in the hands of the monks. The pope himself appeared to be a civil prince, and the head of the Church merely from the favor of other princes. The bishops, however, clearly saw that if they became independent of the pope, they must become dependent upon the kings. The clergy foresaw that the property of the Church would be quite as acceptable to the secular lords as the wealth of the convents. Even those who cared nothing about the matter, were of the opinion that barracks were not much more desirable than convents. The faith or the superstition of a large portion of the people was such as to make them entirely dependent upon the clergy for their religion. Accordingly, the great masses were gradually formed into parties favorable or opposed to a reform. In *Portugal*, the system of things established by the violence of Pombal was immediately terminated when he was himself overthrown, on the death of the king (1777). In *Spain*, Count *Aranda*, who, in accordance with his French education, had made (after 1762) the inquisition and the system of education dependent upon the government, was removed from his station (1772), and Don *Olavides* repented in the dungeons of the inquisition (after 1776) that he ever attempted to cultivate by Protestant colonies the Sierra Morena, which was now restored to the robbers. But germs of hostility to the hierarchy still remained in all parts of the peninsula, combined with a disposition to strive after a political constitution. In *Germany*, conflicting powers were measuring their strength. *Isenbiehl*, who had brought from Gottingen to Mayence his doubts respecting the Messianic prophecies, was deposed and abused (1774). (*b*) *Steinbuhler*, a young lawyer, was imprisoned at Salzburg for some jest at the Catholic ceremonies, was condemned to death as a blasphemer (1781), had his sentence commuted to banishment from the country and ecclesiastical penance, and finally died under his ill-treatment. (*c*) When the preacher *Gassner* cast out devils (after 1773) in the name of Jesus, thousands of persons were found at Ellwanger and Ratisbon possessed and insane. Some of the patients appeared to be cured, but few received permanent benefit. Those who believed in the miracles, appealed to them as proofs against the Protestants and in favor of the Jesuits. Most of the neighboring bishops, then the emperor, and finally even the Roman court condemned the whole proceeding. (*d*) In *Bavaria*, the *Order* of the *Illuminati* was founded by *Weishaupt* (1777), on a Masonic basis and with Jesuitic forms, by which an intelligence superior to, and irrespective of all ecclesiastical divisions might be diffused among the people. This powerful association was destroyed by the government (1785). (*e*) In Nov. 1780, the Emperor *Joseph II.* obtained the long-desired sovereignty over the hereditary provinces of Austria. His administration was equivalent

b) Acta hist. ecc. nost. temp. vol. III. p. 902ss. *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. VIII. p. 7ss.

c) After Mūchler: *Menzel*, Reise n. Oestr. 1832. p. 103.

d) General view and Literature: *Walch*, vol. VI. p. 371. 541ss.

e) (*Weishaupt*) Gesch. d. Verfolgung d. Ill. Frkf. u. L. 1786. vol. I. and oth. Einige Originalsch. d. Ill. O. auf hōchst Befehl. Munich, 1787. Anhang z. d. Originalsch. Frkf. 1787. System u. Folgen d. Ill. O. Munich, 1787.

to a revolution, in consequence of his dictatorial measures. With respect to the Church, his plan required: that it should be separated from all foreign influence, and made subject to the government; that it should be made a school for the instruction of the people; and that all institutions which could not be made subservient to the public welfare should be destroyed. Law upon law was enacted for the attainment of these objects, and the representations of the bishops and the protests of the nuncio were alike ineffectual. It was then that the pope, a fine-looking and eloquent man, vain of both these qualities, and confiding much in the power of his personal address, resolved to conquer the heart of the emperor, and awaken the respect which prevailed in former times among the people beyond the Alps, by the presence of the vicar of Christ. He entered Vienna on the 22d March, 1782, with a splendid procession. He could not indeed deliver by his intercessions even one of the convents devoted to destruction as useless. But as the prelates thought it better for them to obey the pope than the emperor, and as under their influence the people valued their ancient ancestral usages more than the liberty and equality which had been forced upon them, the dying emperor (1790) found that all he had created was annihilated, and that only what he had destroyed remained unchanged. (*f*) The feeling of constitutional independence in Rome had gained a solid basis by the labors of *Nic. v. Hontheim*, and a recantation extorted from the frightened old man (1778) could not invalidate the influence of his proofs with respect to the origin of the papal power. (*g*) The four archbishops, offended at the establishment of a new nunciature at Munich (1785), took ground against every extraordinary jurisdiction of the pope on German territory, and associated themselves at *Ems* on the principle of an independent national church (1786). They were immediately sustained by the emperor himself. The University of *Bonn* was founded by the Elector of Cologne as a school for enlightened Catholicism. The bishops, however, thought themselves safer in obeying the distant pope than the archbishops; the Bavarian Palatinate followed its ancient policy of receiving advantages over the national Church directly from the hand of the pope, and when the archbishops became frightened at the storms which took place beyond the Rhine in behalf of freedom, they also hastened to become reconciled with Rome (1789). (*h*) *Leopold* of *Tuscany*, in the same spirit as his brother had exhibited in Austria, attempted by the agency of *Scipio Ricci*, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, to reform the polity of the Church. At a synod of his clergy at Pistoia (1786), the principles of the Gallican Church

f) Acta a Pio VI. causa itineris Vindob. Rom. 1782. (Acta hist. ecc. nost. temp. vol. IX. p. 283. 449ss.) *A. F. Bauer*, Gesch. d. Reise P. VI. Vien. 1782s. 3 vols. *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. IX. p. 1188s.—Codex J. ecc. Josephini. Frkf. u. L. (Prsb.) 1788. *Jos.* II. Briefe. Lps. 1822. (*Caraccioli*) La vie de Jos. Par. 1790. *Gross-Hoffinger*, Gesch. Jos. Stuttg. 1835. 3 vols.

g) *Justini Febronii* de statu Ecc. et legitima potestate Rom. Pontificis L. ad reuniendos dissidentes. Bullioni. (Frcf.) 1763–74. 4 vols. 4. and often, in different forms. Commentarius in suam retractat. Frcf. 1781. 4. *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. I. p. 147. VI, 171. VII. 192. 455. VIII, 529ss. Briefw. zw. d. Kurf. v. Trier u. N. v. Honth. ü. Febr. Frkf. 1813.

h) Resultate d. Emser Congr. in Actenst. Frkf. u. L. 1787. 4. Pragm. u. actenm. Gesch. d. Nuntiatur in München. 1787. S. Dom. Pii VI. responsio ad Metropolitanos. Rom. 1789. *Pacca*, (Memorie vol. IV.) hist. Denkw. ü. s. Aufenth. in Deutsch. 1786–94. from the Ital. Augsb. 1832. *E. v. Münch*, Gesch. d. Emser Congr. Carlsr. 1840.

and of the most liberal Jansenism were adopted, all superstitious ceremonies were abolished, and it was determined that public worship should be conducted in the language of the people, and that the Scriptures should be circulated among them. But these enactments were opposed by most of the bishops in Tuscany, the populace in Pistoia stormed the episcopal palace, and when Leopold ascended his brother's throne, the hierarchy obtained a complete victory. (*i*) In *Naples*, the convents were abolished, the prerogatives of the monarchy were enlarged, and the feudal tenure of the pope was denied. The controversy on these subjects was finally brought to a compromise (1790), in which it was agreed that the feudal relation should be given up, but that whenever a new king ascended the throne, he should present an offering to St. Peter of 500,000 ducats. (*k*)

II. The French Revolution.

Vollst. Samml. d. Schrr. seit. Er ffn. d. Reichst. Fr. in Rücks. a. d. Cler. (according to *Barruel*, Col. Eccl.) Kempt. 1795ss. 4 vo s.—*Barruel*, H. du Clergé en France pend. la rev. Lond. 1794. 1804. 2 vols. *A. T. Dutac*, Pie VI. et VII. considérés dans leurs rapports avec la rév. franç. S. Omer. 1839. *Jager*, H. d. Egl. de France pendant la rév. Par. 1852. 3 vols. Comp. the pol. histt. of *Mignet*, *Thiers*, and *Wachsmuth*, *Raumer*, *Dahlmann*. [all of which, except the last, have been transl. into Engl. See also: *T. Carlyle*, Michelet, Lamartine (Girondins), Alison, and Scott. (Life of Nap. Prelim. Chap.)]

§ 434. *The National Assembly (Constituent).* 1789–1791.

Planck, neueste Rel. Gesch. 1793. vol. III.

The Revolution was not actually occasioned by the disorders which prevailed in the Church, but without these it would hardly have been possible. The superior clergy were the natural allies of the higher nobility, but since even the court was obliged to demand great sacrifices on the part of the Church, the electoral law was so contrived, that among the representatives of the ecclesiastical estate the pastors had the numerical majority. These, with *Talleyrand*, the Bishop of Autun, who never failed to discover on which side victory was about to turn, at their head, at an early day and with honest intentions became connected with the third estate. There was a philosophical party which had entered into a conspiracy against Christianity, but it had no idea of contending against the faith of the people. Its object was to destroy the hierarchy only as a political power, and to effect the deliverance of the state by the wealth of the Church. The very central point of interest at the national festival on the field of Mars (July 14, 1790) was a high altar, and there were pious Jansenists, who hoped in the decrees of the national assembly to realize their ideal of a Church. Such were the honest *Camus*, who wished to bring every thing back to the simplicity of apostolic times, the enthusiastic Carthusian *Dom Gerle*, who vainly demanded that Catholicism should be acknowledged as the religion of the state, and *Grégoire*, who, confiding in the democratic humane spirit of Christianity even in

i) Acta Syn. Pistoiens. Ticin. 1790. 2 vols. *Planck*, vol. I. p. 263. II, 229ss. *De Potter*, Vie et Mém. de Ricci. Par. 1826. 4 vols Stuttg. 1826. 4 vols. [Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci, Bp. of P. and Ref. of Cath. in Tuscany. Lond. 1852. 2 vols. 12.]

k) *Walch*, nst. Rel. Gesch. vol. V. p. 5ss. *Planck*, vol. I. p. 8ss.

the time of the most sanguinary outrages, did not shrink from exposing himself to derision and deadly peril in behalf of the Church. (*a*) In the declaration of human rights, which constituted the new gospel, freedom of religious faith was proclaimed. The hierarchy, determining to submit with dignity to what was now inevitable, proposed that their property should be proportionally taxed, and that all superfluous vessels belonging to the Church should be melted down. On the celebrated night of the 4th Aug., they also consented that the tithes should be discontinued, and the pastors agreed that the surplice fees should be renounced. In the discussion upon the law relating to these subjects, it was decided that the tithes should be abolished as soon as the state's treasury should be in a condition to sustain the expenses of public worship. All ecclesiastical property was declared to be the property of the nation (Nov. 2d, 1789). It was in vain that *Montesquieu*, with insinuating moderation, and *Maury*, with severe argument, urged the utter futility of this proceeding as a financial speculation, the dilemmas to which a pecuniary salary would reduce the clergy, the inviolability of this kind of property, and the sacredness of such pious institutions, and that even *Sieyes* himself warned the deputies that if men would be free they must be just. It was determined (Dec. 19th) that two hundred millions of the Church property should be sold, and that the administration of every thing belonging to the Church should be committed to the secular authorities (April 14th, 1790). The state undertook, on the other hand, the support of the Church and of the poor. A house and garden, and at least 1200 livres, were secured to every pastor. The salaries of the bishops were ample, but moderate only when compared with the affluence which they formerly possessed. All sinecures were abolished. Monastic vows, being looked upon as inconsistent with human rights, and not needful to the public worship, were no longer protected by the laws (Feb. 13th), but adequate annuities were provided for those who belonged to the monasteries, and they were at liberty to reside in the convents. The kingdom was divided into eighty-three departments of equal extent, to which the Church was to be so conformed that each department was to constitute a bishopric. It appeared equally consonant with primitive Christianity and the newly-established principles of freedom, that all bishops and pastors should be elected by the people. All fears of evils attending a popular election which was not even then directly with the people, were answered by appeals to the disgraceful concomitants of former elections. Every bishop was required to be the pastor of the cathedral church, and in all legal matters to listen to the counsel of his vicars, the old system of the provincial synods was revived, and all interference from neighboring bishops was prohibited; still the unity of the Church and its connection with a visible universal head was not impaired. The party of the bishops solemnly protested against this spoliation of the Church, and this derangement of the episcopal jurisdictions by the hands of the civil power. To destroy their opposition, it was decreed (Nov. 27th) that all ecclesiastical officers, under penalty of losing their offices, should take an oath to observe these laws as a civil *con-*

a) Mémoires de Gr. précédés d'une notice hist. sur l'auteur par *M. H. Carnot*, Par. 1837. 2 vols. *G. Krüger*, Gr. nach s. Denwürdigk. Lps. 1838.

stitution of the clergy. A large majority of the clergy refused to take this oath until the Church should declare its assent to the laws. *Mirabeau* lifted up his prophetic voice, predicting that the selfishness of the priests would bring down ruin upon the Church, if Catholic France was induced to contend against emancipated France. Some bishops, chosen in accordance with the terms of the new law, were consecrated (Feb. 24, 1791). After considerable delay, *Pius VI.* declared (April 13th) that the oath for the constitution was inadmissible, and that every one who took it should forfeit his office in the Church. (*b*) From this time the Catholic Church became the avowed enemy of the revolution, and when the pastors were obliged to choose between the Church and their native land, they began to emigrate to foreign countries. Avignon was declared a constituent part of France (Sept. 14th).

§ 435. *Legislative Assembly and National Convention.* 1791–95.

Grégoire, sur les diffamateurs et persécuteurs dans la rel. Par. S. (1800.) *Carron*, les confesseurs de la foi dans l'égl. gall. à la fin du 18. S. Par. 1820. 4 vols.

The Legislative Assembly decreed that every priest who refused the constitutional oath should be excluded from the churches and deprived of his salary. Those who excited the people to resistance were declared subject to banishment or imprisonment. The king refused to ratify these decrees as long as it was in his power to do so, and priests who had not taken the oath officiated in his chapel. Under the National Convention, when France was betrayed by priests and barons into the hands of foreigners, and involved in all the horrors of a civil war, when in this contest every venerable usage was annihilated, when the sacrament of royalty was desecrated, and the supreme power was exercised by a Parisian mob, Christianity itself was regarded as a mere usage hostile to liberty, and the doctrines of the French philosophy were embraced and reduced to practice by the populace in its own way. In the mean time, some noble-minded persons like the Girondists and Charlotte Corday, found their ideals only in the virtues of the ancient Romans. A new mode of reckoning time was introduced (Oct. 6th, 1793), all Christian manners and morals were abolished by actual legislation, marriage was treated merely as a civil contract, liable to dissolution on notice by one of the parties, all ecclesiastical utensils were sold as national property, and an idolatrous worship of reason was solemnized, in which venal prostitutes were the priestesses and goddesses. *Gobet*, Bishop of Paris, appeared with his priests before the bar of the Convention (Nov. 7th), to declare that their previous lives had been a deception. The existence of God was publicly denied, his vengeance was boldly challenged, and above the cemeteries the inscription was raised, "Death is an eternal sleep." At last, *Robespierre*, true even in this to his character, and believing that nothing could supply the place of the religious feeling in the hearts of the people as a safeguard for all civil virtues, induced the Convention to declare that the French nation recognized the existence of a Supreme Being, whose highest worship consisted in the faithful performance of relative duties, and the immortality

b) (*Hulot*) Col. Brevium et Instrr. Pii VI. ad praes. Gall. ecc. calamitates. Aug. 1796 2 vols.

of the soul. In honor of this Supreme Being an absurd national festival was celebrated (July 8th, 1794). After the subversion of the reign of terror, liberty for the exercise of all kinds of religion was restored (Feb. 21st, 1795), with a view to favor Christianity, which had never been wholly suppressed among the people, especially in the southern provinces of France.

§ 436. *The Theophilanthropists.* 1796–1802.

Manuel des Théoph. Par. 1797. Année religieuse des Théoph. (Recueil des discours.) Par. 1797. *Grégoire*, Gesch. d. Theoph. übers. v. Stäudlin in s. Mag. vol. IV. p. 257ss. and Hann. 1806. [Hist. des Sectes rel. Par. 1828. 6 vols. 8. *J. Evans*, Sketch of Chr. Denom. with an Outline of Atheism, Theophil. &c. 15th ed. Lond. Amherst. 1832. 12.]

As the state was indifferent to all forms of religion, and the Republican Directory was afraid of the Christianity which prevailed in the Church, the increasing consciousness of the necessity of some religion led many to adopt a form of worship adapted to a natural religion. This was gradually introduced into ten churches of Paris, and became extended into most of the provinces. God, immortality, morality, and the ever-changing life of nature, were the objects of this system, which, as it was never sustained by any vigorous religious character, was soon found unable to cope with either the Christianity or the spirit of indifference which existed in society. Hence, after a brief period of success, when the First Consul declared that this mode of worship could no longer be tolerated in the churches belonging to the nation, it was ridiculed by the public and entirely discontinued.

§ 437. *The Roman Republic. Cont. from* § 433.

Every kind of influence had been brought into requisition by Pius VI., to foster by religious fanaticism the flame of civil war in France. *Buonaparte*, who had become master of Italy by the complete destruction of the Austrian army, demanded that the pope should annul all his decrees against France. When the latter refused, and ventured to make preparations for resistance, the French republican general threw himself upon the States of the Church. At *Tolentino* (Feb. 19, 1797), a treaty of peace was obtained at the expense of all the possessions of the Roman court in France, of its legations in Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, of thirty millions of francs, and of an immense selection from the Roman treasures of art. A republican form of government was bestowed upon Lombardy. Even in Rome a party was formed in favor of a republic. When a popular insurrection with this object in view took place in the city, and a French general had been killed in the fray, *Berthier* was sent into the states of the Church to obtain satisfaction from the government. Under the protection of his arms a Roman republic was formed, and the pope was informed that his civil authority was at an end (Feb., 1798). The sympathy generally expressed for the misfortunes of the citizen pope made him an object of suspicion, and led to his removal from Rome. Finally this mild and devout pontiff died a French prisoner at Valence (Aug. 29th, 1799).*

* *Baldassari*, Hist. de l'enlèvement et de la captivite de Pie VI., trad. de l'Italien p. *de Lacouture*, Par. 1840. A. d. Fr. v. *X. Steck*, Tüb. 1844.

III. The Era of Napoleon.

§ 438. *Pius VII. and the Re establishment of the Gallican Church.*

Storia di Pio VII. (with orig. docc.) Ven. 1815. 2 vols. *Simon*, Vie polit. et privée de Pie VII. Par. 1823. *Guadet*, Esquisses hist. et polit. sur Pie VII. Par. 1824. *Jäger*, Leb. P. VII. m. Urk. Frkf. 1824. *Artaud de Montor*, H. de Pape P. VII. Par. 1836. 2 vols. ed. 3. Par. 1839. 3 vols.— (*Caprara*) Concordat entre le Gouvernement franç. et le Pape. Par. 1802. Cologne. 1802. *Reinhard*, neue Organis. d. Rel. Wes. in Fr. Col. 1802. *Barruel*, du Pape et de ses droits rel. à l'occas. du Concord. Par. 1803. 2 vols.

Pius VII. (Chiaramonti) was elected pope at Venice (March 14, 1800), under the protection of Austria. By his apparent concession to the revolution (*a*) while he was Bishop of Imola, he had shown himself a man of a crafty and obstinate spirit. Under the armed escort of the allied powers he was brought to Rome (July 3d), where he was by the treaty of Luneville put in possession of the States of the Church, but without the legations (1801). He now turned his attention to the work of healing the wounds inflicted by the revolution. *Napoleon* was at that time convinced that the true end of all his victories was to secure the liberties of the country by the establishment of order, and to frustrate the conspiracies formed against them in Europe by extending them throughout the continent by wars of conquest. Though personally perhaps indifferent toward all churches, he saw that it was indispensable to the tranquillity of the country that Catholicism should be re-established as the religion of the state. For the revolution had distinctly shown, that even after a nation has broken all bonds, it cannot exist without a God; and from the sea of blood into which the innocent and the guilty had alike been plunged, the recollection of the Church of their fathers emerged like the dawn of a brighter day. Hence, when the aims of the future emperor were not satisfied at a national synod at Paris, of those bishops who had taken the oath, a *Concordat* was agreed upon (July 15, 1801), after mutual concessions, with the papal minister *Consalvi*. Its stipulations were: Catholicism is the religion of the majority of the French nation; the property of the Church shall not be restored, but the state undertakes to sustain the Church by a suitable and ample provision; all priests who have taken the constitutional oath, as well as those who have emigrated, shall resign their offices, but be eligible for a re-election; a division of dioceses, conformed indeed to the political departments, but having reference to the old bishop's sees, shall be made; the first consul shall appoint the archbishops and fifty bishops in France, but the pope alone shall have the power of bestowing upon them a canonical confirmation; the pastors shall be appointed by the bishops; the first consul shall possess the same prerogatives as were possessed by the former government; and the pope shall be the temporal sovereign of the Ecclesiastical States, and the head of the Church. In addition to these stipulations, Napoleon enacted by organic laws: the proclamation of papal decrees depends upon the discretion of the government; there shall always be an opportunity for an appeal to the council of state against the abuses of ecclesiastical power; the teachers in the seminaries

a) Homélie du citoyen Card. *Chiaramonti*, 1797, trad. de l'Ital. par *Grégoire*. Par. (1814.) 1818.

shall be bound by the four propositions of the Gallican clergy; and marriage ceremonies shall be performed by the priests only after a previous act of the civil authorities. The introduction of the Concordat was solemnized on the Easter festival of 1802. The Democrats and the old companions in arms of the first consul ridiculed the new capucinade. But even while the work of destruction had been going on, *St. Martin* (d. 1804) had borne witness to the mysteries of the human heart, and its aspirations after a God, who could alleviate the disorders of the head, even after Christ had healed the distress of the heart of our race. He however labored only for certain initiated persons, leaving the Church to an inferior kind of prescriptions. (*b*) *Chateaubriand* (d. 1848), in the midst of the sorrows of the revolution, had found the Christianity which he had previously lost, and with many tears he now believed. In the primitive American forests, under the Grecian sky, and at the holy sepulchre, he extolled the beauties of Christianity, and what it had accomplished for humanity. His inner life continued subject to the alternations of doubt and faith, and the faith which he possessed was always artificially excited, and tricked out with the tinsel of a worldly vanity; but even amid the ruins of the temples, his Genius of Christianity appears as a long-forgotten spiritual reality, and a new glorification of an awakening as well as a witnessing Catholicism. (*c*) Even Napoleon perceived that the imperial crown he was placing upon a head already crowned by fame, would be more firmly fixed were it consecrated by the pope, and accordingly he became one of the Lord's anointed (Dec. 2d, 1804). The Catechism designed for the youth of France, (*d*) enumerated devotion to the emperor among the divine commandments, and it was in fact the religion of young France.

§ 439. *Dispute between the Emperor and the Pope.*

S. Schoell, Recueil des pièces officielles. Par. 1815. Pièces hist. relatives à Pie VII. Par. 1814. (Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. II. p. 172. 403ss.) Correspondance de la cour de Rome avec la France. Par. 1814. *Beauchamp*, H. des malheurs de Pie VII. Par. 1814. Rélation auth. de l'enlèvement du P. Pie VII. de l'Ital. p. *Lemierre d'Argy*, Par. 1814. Memorie del Card. *Pacca*, Orvieto. 1828. ed. 3. 1833. 1-3 vols. [Notes on the Ministry of Card. *B. Pacca*, Sec. of State to P. VII. Dubl. 1843. 8.]

It was in vain that the pope demanded, as the price of his obedience, that the Church in France should be entirely under his control, and complained of the violation of the Concordat by the organic laws, and of the infringement of the canonical laws by the Code Napoleon. That he might cope with the superior power of France, he formed a league with the enemies of the emperor, and prevented the union of all Italy for common measures against Austria and England. This induced the emperor to send troops to take possession of the

b) Des erreurs et de la vérité. 1775. Edinb. 1782. 2 vols. L'homme de désir. Lyon. 1790. Ecce homo. Par 1792. Lps. 1819. De l'esprit des choses. Par. 1800. 2 vols. Oeuvres posthumes. Tours. 1807. 2 vols. comp. *Varnhagen*, Denkw. Lps. 1840. vol. V. p. 125. 191ss.

c) Atala ou les amours de deux sauvages. Par. X. (1801.) Le Génie du Christianisme ou beautés de la rel. chr. Par. 1802. 5 vols. Les martyrs. Par. 1809. 3 vols. Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusal. Par. 1811. 3 vols. Oeuvres. Par. 1830. 22 vols. Mémoires d'outre-tombe. Par. 1848. (Berl. 1848ss.) 12 vols. [The Gen. of Chr., The Martyrs, The Itinerary to Jerus., Congress of Verona, his Memoirs by himself, Sketches of Eng. Lit. and various other works of C. have been transl. into Engl. and publ. in Lond. 1846-50. His Recollections of Italy, Engl. and Amer. were transl. and publ. Philad. 1816. 8.]

d) Catéch. à l'usage de toutes les égl. de l'empire. Par. 1806.

states of the Church (Feb., 1808), and after many acts of violence to declare that the donations of his predecessor, the Emperor Charles, were then revoked on account of the abuse which had been made of them (May 17th, 1809). He however allowed the pope, as the supreme head of the Catholic Church, to have possession of all domains belonging to the Roman Curia, of a palace in Paris, and of two millions of yearly revenues. Pius VII. rejected every offer of a salary as an insult, depended for his support entirely upon the alms of the faithful, and declared every one who laid his hand upon the patrimony of St. Peter, excommunicated from the Church. He was then arrested (July 6th), taken to Savona, where he opposed to the prayers as well as the threats of the emperor an inflexible resignation, which could do nothing while he was not at liberty, and while deprived of the counsel of his cardinals. He also refused to confirm those who had been appointed bishops. In connection with the Cardinal *Maury*, then Archbishop of Paris, who thought an honest reconciliation of the Church with him into whose hand God seemed to have given the world was absolutely indispensable, (*a*) Napoleon now attempted, by means of a synod at Paris (1811), to render the imperial Church independent of the pope. The bishops, however, perceived that their own protection against the arbitrary power of the emperor was to be found in the obstinacy which the pope then maintained, and the synod was therefore dissolved. (*b*) As far as the sovereignty of France extended in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, most of the convents, together with the inquisition, were abolished, the property of the Church was confiscated, and the liberal form of the Gallican Church was introduced. It was for this reason that the Spanish clergy placed themselves at the head of the national movement in which the first resistance was made against the emperor, and that they might gain their point, they took part with the advocates of a liberal Constitution, and with England. The same reason induced Cardinal *Ruffo* (d. 1827), among the southern peaks of the Apennines, to bestow his blessing upon the arms of the robbers. After his misfortunes in Russia, Napoleon was obliged once more to pay some deference to public opinion. He then gained the heart of the pope, and concluded (Jan. 25th, 1813) a Concordat at *Fontainebleau*, by which the investiture of bishops was made no longer dependent on the arbitrary papal will, and in which nothing was said of the temporal government of the pope. It was not long, however, before the heart of the holy Father was seized by a paroxysm of deep despondency on account of this surrender of his last weapon, and following the counsel of the liberated cardinals, he revoked all that he had done. On the very next day (March 25th), the emperor published the Concordat as a law of the empire. But the nationalities which had been destroyed by him now rose up against him, and this military prince began to totter from his eminence. Then it was that he concluded to liberate the pope, and restore to him the possession of the states of the Church.

a) From the Life of Maur. by his Nephew. (Stud. u. Krit. 1831. P. 3. p. 663ss.)

b) *Melchers*, Nationalconc. zu Paris m. Actenst. Munich. 1814.

§ 440. *Overthrow of the German Ecclesiastical Constitution.*

Martens, Recueil des princ. traités, vol. VII. p. 538ss. Suppl. vol. III. p. 243ss. Reichsdeputations-Hauptschl. ed. by *Zimmerer*, Ratisb. 1804. 4. *Gaspari*, d. K. D. Recess m. Erläutr. Hmb. 1803. 2 vols.—*Hard*, Deutschl. nst. Staats- u. K. Veränder. Brl. 1804. *Planck*, Betr. ü. d. nst. Verändr. d. kath. K. Hann. 1808. (*Paulus*) Beitrr. z. Gesch. d. kath. K. im 19. Jahrh. Heidelb. (1818.) 1823. *Kopp*, d. kath. K. im 19. Jhh. Mayence, 1830.

The ecclesiastical Electorates, which had been places of rendezvous for the emigrants, and for all who wished to devise intrigues against France, were swallowed up in the republic, and by the Peace of Luneville (1801) the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France. The secular princes, who were losers by this arrangement, or who for other reasons had found favor at Paris, were indemnified by the gift of territories belonging to the Church. To accomplish this, the ecclesiastical principalities and charitable foundations were secularized by a recess of the imperial deputies (1803). *Dalberg*, the electoral arch-chancellor, who enjoyed the esteem of the conqueror for his pliancy, of the German people for his goodness of heart, and of artists and learned men for his sympathy with them in their studies, and his freedom from all petty considerations, was the only one who maintained his elevated ecclesiastical and political position; and in his episcopal see at Ratisbon, to which the metropolitan rights of Mentz had been transferred (1805), he endeavored to reconcile the Church with the spirit of the new age. After the papacy had been secularized, Napoleon declared (1810) (*a*) that the principality belonging to it possessed only a secular and personal character. Although the nobility were more affected by the loss than Catholicism, yet the Church was in these various ways obliged to expiate the offences of the empire. It was however obvious that the ecclesiastical constitution was dissolved. The dioceses had been dismembered, the chapters and convents had been abolished, the ecclesiastical princes of the empire had even thrown away the crosier, Protestant princes claiming to be the heirs of the bishops had usurped the right of patronage, bishops were not appointed to vacant offices, nor were the dioceses re-organized, and finally, with the quiet subversion of the holy Roman empire, there were no more securities for the laws of the empire. In this way the ecclesiastical constitution was completely terminated. Even in Bavaria (since 1799), the spirit of Illuminism destroyed the monasteries, and induced the government to issue enactments against every thing it regarded as superstition. (*b*) In consequence of the extravagant claims set up by each party, all negotiations between the princes of Southern Germany and the Roman court, which always insisted that heretical princes, instead of gaining ecclesiastical property, should lose their own, (*c*) were utterly fruitless, and provisional ecclesiastical governments were formed according to the spirit of the civil authorities.

a) (*Dalberg*) De la paix de l'église dans les états de la confédération rhénane. Frcf. 1810. Ratisb. 1810. *A. Krämer*, Karl Theod. Dalb. Lps. 1821. Dalberg. Die letzten Lebenstage e. deutschen Bischofs, by *H. M. E.* Carlsr. 1846. Liter Nachlass d. Frau v. Wolzogen. vol. II. p. 66s.

b) *Henke's* Rel. Ann. vol. I. p. 127. II, 201ss. A. Z. 1803. N. 253, 1804. N. 151.

c) Instructions to the Nuntius, in Vienna, in *Paulus*, Beitrr. 1823. p. 37.

CHAP. IV.—THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL CHURCH UNTIL 1814.

§ 441. *The Age of Enlightenment. Cont. from* § 416, 430.

(*G. U. Brastberger*, Erzähl. u. Beurth. d. Veränder. d. Lehrbeg. d. Prot. in Deutschl. Hal. 1790. **J. A. H. Tittmann**, pragm. Gesch. d. chr. R. u. Th. in d. prot. K. 2 Hälfte des 18. Jahrh. Brsl. 1805. (New Title) Lps. 1824. only 1 vol. *Gieseler*, Rückbl. a. d. kirchl. u. th. Richt. u. Entw. d. letzten 50 J. Gött. 1837. *Thaluck*, Abriss e. Gesch. d. Umwälzung s. 1750. a. d. Gebiete d. Th. in Deutschl. (Verm. Schrr. Hal. 1839. vol. II.) [*Hagenbach* (§ 416.) vol. I. Vorless. 11–17. vol. II, 1–9.]

The same spirit which was in other places breaking loose from all restraints, attempted in Germany to overthrow Christianity. The Wolfenbüttel *Fragments*, originally composed by *Reimarus* (d. 1768) for himself and a few friends in a town zealous for ancestral usages, and edited by Lessing, contended with much intellectual acuteness against the habit of decrying reason which prevailed in the pulpit, and against the possibility of a revelation which should possess sufficient evidence to render it worthy of universal confidence, and represented the undertaking of Jesus as an unsuccessful attempt at an insurrection which finally gained credit by a pretended resurrection. (*a*) Among other decisive conclusions respecting Christianity, *Mauvillon* put forth one in which not only its divine origin, but even the moral principles of the gospel were assailed. (*b*) *Bahrdt* (1741–92), always clever and light-minded not only in his scientific pursuits but in his daily life, having gradually broken loose from the restraints of the ecclesiastical creed, endeavored by strange fancies sometimes to destroy the Scriptural history, and sometimes to make it harmonize with the views and sentimentality of the age by representing Socrates, Jesus, Semler, and himself, as equally the instruments of divine providence. (*c*) He addressed himself to the common people; others endeavored to move the middle classes of society; the higher classes had imbibed the same spirit in a more ingenious form from France; while those who were intellectually of a still higher order, though they looked from a position of an entirely secular character, regarded the efforts of these modern Titans with derision and mockeries. This merely destructive school was not overcome by the numerous replies its productions called forth, nor by the petty persecution to which its adherents were subjected, but by the free development of German theology. German literature, with some respect for the blessings of Christianity and what were called the dreams of its youthful days, prosecuted the discovery that the doctrine of the Church was perhaps different in important respects from that of primitive Christianity, and indulged the expectation that when theology should be properly developed,

a) [*K. Hase,*] Leben Jesu. p. 31. (Zür. Gesch. u. Lit. a. d. Schätzen d. Wolf. Bibl. Beitr. 3. 4. Wolfenb. 1777.) Fragm. d. Wolf. Ungenannten, hrsg. v. Lessing, 4 ed. Brl. 1835. Selection of all important papers from the Hamburg MSS.: Apologie o. Schutzsch. für die Vernünft. Verehrer Gottes v. H. S. Reim. ed. by *W. Klose.* (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. H. 4. 1851. H. 4. 1852. H. 3.)

b) Das einzig wahre System d. chr. Rel. Brl. 1787.

c) [*K. Hase,*] Leben Jesu. p. 31. *K. F. Bahrdt*, Glaubensbek. Hal. 1779. K. u. Ketzer-Almanach for 1781. Häresiopel. Gesch. s. Lebens, by himself. Brl. 1790s. 4 vols. Mit Berichtgg. v. *Volland*, Jen. 1791. ü. *Lauckhard*, Hal. 1761. Briefe anges. Gelehrten, Staatsmänner u. a. an den berühmten Märtyrer Bahrdt. Lps. 1791. 5 vols.

it would be consistent with the dictates of a mature reason. *Michaelis* (1719–91), from the Orphan house, with some assistance from England, presented an historical estimate of the original text of the sacred Scriptures, and interpreted the Old Testament by oriental illustrations, and the Mosaic laws by the principles of Montesquieu. His diffuse and easy style was very agreeable to the Germans; in his best days he had the reputation of being an innovator, though when an old man he was considerably behind his age, and he himself, without moral courage, assures us that he always conformed his instructions to the doctrines of the Church. (*d*) *Ernesti* (1707–81) applied the results of classical philology to the settlement of more precise rules for the interpretation of the Scriptures, to which he once more conducted the creed of the Church. (*e*) *Semler* (1725–91), who had by extreme diligence advanced from the pietistic and contracted spirit of his youth, when he exhibited neither fancy nor genius, to a maturity in which he displayed immense treasures of an independent, but irregular and undigested knowledge, presented various examples fortified by all the weight of the original historical documents, of the misunderstandings, the delusions, and violence in which he thought the doctrines of the Church in many instances had originated. In his estimation, the Bible was full of many minor ideas peculiar to the places in which it was written, and he seemed to think it was proper to admit any doctrine into it which might serve to improve the morals of men. He never imagined that he was doing any thing calculated to produce a revolution, and he was pervaded by the pious feelings which formed the habit of his youth. Hence, when the very system for which he had contended and suffered became triumphant (1779), and he saw how far beyond all bounds it was carried by Bahrdt, he was alarmed at his own course, and came into conflict with the very spirit of the age which he had done so much to produce. For in his subsequent works he maintained that in public the doctrines of the Church were to be absolutely upheld, although in private each one was to be allowed full freedom in his religious views. (*f*) *Frederic II.*, the German hero with a French education, who would have nothing to do with the Christian faith, although he was not without some regard for Christian morality, for the strength of religious feelings, for Protestantism as the religion of his country, and for every individual of ability in the Church, despised every thing like priestcraft, gave all the influence of his great name to those who were opposing the doctrines of the Church, and allowed every one full liberty to be saved after his own *façon*. (*g*) The General German

d) *Eichhorn*, J. D. Mich. (Allg. Bibl. d. bibl. Lit. 1799. v. III. p. 827ss.) Lebensbeschr. von ihm selbst m. Anm. v. *Hassenkamp*, Rint. & L. 1793. [Introd. to the N. T. from the Germ. of J. D. Mich. by *Marsh*, Lond. 1818. 6 vols. Comment. on the Laws of Moses, transl. from the Germ. of J. D. Mich. by *Smith*, Lond. 4 vols. 8. *Eichhorn's* Life and Writings of J. D. M. has been transl. Edinb. 1835. 18.]

e) *A. Teller*, Ern. Verdienste um Th. u. Rel. Lps. 1783. *Semler*, Zus. zu Teller. Hal. 1783. *J. v. Vorst*, Or. de Ern. optimo post Grotium duce interpretum N. T. Lugd. B. 1804. 4. [*Ernesti*, Elements of Interp. transl., with Notes and App. by M. Stuart, Andover, 1827. 12.]

f) Lebensbeschr. von ihm selbst. Hal. 1781s. 2 vols. *Niemeyer*, S. letzte Aeusserungen. Hal. 1791. *Eichhorn*. Semler (Allg. Bibl. 1793. vol. V.)

g) *Preuss*, Fr. d. G. Brl. 1832ss. 5 vols. *F. v. Raumer:* Fr. II. u. s. Zeit. (Beitrr. z. neu Gesch. Lps. 1836. v. II.) Reden z. Gedächtnissf. Fr. II. Lps. 1843. & 1847. *J. C. Johannsen*, Fr. d. G. Rel. u. Toler. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1849. H. 1.) [*E. Moriarty*, H. of Fr. Theol. Lond. & Philad.

Library, which under *Nicolai*, during the first ten years of its publication (after 1765), exercised an absolute sway as a tribunal of literature, always exerted its secret influence in opposition to the ancient system of faith, (*h*) and rejected every thing which exceeded the limits of its own bald intelligence and morality, on the ground of a liability either to the reproach of superstition or the suspicion of Jesuitism. (*i*) It professed to regard Christianity only as an historical development of natural morality and religion, and a popular system of instruction in the best way to become happy in this world and the next. In consequence of the power possessed by the opposition among the influential classes, and its continued adherence to the general basis of Christianity, it would neither be discarded as a heresy, nor attempt to set up a peculiar Church of its own, but on the principles of Protestantism it was looked upon as simply one among many theological views, and as heterodoxy by the side of orthodoxy. Besides, the sacred Scriptures were upheld by it in opposition to the fallible doctrine of the Church, although the development of the experimental sciences made many doubt whether the whole of the sacred text could be the immediate word of God. Enlightenment, by which was meant an elevation above the childish prejudices of education by a courage which induces one to rely upon his own understanding, now became the watchword of the age, (*k*) and Germany once more saw its sanctuary of faith torn down by the hands of its own priests.

§ 442. *Christian Reaction. Prussian Religious Edict.*

Societies were now established for the maintenance of the ancient faith, by publications, by schools for the education of the young, and by fraternal admonitions. One of these was formed at Stockholm, 1771; another at the Hague, 1785; and a very extensive German society for the diffusion of Christianity was started by *Urlsperger* (after 1779), with its principal seat at Basle, and without regard to differences of creed, including all who acknowledged Jesus as their God and Saviour. (*a*) The Suabian prelate Oetinger (1702–82), whose mind was inclined to every thing mysterious and fanciful, and yet was always practical and fond of general principles, was unwearied in turning the attention of the people of Berlin to that of which they knew nothing, and proclaimed the mysteries of God as a sacred philosophy, in which all material things were pervaded by spirit. (*b*) Those, however, who contended against the innovations in an intelligent manner, were themselves affected by the general literature of the day, and forsook many fundamental principles of the old Protestantism. Individual instances of persecution were

2 vols. *Campbell's* Life, &c. of Fr. the Gr. Lond. 4 vols. 8. 2 vols. p. 8. *Lord Dover*, Life, &c. of Fr. the Gr. Lond. 2 vols. 8. *D. Thiebault*, Orig. Anecdd. of Fr. the Gr. from the French. Philad. 1806. 2 vols. 8.]

h) Briefe an Joh. Mueller. ed. by *Maurer-Constant*. Schaffh. 1840. vol. IV. p. 188s. esp. 23.

i) *F. Nic.* Ueber meine Gelehrte Bildung. Brl. 1799. *J. G. Fichte*, Nic. Leben u. sonderb. Meinungen. Tüb. 1801. *Gockingk*, Nic. Leben u. lit. Nachlass. Brl. 1820.

k) *Kant.* Was ist Aufklärung? (Berl. Monatschr. 1784. Dec.)

a) *J. A. Urlsp.* Beschaffenh. u. Zwecke e. zu errichtenden deutschen Gesellsch. thätiger Beförd. reiner Lehre u. Gottselligk. Bas. 1781.

b) Bibl. Wörterbuch. (1776.) ed. with Explan. by *Hamberger*, Stuttg. 1849. Autobiog. ed. the same Stuttg. 1845. *K. A. Auberlin*, d. Theosophie Oet. with Praef. by *R. Rothe*, Tüb. 1848.

not indeed wanting, and the legal censorship and the public prosecutor were sometimes appealed to; but generally instead of a resort to the civil or the ecclesiastical sword, the most timid intrigues were carried forward, and the people were indifferent to the whole matter. An attempt to suppress the new freedom of instruction at the University of Jena (1794) was quietly suppressed by *Charles Augustus*. (*c*) The most decided hostility was displayed in the very place where the professed enlightenment originally found a home. *Frederic William II.*, painfully impressed with a sense of the position of his illustrious ancestor with respect to the Church, and himself under the influence of a faction, was anxious to aid what he regarded as the cause of Christianity, and published, by the advice of his ecclesiastical minister *Woellner*, a religious edict (July 9, 1778), which, for the protection of the congregations, threatened every clergyman with deposition, and even with severer punishments according to circumstances, who should presume to teach any thing inconsistent with the symbols of the Church to which he belonged. (*d*) The execution of this edict was to be secured by a national catechism, and a commission for examination (1791) under the immediate direction of Woellner. (*e*) But even the law passed at the same time for the censorship of the press, (*f*) could not prevent such a general expression of disapprobation, (*g*) that Woellner, to escape the reproach of having established a Protestant inquisition, only ventured on the execution of the edict by way of experiment, since he called in the high authority of the chancery to aid him against the opposition of the superior consistory. The decision in an individual case was to settle the validity of the threatened rule for all others. The supreme court was directed by an order of the cabinet (1791) to inquire whether Schulz, a preacher of Gielsdorf, (*f*) who had assailed the fundamental truths of Christianity, (*h*) and in accordance with the new fashion of the times wore a queue, was to be regarded as an evangelical preacher? Although many influences were brought to bear upon the court, and it was threatened in various ways, it refused to act inconsistently with its long-established reputation, and decided that the Christian conduct of this preacher, and the love which his respectable congregation exhibited toward him, would not warrant his removal from them. As the accused was however deposed, and an order was issued by the cabinet directing that those members of the court who gave the obnoxious votes should be punished, the general dissatisfaction was much increased. (*i*) It had now become evident, on the one hand, that the Church was established on no legal basis, and was dependent on the arbitrary caprice of a minister; and on the other, that no external force was sufficient to repress the intellectual power of this development. When *Frederic William III.* ascended the throne (1797), the edict lost all the power it ever

c) (*Röhr*) Wie Karl August sich bei Verketzerrungsversuchen gegen akad. Lehrer benahm. Hann. 1830.

d) Acten z. nst. KGesch. vol. I. p. 461ss. Das preuss. R. Edict. Eine Gesch. a. d. 18. Jahrh. für d. 19. Lps. 1842.

e) (*Wald*) Ann. d. Pr. Rel. Wes. 1796. vol. I. St. 4. *f*) Acten z. nst. KGesch. vol. II. p. 154ss.

g) *Henke*, Beurth. aller Schriften welche durch das pr. R. Edict. veranlasst sind. Kiel, 1793.

h) Erweis d. himmelweiten Unterschieds d. Moral u. d. Rel. v. e. unerschrockenen Wahrheitsfreunde. Frkf. 1788.

i) *Henke*, Arch. vol. I. Qu. 2. p. 84ss. *Vater*, Anbau, vol. I. p. 237ss.

possessed, and it was proclaimed by this pious king, that as religion was exclusively an affair of the heart, it needed no compulsory enactments, and that with reason and philosophy for its inseparable companions, he could not doubt that it would by its unaided energies maintain its existence in the nation. (*k*)

§ 443. *Revolution in German Literature.*

The affectionate reverence with which *Gellert* (1715–69) was surrounded, notwithstanding the contracted and sickly spirit he possessed, showed that the simple utterance of a pure Christian heart found much that was congenial in the minds of others. The admiration also with which the first cantos of the *Messias* were received (1748), could never have been awakened if there had not been a general confidence in an incarnate God, who had given himself a sacrifice for man. At the same time, however, in which this theological revolution took place, the intellect of the German people became much elevated. No longer unmindful of its former glory, nor devoting itself to the pursuit of monstrosities and miserable imitations, its full and profound spirit now awoke to a consciousness of its powers, and began to form a polished national literature, by means of which the nation once more assumed an important position in the history of the world. (*a*) Among the leaders in this intellectual movement were some who stood foremost in the theological world. *Lessing* (1729–81), who never aspired to the character of a theologian, but only to that of an amateur in theology, with powerful native talent and character, threatened to overthrow the formal principles of the old Protestantism, by proving that Christianity rested not upon the Bible, but upon the internal experience of men. Although he entertained a profound respect for the religion of the people, and the serious earnestness of genuine orthodoxy, he annihilated the pretensions of the Lutheran pastorate by the most terrible weapons of thought and learning. (*b*) He was unwilling to accept of a religion on the veracity and faith of others, and by his Nathan he persuaded the whole nation to elevate itself, as he had done, above all regard for historical traditions. *Herder* (1744 1803), as long as he was in advance of his age, and after a season of prophetic youthful extravagance, became animated with the same enthusiasm for the Scriptures which he had felt for Homer and Ossian, and having redeemed the gospel of humanity from the dogmas of the schools, he announced and gave a personal representation of it among his fellow-men. (*c*) And yet this triumphant literature was merely a glorification of the world, and in its most ardent efforts after ideal excellence had no very definite relation to Christianity. From holding

k) A. K. Z. 1827. N. 25.

a) *H. Gelzer*, d. deutsche poet. Lit. s. Klopst. Nach ihren ethischen u. rel. Gesichtspunkten. Lps. 1841. Comp. Gervinus and Vilmar.

b) Eine Parabel nebst e. kleinen Bitte u. eventualen Absagungsschreiben. Anti-Goeze. 1778. and oth. in the 10 and 11 v. of Lessing's Schrr. ed. by *Lachmann*, Brl. 1839.—*Rohr*, Less. in theol. Beziehung. (Kleine theol. Schrr Schleus. 1841. vol. I.) *Riemäcker*, ü. Less. als Hrsgebr. d. Wolfenb. Fragmm. (Stud. u. Krit. 1844. II. 4.)

c) (Christl. Schrr. Rig. 1794ss. 5 Samml.) Werke z. Rel. u. Th. ed. by *J. G. Mueller*, Tüb. (1805ss. 12 v.) 1827ss. 18 v. *Danz* u. *Gruber*, Characteristik II. Lps. 1805. *M. C. v. Herder*, Erin. an d. Leben H. Tüb. 1820. 2 vols. Weimarisches Herder-Album. Jen. 1845.

a seraphic kind of orthodoxy, *Wieland* suddenly embraced a lax system of freethinking (after 1760), not only in matters of faith, but in those of morals. *Goethe* took some interest as a poet in the various manifestations of the Christian spirit, occasionally he himself assumed a pastoral style of address while defending practical and sincere piety principally against the reckless spirit of the innovators, (*d*) and he abhorred all negative criticism with respect to the original authorities of antiquity; but the idea of any interruption of those natural laws by which the Deity reveals himself to men, was highly repugnant to his feeling of exclusive sympathy with nature, and the decoration of a single bird of Paradise was inconsistent with his views of the multiplicity in which all things appear. For himself, therefore, he never felt the need of such a system as that of Christianity. (*e*) *Schiller* has sometimes used strong language respecting the inconsistency of Christianity with the adoration of an independent Ruler of all things, with which the age had made him acquainted, yet in his mature years he himself postponed the categorical imperative to the religion of free inclination, and perceived the important part which the gospel sustains in the history of the world. His own hopes of the world's salvation, however, were built wholly upon the influence of moral freedom and beauty. (*f*) But by the side of these highly endowed children of the world, the prophets also found a friendly position on account of the kindred spirit of enthusiasm which they seemed to possess. Among these were: *Hamann* (1730–88), a powerful child of nature, and yet one filled with the spirit of the Scriptures, who, with a style as abrupt and fragmentary as was his actual life, poured forth his prophecies against the Babel of the Enlightenment on the Spree; (*g*) *Lavater* (1741–1801), who with a magical versatility of talent ingeniously mingled the earthly and the heavenly; (*h*) in his better days, *Jung-Stilling* (1740–1817), idyllic in his style, powerful in prayer, and credulous with respect to modern miracles; (*i*) and *Claudius* (1743–1815), with his humble and yet humorous sincerity. (*k*)

d) Brief d. Pastors * * an den neuen P. zu * * Zwo bibl. Fragen an e. Landgeistl. in Schwaben. Fragmente.

e) Comp. e. g. Göthes u. Lav. Briefw. ed. by *Hirzel*, Lps. 1833. and Göthe's last letter to Auguste v. Stolberg in the Urania. 1839. [Autobiog. of Goethe, transl. by *P. Godwin*, New York. 1846. 2 vols. 12. Works, transl. into Engl. Lond. 1852. 4 vols. 8.]

f) *R. Binder*, Schiller im Verh. z. Christenth. Stuttg. 1839. 2 vols. Comp. *C. Ullmann* and *G. Schwab*, d. Cultus d. Genius. Hamb. 1840. p. 81ss. Tendency to Christianity: *F. J. Günther*, Sch. Lied. v. d. Glocke. Elbrf. 1853. [Worship of Genius, transl. from the Germ. of C. Ullmann. Lond. 1845. 12. Life of Schiller and Exam. of Works. Lond. 1825. 8. *Carlyle*, Life of S. Lond. and New York. 12.]

g) Werke. ed. by *Rothe*, Brl. 1821ss. 7 vols. and 8 vols. (Nachtr. u. Erläutr.) v. *G. A. Wiener*. Brl. 1842. *Möller*, chr. Bekenntnisse u. Zeugn. v. H. Münst. 1826. *F. Herbst*, Bibl. chr. Denker Lps. 1830. vol. I. *W. Bauer*, de Ham. vita et Scrr. Vrat. 1842.

h) Geheimes Tagebuch. Von e. Beobachter sr. selbst. Lps. 1772ss. 2 vols. Ausgewählte Schrr. ed. by *Orelli*, Zür. 1841s. 6 vols. *F. Herbst*, Bibl. chr. Denker. 1832. vol. II. *Göthe*, a. m. Leben. (Nachgel. W. 1833.) vol. VIII. p. 142ss. *U. Hegner*, Beitrr. z. Kenntniss. Lav. Lps. 1836.

i) (Jugend, Jünglingsj. Wandersch. 1778.) Lebensgesch. new ed. Stuttg. 1835. (vol. I. d. sämmtl. Schrr. ed. by *Grollmann*.) Sendschr. geprüfter Christen an J. St. Carlsr. 1833. *Schwartz*, St. Alter u. Lebensende. Hdlb. 1817. Goethe a. m. Leben. (Werke. 1829. 12.) vol. XXV. p. 245. *Jacobi's* Brr. vol. II. p. 487. [Stilling's "Childhood," "Interesting Tales," and "Pneumatology," have been translated by Jackson. Lond. 4 vols. 12. Autobiogr. New York. 1838. 8.]

k) Sämmtl. W. d. Wandsbecker Bothen. 1774–1812. 7 ed. Hamb. 1844. 8 vols. 16. Comp. Hist. pol. Blätter. 1839. vol. IV. P. 66s.

§ 444. *Reformation of Philosophy in Germany.*

C. M. Michelet, Gesch. d. Phil. v. Kant b. Hegel. Brl. 1837s. 2 vols. *H. M. Chalybæus*, hist. Entw. d. Spec. Phil. v. Kant b. Hegel. Drsd. (1837–39.) 4 ed. 1848. [transl. into Engl. by *A. Edersheim*, Edinb. 1854.] *K. Biedermann*, d. deutsche Phil. v. Kant, b. a. unsre Z. Lps. 1843.

As the mind was acknowledged to be the highest of all powers, the spirit of the age pressed most ardently forward in its efforts to ascertain its nature. In view of all that Wolf and Hume had said, *Kant* (1724–1804) went into a careful investigation of our faculty of understanding, and arrived at the conclusion that we cannot know things in themselves, and things above the reach of the senses, but that the only thing certain in itself is the moral law, which conducts us to a practical faith in God and immortality. He also acknowledged that it is our duty to connect ourselves with Christianity, on the ground that it is a popular school for moral education, and because its sacred books, as well as its received doctrines, are an excellent explanation of the great object of morality. (*a*) *Jacobi* (1743–1819) agreed with Kant respecting the limitations of all knowledge, but he shrunk from the direct, strict way of reason, which that philosopher had marked out, and pointed out in a dilettantic and exalted style the certainty of those religious ideas which are found in the sentient part of man's nature, and which neither have nor need any proof. He was himself profoundly studying a problem which has employed the mind of man as long as it has had an existence, with the heart of a Christian but the understanding of a heathen. (*b*) A theological school was founded by Kant, but as his influence on philosophy consisted principally in the scientific and moral earnestness of the movement commenced by him, some more popular results have been produced in the department of theology, by the combination of the critical philosophy with the philosophy of faith. *Fichte* (1762–1814) showed that the ultimate point toward which the critical religious philosophy tended, was faith in a universal moral government. But as he was not satisfied with the resignation which both Kant and Jacobi required, he conceived of all existence merely as the voluntary creation of the mind. Having been accused of atheism in Electoral Saxony, his self-respect, which identified his own person with the cause of science, led him to use an incautious expression which produced his dismission from his professorship at Jena (1799). It was not, however, the existence of God, but the existence of the world that he denied; and the omnipotence of the *I* in the religion of cheerful virtue, together with his confidence in the approaching end of Christianity which he assumed in all

a) Kritik d. reinen Vernunft. 1781. · Kr. d. prakt. Vft. 1788. Kr. d. Urtheilskr. 1790. Rel. innerh. d. Grenzen d. bl. Vft. Königsb. 1793. and often. Sämmtl. Schrr. ed. by *Rosenkranz*, Lps. 1837ss. 12 vols. *Hartenstein*, Lps. 1838s. 10 vols. *Dietlein*, Bedeut. d. Kant. Phil. für d. neuere Th. (Stud. u. Krit. 1847. H. 4.) [*Kant's* Critick of Pure Reason. Lond. 1838. 8. An Analysis of the C. of P. R. Lond. 1844. 8. Logic with Life, by *Richardson*, Lond. 1836. 8. Metaphysic of Ethics, transl. by *Semple*, Edinb. 1836. 8. Prolegomena to every future Metaphysic. Lond. 1838. 8. and Theory of Rel. transl. by *Semple*, Edinb. 1837. 8. *A. F. M. Willich*, The Critical Phil. of Kant. Lond. 1798. *Wirgmann*, Princc. of the C. Phil. Lond. 1824.]

b) *Hume* ü. d. Glauben. 1787. Von d. göttl. Dingen u. ihrer Offenb. Lps. (1811.) 1822. Werke. Lps. 1812ss. 6 vols. Briefw. Lps. 1825ss. 2 vols. Briefw. zw. Goethe u. Jac. Lps. 1846. *J. Kuhn*, Jac. u. d. Ph. sr. Zeit. Mentz, 1824.

his speculations, became finally transformed into the omnipotence of love. Christianity was recognized by him as the gospel not only of freedom and equality, but of indifference to the world, though he always expressed a special preference for the writings of John. (*c*) His school is of importance in the history of the Church only because it was an important point of progress in philosophy, and because it imparted an heroic strength to the human mind.

§ 445. *Rationalism and Supernaturalism.*

Ständlin, Gesch. d. Rat. u. Supr. Gött. 1826. *E. B. Pusey*, Causes of the late rationalist character of the Theol. in Germany. Lond. 1828ss. 2 vols. *Amand Saintes*, Hist. crit. du rationalisme en Allemagne. Par. (1841.) 1843. m. Anmerk. u. Excursen. v. *C. G. Ficker*, Lps. 1847. [A Crit. Hist. of Rationalism in Germ. from its Origin till now. transl. from the French of Am. Saintes, by *J. R. Beard*, Lond. 1849. 8. Art. in Kitto's Journal of Bibl. Lit. vol. I.]

The theology which now had the ascendency in the German Church, had avoided an open rupture with that which the Church set forth in her creeds, and yet had appropriated to itself all which it thought intelligible and useful in them. A living representation of it was exhibited in the person of the mild and venerable *Spalding* (1714–1804). (*a*) But the original opposition which will always be found to exist between a merely sacerdotal religion and a religion of mature reason, became developed near the commencement of the nineteenth century as the principal subject of controversy in the Christian world, under the scholastic names of *Rationalism* and Supernaturalism. This, instead of being a discussion respecting some peculiar doctrines of religion, referred to the primary principles which lie at its foundation. In general, Rationalism found the supreme law of all religion in the reflecting mind, which it regarded as a natural revelation from God; whereas Supernaturalism found it in a sacred tradition, which was looked upon as a supernatural revelation. The tendency of the age was unquestionably rational, and it was contending for liberty and intelligible ideas in opposition to merely prescriptive usages. But so far as *Rationalism* constituted a distinct school, it maintained the supremacy of a sound common sense, as it was defended by Wolf, Kant, and Jacobi; it appropriated to itself the natural religion and earnest system of morality found in the Scriptures; and it regarded this as all that was essential to Christianity. Every thing else in the Bible it set aside as the various kinds of outward covering which the truth assumed during the process of its birth. The last representatives of this school were: *Paulus* (1761–1851), the influence of whose character as an expounder of the Scriptures, and his conscientious earnestness in the formation of his speculative creed, was precisely the same in various directions as if he had been an avowed freethinker; (*b*) *Wegscheider* (1771–1849), who as a didactic theolo-

c) Vers. e. Kritik aller Offenb. Königsb. (1792.) 1793. Grundl. d. Wissenschaftsl. Weim. 1794. Appell. an d. Publ. ü. die ihm beigemessenen atheist. Aeusser. Jena. 1799. Anw. z. sel. Leben. Brl. 1806. *J. H. Fichte*, J. G. Fichte's Leben u. Briefw. 1830s. 2 vols. *Goethe*, Werke. vol. XXXI. p. 153. *Paulus*, Skizzen. p. 170ss. *J. H. Fichte*, Paulus u. Fichte. (Freihafen. 1840. P. 2.) Paulus im N. Sophron. 1841. vol. I. P. 1. [Fichte's Destination of Man, The Nature of the Scholar, The Vocation of the Scholar, The Way to a Blessed Life, and Characteristics of the Age, have been transl. and publ. with a Memoir of the Author. Lond. 1846ss. 8.]

a) J. J. Sp. Lebensbeschr. v. ihm selbst, ed. by his son. Hal. 1804.

b) Skizzen a. m. Lebensgesch. z. Andenken an mein 50jähr. Jubil. Heidelb. 1839. *K. A. v. Reichlin-Meldegg*, H. E. G. Paulus u. s. Zeit. Stuttg. 1853. 2 vols.

gian, (*c*) together with *Köhr* (1777–1848), a high officer in the Church and a popular author, showed how this style of speculation can be made consistent with an ecclesiastical professorship. (*d*) On the other hand, Supernaturalism abandoned the fundamental principle of the former orthodoxy, but firmly maintained, though with many concessions, that the historical contents of Christianity were a supernatural revelation from God, and employed itself in substituting a biblical for an ecclesiastical orthodoxy. In the department of German literature, the older Tubingen school, which collected together out of various authors the mildest views respecting the writings transmitted by the hands of the Church, (*e*) appeared to be the only support by which the cause of Supernaturalism was preserved from an entire defeat. In the ranks of common life, however, and in churches of other countries, this system was the prevalent mode of communication between ancient and modern times.

§ 446. *The Ecclesiastical Party in Germany.*

Bretschneider. d. Unkirchlichk. dieser Zeit. Goth. (1820.) 1822. A. KZ. 1828. N. 1ss.

At the commencement of the new century, the pious morals and manners of the preceding times had become seriously impaired in consequence of the sudden relaxation of the former system of faith, the unrestrained mode of life which the revolution had produced, and the universal tendency to material or political interests. The religion of the Bible seemed to have no elements in common with the modern views of the world, and the religion of the cross was utterly estranged from the new pleasures and glories of human society. The school, as established by *Basedow* (1723–90), who attempted in a rather awkward manner to realize the plan suggested by Rousseau, (*a*) was inclined to assume the position which properly belonged to the Church, since, instead of contending against an innate tendency to sin, it put confidence in the general goodness of human nature, and instead of instructing its pupils in the Christianity of the Catechism, it educated them as reflecting beings, by agreeable entertainments and by pleasant views of actual life. *Pestalozzi* (1746–1827), on the other hand, devoted himself so thoroughly to his employment, that in receiving him to their affections they also accepted of Christ. (*b*) The Church, indeed, still possessed the confidence and love of the great body of the people; and some were yet firmly attached to ecclesiastical principles, and scattered blessings all around them. The best among many of a similar character were: *Reinhard* (1753–1812), who presided over the Saxon Church, preaching the gospel with a scholastic and precise rhetoric, with many concessions to the new spirit of the day, but with an earnestness worthy of the former times of the Church, doing justice to every order of

c) Institutiones Th. Dogm. Hal. 1815. ed. 8. 1844.

d) Briefe ü. d. Rationalism. Aach. (*Zeitz*) 1813. Krit. Prediger-Bibl. s. 1820.

e) Tub. Zeitsch. unter versch. Titel 1796–40, ed. by Flatt, Süskind, Bengel, Steudel. Comp. Rheinw. Rep. 1833. p. 174. 190. 263. 216ss.

a) (*Meyer*) Bas. Leben u. Charakter. Hamb. 1791.

b) Lienhard u. Gertrud. Zür. (1781.) 1790ss. 3 vols. Buch d. Mutter. Ifert. 1803. [Autobiogr. Scenes of my Life at Bergdorf and Yferdun. Lond. 1830. *E. Biber*, Memoirs of P. and his Plan of Ed. Lond. 1831.]

talent, and moderating every injurious influence from without; (*c*) and *Oberlin* (1740–1826), the pastor of the Steinthal, and a Protestant saint, who showed how much an active, fervent, and simple-hearted man can do, with the divine assistance, for the spiritual and temporal welfare of a congregation. (*d*) But the educated and the half-educated classes turned silently away from God, or at least from Christ; and even those who, like all truly exalted minds, had at least some longings after eternal things, congratulated themselves with the author of the Titan, that they could penetrate much further into the Infinite than could either Peter or Paul. (*e*) Rectitude of external conduct, in connection often with great self-complacency and easy conformity to usage, was now substituted for justification by faith. Many sermons were nothing but moral lectures, or sought for the practical in some region far beyond the province of religion. The lifeless condition of the Church may be seen in the vandalism with which the old hymns were mutilated. (*f*) Many pious persons, as well as freethinkers, were apprehensive that Christianity was about to be subverted.

§ 447. *Small Fanatical Parties.*

A strange mode of divine worship practised by the *Jumpers*, a class of persons who sprung up among the Methodists of Wales (about 1760), now made its appearance, and consisted in a wild leaping upward in honor of the Lamb. This enthusiasm received a regular form from *Anna Lee*, who, in consequence of the oppression she endured in England, emigrated with her adherents to New York. Although her prediction that she should, as the Lamb's wife, give birth to a new Messiah, remained unfulfilled at the time of her death (1782), her followers continued to praise God by chastity, community of goods, and by dances like those of David before the ark of the covenant. These *Shakers* have their principal settlement in a few busy and neat villages near the Hudson, where men and women lodge in the same dwellings, but most strictly separated from each other, with countenances immovable, eyes dull, trusting to immediate inspirations, and as the only true Church waiting for a wonderful development throughout the world. (*a*) *Joanna*

c) Geständnisse s. Predigten u. s. Bildung z. Prediger betr. Sulzb. (1810.) 1811. *K. H. L. Pölitz*, F. V. Reinhard nach s. Leben u. Wirken. Lps. 1818ss. 2 vols.

d) Notice sur Ob. Par. 1826. Strassb. 1826. *H. Schubert*, Züge a. d. Leben Ob. Nürnb. 1826. 6 ed. 1838. *Ibid.* aus d. Nachlasse eines Visionärs. Lps. 1837. Ob. Lebensgesch. u. Gesamm. Schrr. zusammengestellt v. W. Burckhardt, Stuttg. 1843. 4 vols. [Memoirs of J. F. Oberlin. Lond. 1830. *Mark Wilkes*, The Ban de la Roche and its Benefactor, J. F. Ob. Lond. 1820. S. *L. Halsey*, Memoirs of J. F. Ob. Pittsburgh. 1832. 18. *H. Ware*, Mem. of J. F. Ob. Boston. 1838. 12. Artt. in Quart. Rev. 1831. and Eclectic Rev. 1828. in Rel. Mag. 1828. and Littell's Mus. Philad. 1831.]

e) Briefw. zwischen H. Voss u. Jean Paul. Heidelb. 1833. p. 133. 68. [Autobiogr. of *Jean Paul Richter*, from the Germ. Lond. and Boston. 2 vols. 12. *E. Lee*, Life of J. P. R. Boston, 1842. 2 vols. 12. Most of his works are translated.]

f) *Billroth*, Beitr. z. wissensch. Critik d. herrsch. Theol. Lps. 1831. *R. Stier*, die Gesangbuchsnoth. Lps. 1838.

a) *Henke*, Rel. Ann. P. 1. p. 105ss. Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. I. St. 1. *Stäudlin*, Beitr. vol. V. p. 399. Duke *Bernhard*, Reise nach Nord-Am. p. 173ss. Blätter. f. lit. Unterh. 1833. N. 61. Pred. Bibl. 1844. V. 25. P. 5. [*Calvin Green & Seth Y. Wells*, Millennial Church, or View of the Society called Shakers. Albany. 1823. 12. *T. Brown*, Account of the people called Shakers. Troy. 1812. 12. *W. J. Hackett*, Shakerism unmasked, &c. Pittsfield. 1828–12.]

Southcote also promised the people of England that she would give birth to one who was to be the Shiloh of the world, and made it the duty of believers to observe the Jewish law, that they might receive the Messiah in a worthy manner. Although after waiting for a long time she died (1814) in her delusion, and the splendid cradle which had been prepared for the Messiah still remained empty, the *New Israelites* continued till 1831 to observe the Jewish Sabbath, in hope of the future Messiah. (*b*) Among the peasantry of Norway a powerful religious movement was produced by *Nielsen Hauge* (1771–1824), who felt called to be a prophet like the herdman of Tekoa (after 1795). The law of God was the principal theme of his discourses, and he judged of others as well as wished himself to be judged, exclusively by the Scriptures, and the catechism. Community of goods was required only on the principles which he believed to have prevailed in the Apostolic Church, and whatever property was intrusted to his hands he employed in objects of general utility. He became odious to the clergy on account of the suspicions which his conduct threw upon their order, and under a law of 1741 he was severely abused by heavy fines and a long imprisonment for preaching without a license. This law was finally abolished by the Storthing (1842), and the law of 1845 gave full toleration to all Christian sects. A powerful party has sprung up under Hauge's influence, which contends earnestly against the ecclesiastical authorities on account of the laxness they exhibit with respect to the terms of salvation. (*c*) In Sweden the special need of family worship on account of the great extent of the parishes led to the formation, after 1803, of a party, which from its perusal of the Scriptures and Luther's Postills, were called *Læsare*. Their pious zeal was proved by their Lutheran orthodoxy, their rigid morals, and their devotional meetings. A few zealots among them who claimed to be infallible, on account of their possession of the Holy Spirit, and therefore dealt out their curses upon all, and especially upon the clergy who thought differently from themselves, who burned the books of devotion they had previously used because such works were useless to those who had the Bible, and who paid no regard to the edicts of the ecclesiastical authorities were fined according to law, and many of them endeavored (after 1846) to find their Zion in America. (*d*)

§ 448. *Civil Relations of Protestants under Catholic Governments. Cont. from* § 413.

The indifference which generally prevailed on religious subjects had the effect to bring about what the reason of the age demanded. From inclination as well as from policy, *Frederic II.* placed himself at the head of Protestant Germany. As an individual event it was of no great importance that

b) *Niemeyer*, Beob. a. Reisen. Ed. 2. vol. II. p. 93ss. A. K. Z. 1831. N. 67. [*P. Matthias*, J. Southcote's Prophecies and case stated. Lond. 1830. 12.]

c) *Jens Mueller:* Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. II. p. 354ss. Schubert: Ibid. vol. V. p. 237ss. Ev. K. Z. 1831. N. 64. 1834. N. 57. 61. (*E. Sarwey*) Gedanken e. Süddeutschen ü. d. K. Norw. (Stud. u. Krit. 1849. II. 2s.)

d) *Schubert:* Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. IV. p. 624ss. V, 227ss. A. K. Z. 1822. N. 5. 1830. N. 38.—Brl. K. Z. 1846. N. 9s. 1849. N. 4. D. A. Z. 1852. N. 167.

the oppression of their Protestant subjects by the princes of Hohenlohe was prevented by the imperial troops (1750), (*a*) but German Protestantism gained once more by the proud position maintained by Prussia a consciousness of its political power and security. *Joseph II.*, full of philosophical zeal for the general rights of man, gave to the Evangelicals in all his dominions the complete privileges of citizenship, and the freedom of a quiet worship (1781). (*b*) This edict of toleration was not accepted in Tyrol and Hungary. But the Hungarian Diet of 1791 recognized the religious freedom of the Protestants by the restoration of all their former privileges, although the Catholic majority would never allow complete justice to be actually administered in this matter. (*c*) As late as 1762 religious intolerance was still so strong in Toulouse that sentence of death was passed upon the honest John *Calas*. Then it was that Voltaire came forward in defence of murdered innocence, and convinced the French nation that Christianity was not a barbarous religion, but one that enjoined toleration upon all its votaries. (*d*) The Parliament of Toulouse in 1769 recognized the legality of a Protestant marriage, and the civil rights of Protestants were acknowledged in 1787; but the complete equality of the rights of the Protestant with those of the Catholic Church was not fully proclaimed until the revolution. *Napoleon* granted the Protestants a Synodal Constitution (1802), though he subjected it to great limitations and a rigid supervision. When the German empire was broken up, the permanency of the peace of Westphalia became doubtful. But the right of possession, which had been acknowledged for years under it in the individual states, was maintained until the higher privilege of a complete legal equality was received and enforced by Napoleon, especially in favor of the Catholics, as far as the terror of his cannons prevailed. (*e*)

CHAP. V.—THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL CHURCH UNTIL 1853.

§ 449. *Development of Protestantism.*

Gieseler, (p. 537.) *A. Neander*, d. verflossene halbe Jahrh. in s. Verh. d. Gegenw. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1850. N. 1–4.)—(*Hundeshagen*) Der deutsche Protestantismus. Frkf. 1847. 3 ed. 1850.

In times of extreme trouble and great commotion, when the insufficiency of all human aid was evident, the people sought consolation and safety in that which was everlasting. From the retirement of quiet families and sects a love for the Church of former days was openly proclaimed. When the Jubilee of the Reformation was celebrated (1817) the hearts of the people were turned to the faith of their fathers, and Luther was looked upon as something more than a mere hero of freedom. German theology had gone forward to

a) Sammlung der hohenlohischen Rel. gravaminum. Heilbr. 1751.

b) *Helfert*, Rechte u. Verf. d. Akatholiken in Oestr. Vien. 1827.

c) *Tibiscanus*, Rel. Beschwerden d. Prot. in Ung. Lps. 1838. p. 190ss.

d) Mémoire de Donat Calas pour son père. 1762. *Voltaire*, Traite sur la tolérance à l'occas. de la mort de J. Calas. Par. 1763. Brl. 1789. [*Hagenbach* (§ 416) vol. I. Vorles. 2.]

e) *Klüber*, öff. Recht d. deutschen Bundes. Frkf. ed. 2. 1822. p. 849.

express the negative side of Protestantism, with none to obstruct its progress or embitter it by opposition, and it now lost its interest in mere negations. In all departments of intellectual effort a new historical spirit had been awakened, and had drawn the hearts of men to subjects connected with past times. It was therefore not surprising that this spirit should have had an influence upon the common feeling of the Church. The old Protestantism, seizing the weapons of the new age, endeavored once more to win the empire it had too soon given up for lost. While engaged in conflict with it the opposition first exhibited its bitterest earnestness, and like the warrior spirits after the battle of the Huns, they once more entered the deadly strife. Many persons were of course painfully wounded in this contest, and acted inconsistently with their own former course. (*a*) But a fresh feeling of life now pervaded the Church, the poetry of the old Church hymns was appreciated, (*b*) the system of popular schools was carefully formed on a Christian basis, and theology disclosed her most ample treasures, especially in Germany. Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and America participated in these blessings with joyful emulation; but England did so with caution, and even resistance. This progress of the new age, however, could not be arrested; and it was found, therefore, that the established forms of the ecclesiastical creeds which had been for a time abandoned, could not as such be re-established. Hence, as Protestantism was obliged at some time to discover the essential contradiction which existed in its original form, and to develope its nature as the Christianity of freedom, the true ideal of this development was presented in the religious independence whose power was rooted in the Church. But the perfected idea which could not be realized by the age without many a severe conflict and extravagance, was exhibited even then in a few personalities, types of the future, which, though deeply agitated in the struggles of science and piety, stood firmly established in intellectual freedom in the church of their fathers. Thus *Tzschirner* (1778–1828) openly abandoned the precise letter of Luther's theological system, but in the very spirit and honesty of that reformer, conducted the cause of Protestantism, aroused the common sentiments and feelings which had slumbered in the hearts of its friends, and showed in his polished and stately discourses that every thing truly human in the past or present should be considered as having a relation to Christianity. (*c*) In like manner *De Wette* (1780–1849) investigated the Scriptures with an independent spirit, allowed the understanding full liberty in his judgment of the creeds of the Church, and in morality laid great stress on the right of a subjective conviction. He has also pointed out with a judicious spirit the peculiarities of antiquity, and the style of sacred poetry which the received doctrines of the Church must necessarily assume, that they may be accommodated to the ordinary feelings of the Church. He did not fail also to show how real Christianity had proceeded in the form of the practical spirit and life of the

a) *Lützelberger*, d. Gründe d. freiw. Niederl. m. Amtes. Nürnb. 1838.—*Giese*, Bekenntnisse eines Freigewordnen. Altenb. 1846.

b) (C. Grüneisen) Die Gesangbuchsreform. (Stuttg.) 1838.

c) *Pölitz*, Tzsch. Abriss s. Lebens u. Wirkens. Lps. 1828. *J. D. Goldhorn*, Mitth. a. Tzsch. letzter Amts-und Leidensjahren. Lps. 1828.

Church without disturbance, through all the changes of human speculation. (*d*) Above all, *Schleiermacher* (1768–1834) pointed out the various revolutions through which the age had passed, by proving to the self-complacent party of the Enlightenment, to which he was always a match and superior in every thing which they regarded as supreme, that even on their own ground and when every thing untenable had been boldly conceded, a life without God and Christian communion was utterly unsatisfying. Having spent a portion of his early life at Herrnhut, piety toward the Redeemer, even in its peculiar features, was the predominant trait of his character. He was, however, familiar not only with Plato but with Spinoza, and in the full consciousness of his freedom, and with the highest esteem for genuine character wherever he found it, his piety was exercised toward every thing in the universe. It did not, however, assume a Christian character until his own ecclesiastical relations were developed. Hence the fundamental principles of the Reformed Church he drew from the living fountain of universal Christian feeling. This was an experience acquired in a domain inaccessible to philosophy. And yet he never surrendered his rights to exercise his analytical criticism upon those enactments of the Church in which it had gone aside from the truth, and even upon those portions of the sacred Scriptures which he regarded as fallible. Those portions which were addressed to the feelings he held under the most absolute control of the understanding. (*e*)

§ 450. *The Philosophy of the Absolute and its Ramifications.*

In direct opposition to the philosophy of faith Fichte had exalted human knowledge until it took the place of divine. When *Schelling* (b. 1775), starting from this position, had construed nature as if it were a shadowy reflection of the spirit, he became deeply interested in its actual living movements, and as his highly gifted mind was engaged in the contemplation of them, he came

d) Idee ü. d. Studium d. Theol. (1801) ed. by Stieren. Lps. 1850. Com. ü. d. Psalmen. Heidlb 1811. 3 ed. 1829. Lehrb. d. hebr. jud. Archäol. Lps. (1814.) 1830. Ue. Rel. u. Theol. Brl. (1815.) 1821. Einl. in d. A. T. Brl. 1817. 4 ed. 1833. in d. N. T. Brl. 1826. 4 ed. 1842. Theodor. o. d. Zweiflers Weihe. Brl. 1822. 3 ed. 1828. Lehrb. d. Sittenl. Brl. 1833. Die H. S. übersetzt. Hdlb. (1809ss.) 3 ed. 1838ss. 3 v. Exeg. Handb. z. N. T. 1836–48. Das Wesen d. chr. Gl. Bas. 1846.—Actensamml. u. d. Enthlassung d. Prof. de Wette v. theol. Lehramt zu Berlin. Lps. 1820. *F. Lücke*, z. Erin. an de W. (Stud. u. Krit. 1850. H. 3.) [Human Life or Practical Ethics. transl. by *S. Osgood*, Boston, 1842. 2 v. 12. Theodore, or the Skeptic's Conversion. Boston. 1841. 2 v. 12. Introd. to the O. T. tr. & enlarged by *Theod. Parker*. Boston. 1843. 2 v. 8.]

e) (Vertr. Briefe ü. d. Lucinde. 1800. first publ. in the Athenaeum with Vorr. by *Gutzkow*, Hamb. 1835.) Ue. d. Rel. Reden an d. Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern. Brl. 1799. 5 ed. 1843. Monologen. Brl. 1800. 6 ed. 1843. Die Weihnachtsfeier. Brl. 1803. 3 ed. 1837. Ue. d. sogen I Br. an Timoth. Brl. 1807. Darst. d. theol. Studiums. Brl. (1811.) 1830. Der. chr. Glaube. Brl. (1821s.) 1830s. 2 v. Werke s. 1834. in 3 Abth. Briefw. m. J. Gass, ed. by W. Gass, 1852. Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1850. N. 51. Selbstbiogr (in his 26th year) communicated by Lommatzsch. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 1.) —*Baumgarten-Crusius*, ü. Schl. Denkart u. Verdienst. Jen. 1834. Lücke Erin. an Schl. (Stud. u. Krit. 1834. P. 4.) *Schweitzer*, Schl. Eigenthüml. als. Pred. Hal. 1834. *Thiel*, Schl. d. Darst. d. Idee e. sittl. Ganzen anstrebend. Brl. 1835. *F. Delbrück*, Schl. Bonn. 1837. *J. Schaller*, Vorl. ü. Schl. Hal 1844. *G. Weissenborn*, u. Schl. Dial. u. Dogm. Hal. 1847. 2 vols. *Rienäcker*, zu Ehren Schl. (Stud. u. Krit. 1848. H. 1.) [Eng. translations of S. are: Crit. Essay on Luke by *C. Thirlwall*, Lond. 1825. 8. Introd. to Plato's Diall. by *Dodson*, Lond. 1827. 8. Obss. on Sabellius, with notes, by *M. Stuart*, in Bib. Repos. vol. V. p. 265ss. VI. 1ss. and Outline of the Study of Theol. with Lücke's Reminiscences of Schl. by *Farrar*, Edinb. 1850. 8.]

to regard the whole history of the universe as the process by which divinity was developed in the parallel spheres of nature and of mind. In his subsequent researches after truth he viewed the world as an apostasy, and assuming that it was originally in opposition to God, he explained its origin in God, and its distinction from God. In the estimation of this philosophy religion is the immediate coming of the deity to self-consciousness, Christianity divested of its scriptural simplicity is the turning point of human history, and the system of faith which the Church has formed respecting revelation, the Trinity, and reconciliation, is the explanation which it makes of the great problem of the universe, and by which it expresses its presentiments with regard to the final result. (*a*) Closely resembling Schelling in the reflective and tranquil manner of his life, *Hegel* (1770–1831) assumed that the law of logic was the law of the universe, according to which all opposites are elevated until they become lost in a higher unity,—until, in fact, they become merely an idea, which, that it may recognize itself as spirit, places the universe as an objective reality apart from itself, and by constantly thus raising and separating new opposites which occur in the history of the world, it reveals to itself its own infinite abundance of life. In the view of this philosophy the popular religions which have existed in the world have been the several points by which the divine self-consciousness has developed itself. Christianity being the religion in which the unity of the divine and the human is presented, contains the ultimate point of all truth, but in the lower form of the idea, as it remains essentially to those who see things at the stand-point where God and the world, the present and the future, remain in opposition, and general everlasting truth is possessed only in the individual facts of Christianity. (*b*) The personal influence and manner of Schelling after the brilliant period of his residence at Jena, was powerful on society in the south of Germany; while Hegel, as a Prussian state philosopher, even when idealizing the actual world, produced a profound impression upon the theology, principally of the north. The Rationalists were astonished to find themselves assailed by opponents quite equal to them, both in freethinking and in science, and who yet gave to Christianity an historical importance and an ecclesiastical form far superior to what they were willing to concede to it. They therefore accused their antagonists of a pantheism which concealed its inconsistency with morality and religion under the semblance of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. To this it was replied, that Rationalism was a stage of improvement which had now, with Kant, become utterly obsolete; and that although it extolled reason as the supreme law in matters of faith, it had never attempted in a scientific manner, even in its most elaborate works, to inform men what reason is, and what

a) Lit. in *Michelet*, vol. II. p. 212ss. & esp. in Zeitschr. f. specul. Physik. 1801. vol. II. P. 2. Methode d. akad. Studiums. Tüb. 1803. 2 ed. 1813.—Phil. u. Rel. 1804. Phil. Schrr. Landsh. 1809. Denkmal d. Schr. v. d. gottlichen Dingen. Tub. 1812. [*Morell*, Hist. & crit. View of Spec. Phil. in the 19th cent. (New York. 1848.) p. 433ss. Epit. of the H. of Phil. transl. from the French, &c. by *C. S. Henry*, (New York. 1841. 2 v.) v. II. p. 195ss.]

b) Lit. in *Michelet*, vol. II. p. 611ss. Differenz d. Fichteschen u. Schell. Systems. Jena. 1801. Phänomenologie d. Geistes. Bamb. 1807. Encyklop. d. phil. Wiss. Hdlb. 1817. 3 ed. 1831. Vorless. ü. d. Phil. d. Rel. Brl. (1832.) 1840. 2 v. Werke s. 1832. 17 vols. *Rosenkranz*, Hegel's Leben. Brl. 1844.

is its province in religion. (*c*) After Hegel's death his school became divided into those who used an orthodox, and those who used a heterodox mode of expression. The former class explained its theological views in the spirit of its original master. (*d*) The latter contended that it was only giving greater distinctness to the original sense of its master, in opposition to the ordinary mode of representation, when it proclaimed that an everlasting life exalted to the absolute idea is in fact the gospel of an everlasting death, that religion when carried to its perfection by reason, is only a God worshipping himself, and that a God-man is one who never had an existence as an individual upon earth. (*e*) Thus, from the modern attempt to exalt the old orthodoxy, has sprung up a severe struggle for the fundamental principles of Christianity, and the Hegelians were accused by the friends of piety, of atheism, the annihilation of the biblical history, the denial of immortality, and a hypocritical profession of Christianity. (*f*) They replied by reproaching their accusers with a shallowness which could only think of God separate from the universe, a selfishness which never disengages itself from its own little I, a hatred of all philosophy, and an apostasy from Protestantism. (*g*) In some philosophic researches under Hegel's direction, and to carry forward the system which he had commenced, the proof of an immortality of individuals, and of a personal and if possible a triune God, was attempted on the basis of the idea of personality. (*h*) *Schelling*, himself, was called (1841) to the professorship left by Hegel, that he might heal the wounds which had been inflicted by philosophy there. He described the logical structure by which his predecessor had attempted to complete his system, as a mere episode of that system by a later hand, and as a philosophy looking only at negative results, but without power to escape from its ideal to the actual world. He therefore placed by its side a system of positive philosophy, which, as an hypothesis respecting the play of antemundane potences assuming in the actual world the form of trinitarian personalities, presented some hope of a complete union of science with a future Johannic Church. But the age had no taste for this second part of Faust. (*i*) The original moderate Hegelian school was represented by the

c) E. g. *Marheineke*, Dogmatik. 2 ed. Vorrede. *Hegel*, Phil. d. Rel. 1832. v. II. p. 284. [*Morell*, (p. 456ss.) & *Henry* (p. 208ss.) as above.]

d) *G. A. Gabler*, de verae phil. erga rel. pietate. Ber. 1836. *Göschel:* der Monismus des Gedankens. Zur. Apol. d. gegenw. Phil. am Grabe ihres Stifters. Naumb. 1832. Die siebenfältige Osterfrage. Brl. 1836. [*Morell*, p. 478s.]

e) Comp. *Michelet*, v. II. p. 637. Die dt Phil. s. Hegels Tode. (Die Gegenw. Lps. 1851. vol. VI. *Ch. Buob*, la Phil. de l'Absolu en Allemagne dans ses rapports avec la doctr. chrét. Montauban. 1842. [*Morell*, p. 480.]

f) *H. Leo*, die Hegelingen. Hal. (1838.) 1839.—*Kahnis*, Ruge u. Hegel. Quedl. 1838. Rheinw. Rep. v. XXXI. p. 288s.

g) *A. Ruge*, Preussen u. d. Reaction. Lps. 1838. *G. O. Marbach*, Anfruf an d. prot. Deutschl. wider unprot. Umtriebe. Lps. 1838s. 2 H. (*B. Bauer,*) Die Posaune d. jüngsten Gerichts ü. Hegel d. Atheisten u. Antichr. Lps. 1841. *C. Zschiesche*, ü. d. Gott d. Prof. Leo u. d. Atheism. s. Gegner. Hal. 1839.

h) *J. H. Fichte:* Beitrr. z Characteristik d. neuern Phil. Sulzb. 1829. Ue. Gegens., Wedep. u. Ziel. d. Phil. Hdlb. 1832. Ue. d. Beding. e. specul. Theism. Elberf. 1835. *C. H. Weisse:* Ue. d. gegenw. Standp. d. phil. Wiss. Lps. 1829. Idee d. Gotth. Drsd. 1833. Grundzüge d. Metaphys. Hmb. 1835.

i) *J. v. Schelling*, Vorrede zu Cousin, ü. fr. & deutsche Phil. from the French by Beckers, Stuttg.

noble individuality of *Rosenkranz*, and set up the motto that true reason must lead to Christianity, that Christianity must be reasonable, and that its founders were the perfect individual realizations of the idea. (*k*) But when its true principles were exposed, and the State which had once brought it into notice had withdrawn its favor, it could no longer sustain itself against the general neglect it received. Its essential principle, however, continued to struggle in different departments of literature against the various prevalent systems. *Strauss* (born 1808) represented the gospels as a mass of fragments composed by the primitive churches as the natural development of their own views and feelings, and yet he looked upon Christ as the ideal genius of genuine religion, and as the highest form in which religion has appeared. He did not, however, conceal his conviction that a collision was inevitable between science and the popular systems of Christian theology, whose advocates had raised the question whether he could consistently belong to the clerical profession. Hence, when he was called to the theological faculty of Zurich, the people rose up in behalf of the old system of faith, and the government of the Canton, though willing to make concessions, was overthrown by a committee on religious faith (Sept. 6, 1839). In this affair, however, religious zeal was made in some degree subservient to political objects. (*l*) When Bruno *Bauer*, who had been thrown from one extreme of the Hegelian party to the other, and proudly scoffed at all theologians, analyzed the different gospels as mere works of art, originating in a purely literary way, and taking their form and materials with various degrees of success and skill from the prevalent views of the people long after the events of which they speak, it was found that even the freedom of teaching allowed in a Protestant country could hardly tolerate the propagation of a doctrine which totally undermined the Church. A decided majority of the Protestant faculties of Prussia whose opinions were asked was not obtained, but the civil authorities formed their decision on the ground of the views then expressed, which were, that the sentiments maintained in Bauer's writings were inconsistent with the position of a teacher of theology. (*m*) Indeed, his own advocates proclaimed that the new principle was atheistic and sans-culottic, and that philosophy had given notice of its complete secession from the Church. (*n*) When a professor of aesthetics acknowledged himself a Pantheist, and attempted no concealment of his hatred for his opponents, the whole body of the clergy

1834. Schelling's erste Vorles. in Berlin. Stuttg. 1841. *Paulus*, die endlich offenbar gewordene Phil. d. Offenb. (Sch. Vorlesungen im Winter 1841.) Darmst. 1843. Vorwort zu II. Steffens nachgel. Schrr. v. Schelling. Brl. 1846.—*Marheineke*, z. Kritik d. Sch. Offenbarungsphil. Brl. 1843. (*Kupp.*) F. W. J. v. Sch. von e. vieljähr. Beobachter. Lps. 1843. Sch. u. die Theol. (with the Literature) Brl. 1845.

k) Encykl. d. theol. Wiss. Hal. (1831.) 1845. Krit. Erl. ut. d. Heg. Systems. Königsb. 1840.

l) [*Hase.*] Leben Jesu. p. 34. *D. F. Strauss*, Friedl. Blätter. Altona 1839.—*Lücke*, Strauss u. d. Zürch Kirche, with a Vorr. by De Wette. Bas. 1839. *A. Boden*, Gesch. d. Beruf. d. Dr. Str. Frkf. 1840. Der Kampf d. Principien im K. Zürich. V. e. Augenzeugen. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1840. II. 3.) *H. Gelzer*, die Strauss. Zerwürfnisse in Zür. Hamb. 1843. [Strauss' Life of Jesus, from the Germ. Lond. 1846. 3 vols. 8. Letter to Hirzell, &c. Lond. 1844.]

m) [*Hase.*] Leben Jesu. p. 35. *Bauer*, die ev. Landeskirche Preuss. u. d. Wiss. Lps. 1840.—Gutachten d. ev. theol. Facultäten d. Preuss. Univ. ü. d. Licent. B. Bauer. Brl. 1842. For Lit. see Bruns, Rep. 1845. vol. II. p. 97ss.

n) *Edgar Bauer*, B. Bauer, u. s. Gegner. Brl. 1842. Deutsche Jahrbb. 1842. N. 8s. *Opitz*, B. Bauer u. s. Gegner. Brsl. 1846.

in the country rose in opposition to the Antichristianity of Tubingen, and the government censured, but protected him by a suspension of two years. (*o*) Lewis *Feuerbach* having placed the old, genuine gospel, which had conquered and despised the world, in direct contrast with the modern system of progress, declared Christianity a fixed idea, and all religion a dream, from which when man awakes he finds only himself. His baptism of cold water was not unacceptable to such youth as had previously fallen out with the notion of the divine existence. (*p*) Near the close of the eighteenth century an enthusiasm for the glorious life of the ancient Greeks reappeared among the poets. The great German poet, who had been profoundly affected by the world's mighty convulsions, now proclaimed the new gospel of the rehabilitation of the flesh in contrast with a Christianity which had been especially designed for the spirit in its horror at a nature peopled with spectres, and which had for 1800 years consoled men in all their sorrows. (*q*) He was soon surrounded by a literary circle belonging to a *young Germany*, which either wished to remove the schism which Christianity had made known between God and the world by means of Christ born on earth as the world's legitimate child, (*r*) or thought that men would have been happier had they been entirely ignorant of God, and hence declared that the vicars of heaven were not needful for the most exhilarating enjoyments of existence. (*s*) This youthful poetry was destroyed as it were in a night, not by the police, but by the serious morality of the German people. (*t*) The more talented among them directed their attention to a nobler intellectual chivalry, and though the poet who had led them, after long keeping swine, like the prodigal son, among the Hegelians, returned to his forsaken God, he never lost the inclination to jest at holy and unholy things, even on a hopeless sick bed. (*u*) But the poetry of a Pantheism which leads men according to their moral dispositions to adore either the universe or themselves, and sometimes to worship the Son of God as a son of the people, has often, without being recognized in its true character, prevailed extensively among the half-educated multitude. (*v*) But as Christianity had been accused, in quarters where poetry had not joined in the reproach, of a secret worship of Moloch, and of cannibalism as well as of other crimes, it was resolved that in place of this barbarous and slavish religion a pure *Humanism* should be set up, as the autonomy of the spirit resting upon its own authority alone, a new religion looking distinctly to earthly interests, or triumphing over all religion

o) *F. Vischer*, akad. Rede z. Antritte d. Ordinariates, 21st Nov. 1844. Tub. 1844. Lit. in Bruns, Rep. 1845. vol. IV. p. 139ss.

p) Phil. u. Christenth. Mannh. 1839. Das Wesen d. Christenth. Lps. (1841-43.) 1849. Vorless. ü. d. Wesen d. Rel. Lps. 1851.

q) *H. Heine*, Gesch. d. schönen Lit. in Deutschl. Par. 1833. vol. I. p. 6. 33. 69s. Zur Gesch. d. Rel. u. Phil. Salon. Hamb. 1835. vol. II.)

r) *Th. Mundt*, Madonna. Unterhaltungen m. e. Heiligen. Lps. 1835.

s) *Gutzkow*, Vorrede zu Schleierm. Briefen ü. d. Lucinde. Hamb. 1835.

t) *J. P. Lange*) Ue. d. Rehabilitation d. Fleisches. (Ev. K. Z. 1835. N. 83ss.) (*G. Schwab*,) Votum ü. d. junge D. Stuttg. 1836. *K. Hase*, d junge D. Parchim. 1837.—*Paulus*, d. Hofgerichts zu Mannheim motiv. Urtheil ü. d. in d. Romane Wally angekl. Prefsvergehn. Hdlb. 1836.

u) *H. Heine*, Romanzero. Hamb. 1851.

v) *L. Schefer*, Laienbrevier. Brl. 5 ed. 1846. Das hohe Lied v. Titus Ulrich. Brl. 1845. *F. v. Sallet*, Laienevangelium. Lps. 1842.

as a conquered territory. (*w*) A coarse political liberalism, from an extreme hatred of the clergy rejected also the God whom they served, that it might have its own God of this world and of freedom. (*x*) This plan of a complete rupture with the whole historical development of past times, led the uneducated classes to confound in one general mass their own wants and desires with the dregs of philosophy. Soon God was annihilated and the people were deified, patriotism was despised that all pious reverence might be obliterated with it, and Christ was made prominent only as his name could be used to sanction democratic and revolutionary principles. (*y*)

§ 451. *Orthodox Pietism and its Extremes.*

The romantic poetry which prevailed in the beginning of the century was a shadowless picture of the piety of the middle ages. *Novalis* (v. Hardenburg, 1772–1801) found a religion in poetry, which, having destroyed its own I in its ardent longings over the grave of Protestantism, and over the ruins of Rome, indulged in fond dreams of a new church of the all-pervading deity. (*a*) The national feeling which had been awakened during the wars for freedom, and, after the victory had been defrauded of its natural development, and repressed until it became once more nothing but a pitiful Germanism, now longed to recover the pious manners of earlier days. This longing still remained, even when a portion of the youth had ceased to hope for any thing from political agitations. A religious pleasure was derived from an investigation of the mysteries of nature, and of the spiritual world, and from an effort to break through the limits prescribed for man. (*b*) In connection with such a disposition, the revolution which then took place in the religious life, in accordance with the laws which regulate intellectual movements, called forth an extreme reaction against the rationalism which prevailed even in the third decennary of that century, and then against the philosophizing Antichristianity. By means of conventicles and tracts a zealous party was soon formed, and an energetic organ of communication with the public was established in the Evangelical Church Journal (1827). (*c*) Its essential character is pietistic, (*d*) though it is more liberal and better accommodated to ordinary

w) *Daumer*: Die Geheimn. d. chr. Alterth. Hamb. 1847. Die Rel. d. neuen Weltalters. Ibid. 1850. 3 vols. *A. Ruge*, Gesamm. Schrr. Manh. 1846–8. 10 vols.

x) Rheinwald Rep. 1834. vol. V. p. 71s.

y) *Max Stirner*, d. Einzige u. s. Eigenth. Lps. 1845. *W. Marr*, d. junge Deutschl. in d. Schweiz. Lps. 1846. *J. Fröbel*, System d. social. Politik. Zur. 1847.

a) Schriften, ed. by Tieck & Schlegel, Brl. 1804. 5 ed. 1837-46. 3 vols.

b) Die Seherin von Prevorst. Stuttg. (1829.) 1832. 2 v. [The Seeress of Prevorst, or Revelatt. of the inner life of man. New York. 1838. 8.] Geschichten Besessener. Carlsr. 1834. Magikon, ed. by J. Kerner. Stuttg. 1840. 2 H.

c) *D. Schulz*, d. Wesen u. Treiben d. Berl. ev. K. Zeitung. Brsl. 1839s. 2 P. (On the other side: Die ev. Kirche u. d. Consistorialrath Schulz. Brl. 1839.)—*H. Ewald*, die Ungeschichtlichk. ev. Geistlichen. Tüb. 1845. L. B. K (ohne.) H. Hengstenb. Braunschw. 1845. Der Geist d. ev. K. Z. 2 ed. Brl. 1845. (On the other side: Die Partei d. Ev. K. Z. Von e. Laien. Ev. K. Z. 1846. N. 15s. 18s. 30ss.) *C. Zschiesche*, d. Ev. K. Z. u. ihr Treiben. Lps. 1845.

d) *Bretschneider*, d. Grundlage d. ev. Piet. Lps. 1833. *C. Märklin*, Darst. u. Kritik d. mod. Piet. Stuttg. 1839. Comp. *Dorner* in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1840. P. 1. Lit. Survey: Rheinwald, Rep. v. XXVII. p. 4ss. 156ss.

life than was the pietism of the eighteenth century. It has also been more disposed to enter into the toils and honors of secular life, and in various degrees it has become connected with the old Protestant orthodoxy, and assumed its controversial character. (*e*) As to its religious elements it embraces the greatest variety, from the genuine piety exhibited by Luther or Spener, full of a joyful faith in a God born of the Virgin, down through the several gradations of pure party zeal, pride, and mental imbecility, until we reach the hypocrisy which uses the language of ardent piety to gain selfish ends, or even to cover the most criminal designs. (*f*) Although the principal leaders, whenever they expressed themselves in a literary style, committed serious offences against the old Lutheran or Calvinistic theology, and when confessing their sins adopted many rationalistic excrescences, (*g*) they regarded the theological views advanced in those systems as that by which alone men could be saved, and all other views of Christianity, except some fragments of truth among the Catholics and Supernaturalists, as unchristian. It was on account of this exclusiveness that even such theologians as Neander felt compelled to withdraw from their connection. They also erected a literary inquisition, the object of which was at first disavowed, but was afterwards acknowledged to be indispensable, and which, when it condemned individuals, clothed its verdicts in the language of Christian intercession. (*h*) As a complete return to the position of former orthodoxy was impossible, without denying the reality of the secular progress which lay in the retrograde path, they pronounced all these improvements heathenish, and with a puritanical and stupid assurance they condemned every cheerful expression of genius, (*i*) and sighed over the whole development of the Church as an apostasy. From an extreme dread of the revolutionary spirit of the times, those especially who belonged to the higher classes now turned to every thing old, even in matters of faith. The Church Journal reproached an honorable clergy, anxious for their inherited rights and for their country, with being favorable to a perjured insurrection, and in the style of von Haller (*k*), by means of a patriarchal theory of state, advocated the absolute divine right of rulers, and yet announced the overthrow of a government favorable to rationalism by a popular insurrection, as a victory for the cause of God. (*l*) Journals of the same complexion, also, in France and North America, were in the habit of using the boldest democratic forms of language in the style of the old Puritans. (*m*) In German countries divines of a liberal culture gradually died, almost every professorship and ecclesiastical office of an exalted influence was filled by persons favorable to the new orthodoxy, and those inclined to free researches were intimidated from pursuing theological studies by the hopelessness of all such efforts. A

e) E. g. *Röhr*, Pred. Bibl. 1831. P. 6. Notizenbl. N. 6.

f) Proofs in Schulz, I. p. 11. 17. 85ss. *g*) *Ibid.* II, 134ss.

h) Ev. K. Z. 1830. N. 10ss. 1831. N. 57ss. 93ss. Comp. *M. Göze*, kurze aber nothw. Erin. ü. d. Leiden d. jungen Werther. Hamb. 1775.

i) Ev. K. Z. 1850. N. 24. 25. 44. 46. 1851. N. 1s.—*J. C. K. Hoffmann*, die schleswig-holst. Geistlick. u. d. ev. K. Z. Erl. 1850.

k) Ev. K. Z. 1831. N. 18ss. 30s. 105. 1833. N. 31. On the other side: A. K. Z. 1833. N. 1ss. *Schulz*, I. p. 70ss. II. p. 41ss. *A. Widmann*, polit. Bedenken wider d. Ev. K. Z. Potsd. 1846.

l) § 450. nt. *k*.) *m*) Ev. K. Z. 1830. N. 86. 1831. N. 18s. 30. 81s. 1832. N. 4s. 59.

younger clergy was therefore raised up, inclined to the new party, and animated by the energy of a principle newly asserted, but derived from great examples in former times. The artificial work of sustaining this party devolved in Germany upon those established churches which were under Catholic guardianship, and after the suppression of the revolutionary movements of 1848, it became a principle for the administration of government. The Evangelical Church Journal then contended bravely against the storm, with only trifling concessions, and the few clergymen who became excited by the popular movements acknowledged that they were not sustained by their congregations. It is not probable, nor, if we look at the whole process of German culture, is it credible, that the mass or the true nobility of the German nation will renounce all that it has inherited from the last century, and become converts to this precise form of theological doctrine which has always become most prominent when its political objects were most undeniable, (*n*) and which has in public life violated all obligations and truth. Still, with all the disturbance which this party has often caused in the affairs of various congregations, and the many troubles or extravagances which it has produced in individuals, until in some cases they have been driven to madness, it has been the means of accomplishing much good. It has softened many obstinate dispositions, and had an important influence in the development of the Church. It has strengthened the confidence of the Church in her possession of a form which is primitive and divine, brought to light the defective nature of modern Supernaturalism, introduced new investigations of subjects which would otherwise have been too hastily given up, denounced many an exhibition of a narrow superficial spirit which obtained favor under the garb of reason, and by way of warning has shown what must be the result of a zeal for the mere externals of a system which has now passed away. Only a few isolated instances occur, in which this pietistic spirit could not find satisfaction in the ordinary ecclesiastical connections, or has assumed any extraordinary appearances. Among the Suabian tribes these excited persons seized upon some peculiar sentiment of some eminent ecclesiastical teacher, or induced some individuals to become their advocates among the people. Their disposition was in some instances melancholy, and in others cheerful. Although in this region also the clergy generally adhered to ancient usages, many innovations had been made in their mode of instruction, in the liturgy, and in the hymn-book. The opposition therefore became distinctly organized, and a few Separatists refused to perform their ordinary ecclesiastical, and even their civil duties. Punishments and force, in some instances carried so far as to take persons by violence to the Church, were of course in vain. The civil authorities in *Wurtemberg* finally permitted those who were discontented to assemble in a congregation at *Korathal* (1818), with a peculiar ecclesiastical and civil constitution conformed as near as possible to the type of the apostolic Church, but under the inspection of the civil authorities. (*o*) Others wandered away (after 1805) to North

n) E. g. Comp. A. K. Z. 1851. N. 85.

o) Archiv f. KG. vol. IV. p. 438ss. *S. C. Kapff*, d. Würtemb. Brüdergemeinden in Korath. u. Wilhelmsdorf. Stuttg. 1839. Brl. A. K. Z. 1846. N. 32.

America, where, under the name of *Harmonists*, they formed a community near Pittsburg, in which the peasant *Rapp* (d. 1847) exercised a patriarchal authority. As the society professed to hold their property in common, the whole direction of it was committed to him. Even marriages could not be formed without his consent. (*p*) The peace of the original congregation was disturbed (1831) by Bernhard Müller (*Proli*), who had formerly lived in splendor at Offenbach, had predicted a spiritual universal monarchy, and when threatened with a legal investigation, had gone to America. There he had been received by Rapp as a prophet, and promised the younger members of the association with a true community of goods and liberty of marriage. Rapp was obliged to purchase a separation for a large sum, with which Proli laid the foundation of his New Jerusalem, and then called upon all believers to hasten thither to escape the vials of divine wrath. But when the money was all spent, this vicegerent of God announced that each one might escape as he could (1833). (*q*) *Edward Irving* (1792–1834) was a Presbyterian preacher in the Caledonian chapel in *London*, with a powerful fancy and a wild antiquated style of language, with some resemblance to that of the ancient prophets, as well as to that of Byron and Shakspeare. He soon became the favorite preacher of the higher classes, for he contended against the wisdom of the age, which he said was elevating the fallen archangel Liberalism above Christ the morning star. When his mind became absorbed in the doctrine that the Son of God assumed our *sinful* nature, although without detriment to his holiness, the fashionable world began to forsake him. His extreme longing and praying for the spiritual gifts which had been afforded to the apostolic Church, as the signs of the approaching kingdom of Christ, seemed at last to call them forth. As in former days at Corinth, individuals spoke with tongues, in unintelligible expressions of a religious ecstasy mingled with exclamations, which generally closed with prophecies (1831). The Scotch Presbytery excluded him from the Caledonian chapel on account of these disturbances of public worship (1832), and by a decision of the General Assembly he was deposed from the ministry for doctrinal errors. He now established a church of his own, (*r*) but in consequence of a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and a re-establishment of all those ecclesiastical offices which were instituted in the apostolic age, this soon denied its original founders, and arranged itself under twelve apostles and an order of prophets. This constitution was established not merely for the present, but for all future times, and the body thus constituted claimed to be the true Church delivered from its past corruptions, and adorned for the second advent of its Lord. In England this movement met with but little success, but in Geneva a class of persons inclined to such extravagances became disturbed by it, and an accomplished orator connected with the German ortho-

p) A. K. Z. 1822. N. 9. 1823. N. 37. *J. Wagner*, Gesch. d. Harmoniegesellsch. Waihingen 1833. D. A. Z. 1847. N. 251. 266. Brl. K. Z. 1850. N. 49.

q) A. K. Z. 1832. N. 66. 1833. N. 186. Der Wundermann d. 19. Jhh. from the Engl. of Kreideburg. Han. 1833. *C. v. Bonnhorst*, Schilderung d. Abentheurers Proli. Frkf. 1834. [*Winebrenner's* Rel. Denominations in the U. S. (Harrisburg, 1849.) p. 9.]

r) *M. Hohl*, Bruchst. a. d. Leben u. Schrr. Irv. S. Gall. 1839. Ev. KZ. 1839. N. 88ss. 97ss. comp. 1837. N. 54ss. Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 798ss. [*Jones*, Biog. Sketch and Sermons of Ed. Irv. Lond. 1835. 8.]

dox and pietistic school embraced its principles. (*s*) Attaching themselves to this school, the angels and vice-angels of the new Church founded a few chapels in Northern Germany, with a great display of primitive forms. (One of these established in Berlin was closed in 1851.) Their followers, however, never hesitated to receive the sacrament in the established churches, on the ground that their general Church was to be gathered from all existing sects. (*t*) On the other hand, those appeals which were sometimes heard in a few Swedish parishes (1841–43) among the young people of both sexes, and even among children, were only simple and often affecting calls to repentance, pathetically spoken or sung in the Scriptural language of the Church. Those who were about to utter them were at first seized with a violent pain in their heads and hearts, accompanied with an extreme agony on account of sin, and others were affected in a similar way by imitation and communication with each other. But with the exception of some who counterfeited these things by imitation, the speaking was generally involuntary, and the speakers were unconscious of what they uttered, in the midst of convulsions, faintings, and visions. The country-people were much edified by such scenes, and took offence at what they regarded as attempts to drive away the Holy Ghost (Joel 3, 1s) by medicines for the body. (*u*) Although in other places a love of sin was sometimes concealed under the profession of extraordinary degrees of grace, (*v*) there are no instances of positive, sanguinary or lascivious excesses, except where the authors of them passed from this general class into other sects. Margaretta *Peter*, the daughter of a peasant in *Wildenspuch*, of the canton of Zurich, became powerfully excited by her intercourse with persons professedly awakened, and by tracts of an enthusiastic character, till, in her anxiety for the spiritual salvation of the world, she looked forward to the occurrence of extraordinary events. Her intellectual energy and decision of character induced many pious persons of the surrounding country to honor her as a saint, and even the consequences of a night spent in adultery did not destroy her confidence in herself. This feeling of her own importance induced her with her followers to contend with Satan, by means of carnal weapons, to have her own believing sister slain, and with wonderful heroism to have herself crucified, according to what she deemed a divine command, that she might save thousands of souls by the sacrifice of Christ once more in her person (1823). (*w*) It was rumored in *Konigsburg* that two clergymen, who professed the exclusive kind of Christianity, had introduced shameless mysteries into a pietistic circle. The legal investigation, which was attended with great difficulties on account of the distinguished persons accused (after 1835), brought nothing to light, except that sensual

s) *Thiersch*, Vorless. ü. Kath. u. Prot. 1846. 2 Abth. [*Kling*, Thiersch. (Stud. u. Krit. 1849. II. 1.) *G. Reich*, d. Irvingism. u. s. rel. Charakter. (Ibid. p. 193ss.) Ev. K. Z. Dec. 1847. and Jan. 1848.]

t) Ue. d. Rathschluss. Gottes m. d. Erde. Schaffh. Frkf. 1846s. 2 vols. *J. Hooper*, d. Entrückung u. Verwandl. d. lebenden Heiligen. Brl. 1847. Actenstücke d. Minist. d. geistl. Angeleg. Brl. 1850. p. 94ss.—Tholuck's Lit. Anz. 1848. N. 31. Brl. K. Z. 1849. N. 33. 78. 1850. N. 13.

u) Die Predigt-Krankh. (with the Liter. in Bruns. Rep. 1845. vol. III. p. 170. 270ss.) Ev. K. Z. 1842. N. 60s. Cf. 1846. N. 19ss. Brl. K. Z. 1847. N. 13s.

v) Rheinw. Rep. 1835. vol. X. p. 45.

w) *J. L. Meyer*, schwärm. Greuelscenen in Wildensp. Zür. 2 ed. 1824. A. K. Z. 1823. N. 28. 41s. 102. Ev. K. Z. 1831. N. 26ss.

passions had been excited under the forms of devotion, in order to regain the innocence of the original Paradise. It also appeared that the preacher *Ebel* (b. 1784), as the highly privileged chief nature, had exercised a despotic control over the consciences of the others, and that the fundamental principle of their faith was a philosophic fancy produced by a pious but eccentric being named *Schoenherr* (1771–1826), respecting the origin of the universe from the mingling of two primordial beings of a spiritual and sensuous nature as Eloahs. (*x*) In *Saxony*, was *Stephen* (1777–1846), the pastor of a Bohemian church in Dresden, a stranger and an enemy to the polite literature of the age, but familiar with the Scriptures and the old Church of Luther, who knew well how to excite ordinary minds by his simple and impressive eloquence, and to rule them with keen intelligence and firm decision. He became a centre for pietistic Lutheranism, at that time new in this region, but propagated there by means of young clergymen and foreigners. Wherever it prevailed, every natural bond was relaxed for its exclusive interest. When the government (after 1830) ceased to favor this class of persons, and Stephen found himself threatened with prosecution, professing to speak by divine direction, he commanded his followers to leave the country, as they could not there maintain the Lutheran faith in its purity, nor transmit it to their posterity. Most of the clergymen who had been connected with his society now renounced his doctrines, on the ground that they were identical with ancient Donatism, and enjoined a flying from the cross. Others followed Stephen with about six hundred members of their congregations, in the autumn of 1838, from what they considered as the land of Egypt to North America. When he had, as their bishop, established a system of unlimited despotism both in spiritual and secular affairs, he too soon gave a loose rein to his licentious passions. No sooner was his scandalous conduct made known by means of women who had fallen or been abused by him, than his government was at an end. After his deposition and expulsion (May, 1839), the clergy attempted to seize the reins of power, but the ideal of a Wittenberg on the Mississippi had become nearly effaced from their minds, and the better class, on witnessing Stephen's fall, became conscious of their own guilt. They firmly adhered to Lutheranism as the only true form of Christianity, and, after a long period of distraction, those who survived formed a general connection by a synod, but maintained a bitter controversy with those clergymen who were exiles for the same faith. (*y*)

§ 452. *Undecided Controversies between Old and New Protestantism.*

The controversy which had previously been maintained principally on scientific principles, and with an acknowledgment of a common Christian ground between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, was now so far changed

x) A. K. Z. 1835. N. 177. Ev. K. Z. 1836. N. 10. (*A. F. v. Wegnern*) Zuverl. Mitth. ü. Schönh. Leben u. Theos. sowie ü. d. sectir. Umtriebe zu Königsb. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1838. P. 2.) Kngsb. 1839.

y) *L. P. Lütkemüller*, Lehren u. Umtriebe d. Stephanisten Altenb. 1838. *G. Pleissner*, die Fanatiker im Muldenthale. Altenb. 1839. *L. Fischer*, d. falsche Märtyrerth. Lps. 1839. (*v. Polenz*) Die öff. Meinung u. Steph. Ibid. 1840. *C. E. Vehse*, d. Stephansche Auswanderung. Drsd. 1840. Brl. K. Z. 1841. N. 7. 33. 86. 1845. N. 85. *Hasse*, meissn. KGesch. Lps. 1847. vol. II. p. 386. 410ss.

that it was carried on among the common people, and was a contest for the very existence of the Church. It was also so arranged, that on one side were involved many principles of Christian freedom, and on the other those of ecclesiastical piety. Many irrelevant matters were introduced into the debate. The Church party brought forth a murderer, who confessed that his rationalism had been the occasion of his crime; and on the other hand, it was obliged to hear its religious conversions ridiculed, and to see many painful things in the domestic life of its members held up to public gaze. (*a*) The true ground of the contention, however, was the revolution taking place in public feeling. Even a liberal-minded statesman expressed a wish "that about a dozen Rationalists might be placed *extra statum nocendi*." (*b*) On the part of the Rationalists, a new symbol had been brought forward, which the orthodox declared to be inconsistent with a standing in the Church. (*c*) 1. Claus *Harms* of Kiel (b. 1778), an imaginative, popular preacher of the old ecclesiastical school of piety, and endowed with a remarkable facility of expression, (*d*) celebrated the Jubilee of the Reformation by propounding ninety-five new theses, in which the doctrines of the total depravity of man and the indispensable necessity of faith were maintained in opposition to the unbelief and rationalism of the age. The various forms in which these were opposed, revealed how utterly foreign this system of faith was to the temper of the age, and how far even those who at first seemed pleased with this attack upon the contemporary spirit had embraced Pelagian sentiments, and were estranged from the doctrines of Luther. The power of the orthodox party became gradually established in Holstein, and its adherents found consolation in the Oath of 1764, which avowed a strict adherence to the original Confession of Augsburg, while the more liberal interpreters of the Scriptures appealed to the Agenda of 1797, and a series of legal enactments put forth since that time in the same spirit. (*e*) 2. In *Denmark*, the new Theology had been quietly propagated, when Prof. *Clausen*, in a clear and learned work upon the conflicting opinions prevailing in the churches, pointed out the spirit of Protestantism as the proper independent development of the religious spirit. (*f*) On the other hand, *Grundtvig*, a man of a poetical temperament, well versed in the ancient history of his country, violent and yet liberal in his disposition, in the name of the Church protested against the positions taken in that work, and maintained that Clausen had placed himself at the head of all those who were hostile to the word of God, and that his Protestant Church was merely a self-constructed castle of pleasure, and a temple of idols. When he was brought before the civil courts to answer for these assertions, he resigned his pastoral office, and was condemned for libel

a) A. K. Z. 1828. Lit. Bl. N. 77. Ev. K. Z. 1830. N. 100. 40. (Bericht ü. d. Umtriebe d. Frommler. in Halle. Altenb. 1839.)

b) Freih. v. *Stein* an Gagern. Stuttg. 1833. p. 304. 315. 346.

c) *Röhr*, Grund- u. Glaubens-Sätze d. ev. prot. K. Neust. (1832.) 3 ed. 1843.

d) Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 3. *K. Harms*, Lebensbeschr. v. ihm selber. Kiel. 1851.

e) *Schwalter*, Archiv d. Harmschen Thesen. Alton. 1848. Ev. K. Z. 1829. N. 59. 80ss.—*Hechoer* K. u. Schulblatt s. 1844. Norddeutsche Monatsschr. zur Förder. d. freien Protestant. s. 1845. Comp. Berl. K. Z. 1846. N. 103. Ev. K. Z. 1846. N. 22.

f) Katholicism. og Protest. Kirkeforfening, Läre og Ritus. Kjobenh. 1825. 3 vols. übers. v. *Fries*, Neust. 1828. 3 vols.

(1826). The orientalist *Lindberg* accused Clausen of the violation of his ordination-vows, and held every person responsible for the consequences "who were witnesses of the corrupting influence, without opposition to it." For this he was accused of an attempt to excite discontent against the government, but was acquitted in the courts of justice (1830). Although this party obtained but little public favor, it was much promoted by the holding of conventicles, and at last Grundtvig received permission to hold services for divine worship (1832). A leader of the opposition in the Diet then endeavored by some liberal means to get the control of this church of the people for himself alone, and vented his rage against every thing of German origin. (*g*) 3. In an academic disputation at *Leipsic*, it was asserted that the Rationalists were actually dismissed from the Church. This assertion was afterwards modified, and it was said that they were bound in conscience voluntarily to leave the Church, but in the replies it called forth, even this was shown to be inconsistent with Protestantism and with Christianity itself. (*h*) But the object of its authors was more perfectly discovered by an article in the Evangelical Church Journal, in which Gesenius, the distinguished founder of the modern school of oriental literature in Germany, and Wegscheider, were denounced for ridiculing Christianity, and for perverting the minds of the youth. Though this article was evidently designed to induce the civil authorities to interfere in the case, nothing but an admonition addressed to public teachers in general was ever put forth from that quarter, and not only the assailed professors, but the most highly esteemed writers and speakers in behalf of nearly the whole body of Protestant divines, protested against such a turn of the controversy, and advocated the freedom of scientific discussion. On the part of those who had raised the complaint, it was said that the freedom of instruction claimed was nothing but oppression, when its bearing upon the congregations was regarded, and that the Church could not endure that its future pastors should be taught the very reverse of what they were afterwards bound to preach. (*i*) 4. In *Hesse-Cassel*, the orthodox party lost its political support when the ministry of Hassenpflug was overthrown. When the government, in concert with the consistories, imposed upon ministers about to be settled the obligation to conform themselves to the Scriptures, "with a conscientious regard to the authorized standards of faith" (1838), a learned and practical jurist came forward at the head of a party, demanding the very reverse. To save the unity and even the legal existence of the Evangelical Church, which he believed would be endangered by an arbitrary change in the existing law, *Bickell* demanded that an authentic interpretation should be given, according to which

g) Ev. K. Z. 1827. N. 51s. 182S. N. 55s. 1830. N. 97ss. 104. 1831. N. 69ss. 1832. N. 49ss. A. K. Z. 1828. N. 193. 1830. N. 49. 1831. N. 42ss. 1832. Lit. Bl. N. 101. 1834. N. 111. Stud. u. Krit. 1834. P. 4. p. 995ss. *Rudelbach* in d. Zeitsch. f. luth. Theol. 1841. P. 1.—Brl. K. Z. 1845. N. 60.

h) *Hahn*: de rationalismi vera indole. Lps. 1827. And. ev. K. zunächst in Preussen u. Sachsen. Lps. 1827. (*Volkmann*) Der Rationalist kein ev. Christ. L. 1828.—(*Hase*) Die Leipz. Disputation. Lps. 1827. *Krug*. phil. Gutachten in Sachsen d. Rat. u. Supern. Lps. 1827. (*Clemen*) Licht u. Schatten. Lps. 1827.

i) Ev. K. Z. 1830. N. 5s. 15. 18s. 34. 54s. 59. 69. 84ss. 94s. A. K. Z. 1831. N. 9. Vota by Bretschneider, Neander, Ullmann, Schott, B. Crusius, Schultz, Colln. u. a. On the other side: *Rudelbach*, d. Wesen d. Rational. Lps. 1830.

the authorized confessions should be acknowledged to be in substance the standard of doctrine. *Henkel* declared that the *Augustana* was as authoritative as the *Carolina*, and appealed to an assembly of his fellow-citizens (Aug. 14, 1839), which presented a petition to the electoral princes, praying for some explanation which should tranquillize the public mind, and for the convocation of a general synod. By these means they hoped that all authoritative creeds might be abolished, that the doctrines preached by the clergy might be made negatively dependent upon the will of their congregations, and that all parochial compulsion in these matters might be taken away. But not only the views of the government, but the sentiments of the people were opposed to both these demands. When Hassenpflug undertook the re-establishment of Old Hessia (1850), the ancient form of oath was introduced, and every thing received the precise ecclesiastical coloring of the old Covenant of Fidelity (Treubunds-Farbung). (*k*) 5. In *Saxe Altenburg*, a Consistorial rescript was addressed (Nov. 13, 1838) to the Ephori of Ronneburg, in which the emigration under Stephen was traced to the dissatisfaction produced by an unauthorized mode of performing parochial duties, and the preachers were admonished to instruct their people in the essential and fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The explanation of this document by persons from without, provoked the patriotic spirits of a few clergymen to a lively opposition. The opinions of four theological faculties were solicited by the government, with regard to the conduct of the consistory and its opponents. The only reply favorable to a rigidly orthodox sense was sent by the faculty of Berlin, and even that body was by no means unanimous. As these opinions were published with a noble confidence by the government, and every attempt at legal proceedings on the subject was suppressed, the minds of the people were tranquillized. (*l*) 6. In *Hamburg*, an excitement was created by an attack by some Pietists in a literary publication upon what was called the pretended Christian life of the multitude, and upon Rationalism, which was denominated a snake in the house of the Lord (1839). When two candidates presented themselves, and an opportunity was thus given for an attack, the party favorable to the old faith used all the means which could be employed in a free state to procure their rejection, on the ground that they had violated their oaths. But when they declared that they would, as hitherto, conform according to their conscientious convictions to the Bible and the Catechism, both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities were satisfied, since it could not be denied that the usage of a half century was in opposition to the legal authority of the symbolical books. One pietistic candidate was suspended until he should pledge himself to observe in future the respect due to the ecclesiastical ministry, and which had been disregarded in the course of

k) *J. W. Bickell*, ü. d. Verpflicht. d. Geistl. a. d. symb. Schrr. Cass. (1839.) 1840. On the other side: *K. T. Bayrhoffer* in 2 krit. Beleuchtungen. Lps. 1839. *W. H. Meurer*, e. Wort ü. Lehrfreih. in d. ev. K. Cass. 1839.— *W. Vilmar*, d. Kurhess. K. Kass. 1845. *W. Münscher*, Gesch. d. hess. ref. K. Cass. 1850. Brl. K. Z. 1851. N. 47.

l) Berl. K. Z. 1839. N. 18. 31. *C. W. Klötzner*, z. Ehrenrettung e. verunglimpften christl. Gl. u. Predigtweise. Lps. 1839. *J. Schuderoff*, an den H. Dr. Hesekiel in Altenb. Lps. 1839. Bedenken d. theol. Fac. Jena, Berl. Gott. u. Heidelb. Nebst Actenstücken. Altenb. 1839. *Paulus*, Motiv. Gutachten. Mannh. 1839. *C. Ullmann*, d. Altenb. Angelegenh. (Stud. u. Krit. 1840. P. 2.)

this controversy. (*m*) On the other hand, in *Bremen*, when the younger Krummacher, in the fervency of his zeal against those whom he called the priests of Baal, pronounced the apostle's curse (Gal. 1, 8) upon the whole antichristian spirit of the age, although the liberal Protestantism rigidly secured its rights against a new priestly and Jewish system, the majority of the clergy in the city and country, to distinguish themselves from such as they regarded as unbelievers in Christianity, formed an orthodox confession (1840). (*n*) When the Reformed congregation at Liebfrauen, during the spring-tide of popular feeling in 1848, and in a popular election without the ordinary established forms, called *Dulon* of Magdeburg to become its pastor, and when he was installed without pledging himself to any creed, the character of the candidate (*o*) and the object of the congregation could no longer be concealed. The old priest-church was derided as a corpse, from whose grave alone new life could be expected, and the faith of their forefathers was estimated only in the light of circumstances the reverse of what originally existed. A small amount of intelligence, and a popular style of eloquence, were sufficient to enable such a man to become a religious demagogue, who professed to preach a Christianity which knew no vulgar class, and whose apotheosis he completed, and whose holiest service he performed, when he endeavored to inspire men with a burning hatred to despotism, and to enlist them in an enthusiastic struggle for a free state, a secular redemption, in which every enjoyment of life might be shared by all. (*p*) An accusation was preferred against him (April, 1851) by twenty-three members of his congregation, who demanded that the Church should be protected against him as an enemy to Christianity. Dulon denied that the Senate, which in similar circumstances (1845) had decided that a preacher should never venture in his public instructions beyond the degree of intelligence which prevailed among his people, had any right to interfere in theological controversies. He alleged that, according to the Constitution of 1849, and the laws of the Reformed Church, in which no obligation to a particular creed was required, a pastor was responsible only to his congregation, and that the great majority of his people were opposed to the accusation. (*q*) The Senate applied to the theological faculty of Heidelberg for an opinion upon the case, and when this sustained the accusation, (*r*) Dulon was deposed (April, 1852), on the ground

m) Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXVII. p. 236ss. XXXV. 138ss. Ev. K. Z. 1839. N. 63s. 87. 1840. N. 14s. 51s. A. K. Z. 1840. p. 66. *M. H. Hadtwalker*, Protest in Veranlassung d. neuesten kirchl. Ereign in Hamb. Hmb. 1839. *H. Schleiden*, d. prot. K. u. d. symb. B. zunächst in Bez. a. Hamb. Hmb. 1840.

n) Berl. K. Z. 1840. N. 76. 82. 85. 91. *F. W. Krummacher:* Paulus kein Mann nach d. Sinne unserer Zeit. 2 ed. Brem. 1840. Theol. Replik an Paniel. Elbrf. 1840. Der Scheinheil. Rationalism. vor d. Richterstuhle d. H. S. Ibid. 1841. *J. Gildemeister*, Blendwerke d. vulgaren Rational. z. Beseitigung d. Paul. Anathema. Berl. 1841.—*F. W. Paniel:* 3 Sontagspr. 2 ed. Berl. 1840. Unverholene Beurth. d. sogen. theol. Replik. Berl. 1840. *W. E. Weber*, die Verfluchungen. 2 ed. Berl. 1840. Bremisches Magazin f. ev. Wahrh. v. Paniel, Rothe, Weber. 1841ss. 3 P.—Bekenntniss Brem. Pastoren in Sachsen d. Wahrh. Berl. 1840. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XLII. p. 97. *Mallet*, für Stephani Gemeinde. Br. 1850.

o) *R. Dulon*, d. Geltung d. Bekenntnisschr. in d. ref. K. Magdeb. 1847.

p) Vom Kampfe d. Völkerfreih. e. Lehrb. fürs deutsche Volk. Br. 1849s. 2 H. 5 ed. 1851. Die ref. K., H. Mallet u. Ich. Br. (1850.) 1851. Der Wecker, ein Sonntagsbl. s. Sept. 1850.

q) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 34. 45. 59.

r) Gutachten d. theol. Fak. d. Univ. Heidelb. ü. Dulon. with Praef. by Schenkel. Heidelb. 1852. the other side: *Dulon*, d. Gutachten d. vier. heid. Theologen. Br. 1852.

that his course led to agitation, and was dangerous to public safety, and he was forbidden the performance of any duties as a preacher or an instructor within the bounds of the republic. (*s*) Even if this proceeding be regarded as of questionable propriety according to the legal ordinances then in force, (*t*) it was certainly the natural result of the revolution which had then taken place in public affairs. 7. In *Magdeburg*, when a work of art was exhibited, *Sintenis*, the pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost, maintained in a public journal that the worship of Christ was a superstition not taught in the gospels (1840). This was generally regarded as a gross impropriety, but a few distinguished persons in their zeal denounced it in the pulpit as a treason against the Church. When the consistory required that Sintenis should acknowledge his views to be inconsistent with his office in the Church, and promise that he would in future preach nothing which should not, as far as he could ascertain from the authorized creeds, be consistent with the doctrines of the Bible, under penalty of a suspension from his office, the city thought that Protestant freedom of instruction was impaired, and that the whole was intended to place exclusive power in the hands of the pietistic party. The ecclesiastical superintendents and the magistrates therefore brought a complaint against the consistory before the Bureau of Public Worship, on the ground that it had treated human enactments as if they were of equal authority with the sacred Scriptures, and that consequently the Protestantism of Magdeburg, once so dearly purchased, was in peril. But when this department censured the conduct of Sintenis as a pastoral indiscretion, and admonished those who were zealous for orthodoxy to abstain from every thing inconsistent with existing rules, the excitement was allayed. (*u*)—In all parts of Germany it was only needful that some inflammatory word should be uttered to produce a local explosion. The old Protestantism in its renovated form, had in its favor the written law, the religious enthusiasm of the people, and sometimes also the protection of eminent civil authorities, while the new Protestantism had the usages of almost a century, the modern improvements in science, the revolutionary principles started at the Reformation, and generally, where freedom of conscience was threatened, the masses of the third estate, who rose in defence of such freedom. The orthodox style of preaching had become so strange in particular cities, that some pastors who used it fell out with their congregations and were dismissed from them, (*v*) and sometimes a city otherwise diligent in the practice of religion and in its works of charity, protested in a legal form against the Apostles' Creed, on account of its antiquated character. (*w*) In the principality of

s) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 20. 21. A. KZ. 1852. N. 70.

t) *Dittenberger*, Votum in d. theol. Fac. d. U. Heidelb. ü. D. Hdlb. 1852. On the other side: *Schenkel*, d. Schutzpflicht d. Staats gegen d. ev. K. Heidelb. 1852.

u) Ev. K. Z. 1840. N. 208. 43. 548. 678. A. K. Z. 1840. N. 61ss. (*Theune* Urkunden ü. d. Verfahren d. Consist. zu Magd. gegen Sintenis, v. e. Freunde d. Wahrheit. Lps. 1840. Mittheilungen i. d. Verand. d. kirchl. Aufreg. zu Magd. Darmst. 1841.—Der Bischof Dräseke u. s. actjähr. Wirken im Preuss. Staat. v. G. v. C. (*König.*) Bergen. 1840.

v) *Thaback*, Liter. Anzeiger. 1835. N. 47. Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 441ss. Rheinw. Rep. vol. V. p. 129ss. vol. XVIII. p. 28ss. 131ss.

w) Brl. KZ. 1844. N. 28. 1845. N. 23. Ev. KZ. 1844. N. 46. 54. *Rudelbach*, ü. d. Bedeut. d. Ap Symb. Mit Bez. a. d. Leipziger Confessionswirren. Hal. 1844.

Lippe, five preachers, who had demanded the re-introduction of the Heidelberg Catechism, instead of the liberal catechism which had been used for a generation past, and had protested (1844) against the spurious official oath respecting the creed which had for some time been publicly administered, and against the limitation of the ecclesiastical power of the keys, were summoned before the consistory as ecclesiastical demagogues, and after humbling themselves, they were admonished carefully to observe the regulations of the Church. Private members were also informed that it did not belong to them, with their limited knowledge of such subjects, to give a judgment respecting them. (*x*)

§ 453. *Prussia, the Union and the Agenda till* 1840. *Cont. from* § 414.

J. Jacobson, Gesch. d. Quellen d. ev. KRechts d. Prov. Preussen u. Pos. Königsb. 1839. *v. Mühler*, Gesch d. ev. KVerf. d. Mark Brandenb. Weim. 1846.—*Böckel*, Irenicon. Brl. 1821ss. 2 vols. *K. F. Gaupp*, d. Union d. deutschen K. Brsl. 1848. *K. Semisch*, ü. d. Unionsversuche bes. in Preussen. Greifsw. 1852. *C. J. Nitzsch*, Urkundenb. d. ev. Union. Bonn. 1853.

Under Frederic II., Prussia had become, in consequence of its natural position, the most prominent of the Protestant powers. *Frederic William II.* (1797–1840), having found consolation under his severe losses in the stable word of God, wished, after his government had become re-established, and he had become rather jealous of its free development, that the Church might be thoroughly regenerated. Though he felt some dislike to the unstable character of Protestant freedom, and especially to the high-wrought spirit of Pietism, he was sincerely attached to Luther's honest and steadfast faith, and with pious conscientiousness, under the influence of the writings of the reformers, sometimes conducted the affairs of the Church with his own hands. He was, however, generally assisted by the gentle Altenstein, his minister for public worship, with whose preferences for the Hegelian philosophy in the Church and in the schools he was often displeased, but whom he never would quite abandon. (*a*) When the civil power had absorbed all authorities peculiarly ecclesiastical (1809), the king established (1817) provincial consistories, whose duties were confined to matters exclusively spiritual, and did not include the location of clergymen; district and provincial synods, composed only of clergymen, and restricted within a narrow circle of duties, but intended to be an introduction to an imperial synod; (*b*) and a ministry for public worship, which was to be the organ through which the royal authority was exercised over the Church. The oath which the clergymen were to take, bound them to be the servants of the state as well as of the Church. As Protestantism gradually developed itself, the contrast between the two Churches became less and less prominent before the minds of the people, and other antagonisms of far greater importance than those between Luther and Zwingle appeared in each. Hence, when the king sent forth a

x) Urkunden z. Beurth. d. kirchl. Verh. im F. Lippe. Lps. 1845. Ev. K. Z. 1842. N. 100. 1843. N. 28. 37. 72. 1844. N. 12. 65. 1845. N. 30ss. 92. 1846. N. 9s. 33. 53. 77s. 97. 1851. N. 75s.

a) *Eylert*, Characterzüge a. d. Leben Fried. Wilh. III. Magdeb. 1843–6. esp. 3. vol. [Life and Opinions of Fred. Will. III. from the Germ. of Eylert, by *J. Birch*, Lond. 1844. 8.]

b) Acts in *Wachler*, theol. Nachrichten 1817. *Schleiermacher*, ü. d. einzuricht. Synodalverf. Brl. 1817. A. KZ. 1828. N. 44.

call for a voluntary union at the Jubilee of the Reformation, (*c*) the union of an evangelical Church fell into his hands as the ripe fruit of the age. No attempt to produce uniformity by artificial creeds was therefore necessary. On the one hand, an internal union was effected by the conviction that those controversies which had now ceased, or which still continued, were not inconsistent with Christian love and fellowship; and on the other, all that was needful to an external union was accomplished by an agreement respecting a constitution, church property, and ordinary usages. It was also concluded that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated in the manner proposed by the Synod of Berlin, by a mere breaking of the bread and a faithful recitation of the words used in the original institution. But while this work was in process of cheerful accomplishment in the several ecclesiastical corporations, sometimes by public enactments and sometimes as the government directed, by a practical acceptance of the breaking of bread and an acknowledgment of the authorities of the united Church, it was considerably disturbed by the introduction of the Agenda. The development which had taken place in the principles of Protestantism, and the modes of speech occasioned by the new scientific and literary education of the people, rendered some alteration of the language of the Church indispensable. New liturgies were therefore introduced into some established churches without attracting much attention. A common form of worship seemed to become necessary by the union. The theological commission appointed for composing such an instrument in Prussia accomplished nothing. The king then published an Agenda which had been adopted by his cabinet (1822) for the use of the court church, gave orders that it should be introduced into the garrison churches of his kingdom, and recommended it to all the congregations of the realm, instead of the conflicting and arbitrary forms which had previously been used in the different provinces. (*d*) Objections against it were urged by some who fancied that it partook too much of an old ecclesiastical, and even of a Catholic spirit, and by others who complained that it was not sufficiently orthodox, and was too much reformed. Some, also, were displeased with a heterogeneous political element which they discovered in it. But no general opposition to it (*e*) was apparent until the government took some steps to draw over the churches by various temptations or by coercion, and some authors contended that a strict conformity to the liturgy should be required by a law on the territorial system. (*f*) In the midst of this confusion no synodal constitution was carried into effect, for even the victorious political party took no pleasure in a measure which so forcibly reminded them of the promised representative system. It was only in Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces that a synodal form on the basis of ancient usages was introduced (1835), but even there the system left as much to be desired as it

c) Sept. 27, 1817, in *Nitzsch*, p. 125s.

d) Kirchen-Agenda f. d. prot. Hof- u. Domk. in Berl. Brl. and ofs. A. KZ. 1822. N. 17. 63.

e) (*Schleiermacher*) Ue. d. lit. Recht ev. Landesfürsten, v. Pacif. Sincerus. Gott. 1821. Actenstücke, betr. d. Pr. K. A. ed. by *Falck*, Kiel, 1827.

f) *Augusti*, Kritik d. Preuss. A. Frkf. 1823. and Erklär. ü. d. Majestätsrecht in kirchl. Dingen. F. 1825. m. Nachtr. Bonn. 1826. *Marheineke*, ü. d. wahre Stelle d. lit. Rechts. Brl. 1825. *C. F. v. Ammon*, d. Einfüh. d. Brl. A. geschichtl. u. kirchl. beleuchtet. Drsd. 1825.

actually fulfilled. (*g*) The appointment of general superintendents (1829), with means at command for a very extensive sphere of personal influence, was looked upon as a restoration of the titular bishops to their former prelatical position, and hence as the commencement of a Protestant episcopacy. (*h*) The king showed a great predilection for the Agenda as a work of his own, and he even wrote a very modest defence of it with his own hand. (*i*) But this difficult controversy was finally settled principally by an arrangement proposed by the Bishop *Neander*, according to which a new revision of the liturgy was to be made by the ecclesiastical authorities, with special reference to the most important objections (1829). As this presented to the worshippers a choice of several forms, and paid respect to provincial usages, and as the rights of the Church were preserved and were duly honored by the government, it was accepted without difficulty. Accordingly, since 1830, the Agenda has possessed the authority of law, and but *one* evangelical national Church has been known in *Prussia*. (*k*) In all the other established churches of Germany the royal appeal was favorably received, and was carried into execution by means of enactments in the synods or the congregations. In *Nassau* (1817), this was accomplished by a formal recognition of a previous unanimity between the two parties in the essential articles of their creeds. (*l*) In *Bavaria* on the *Rhine*, it was effected (1818) by a general vote on an edict which proposed that the evangelical Church should properly respect the symbolical books containing the ordinary Protestant confessions, but should have no authoritative rule of faith but the Holy Scriptures. In *Baden*, the same result was secured by declaring (1821) that the Augsburg Confession, together with the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms, should be regarded as an authoritative rule of faith only as far as a free investigation should discover their consistency with the Scriptures, the only sure source of Christian truth, and as far as the pure principles of evangelical Protestantism were found in them. It was also agreed that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated there in the form which had been accepted by Melancthon (p. 407). (*m*) Wherever the union was not then effected, it was on account of some local difficulties in the respective congregations. In those national churches within the bounds of which very little more than a single Protestant Church existed, as *e. g.*, the Lutherans in the states of the German Confederacy, and the Reformed in Switzerland and the Netherlands, there was no necessity or object of such a Union, but even there it was accepted as an ideal, and was recognized wherever an individual case required it. The principal remonstrance against it was from a few Supernaturalists who possessed no doctrinal agreement among themselves. (*n*)

g) Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 375s. 1836. p. 450ss. Verhandll. d. 2 rhein. Prov. Synodal-Versamml. Barmen. 1838.

h) *Augusti*, Beitrr. z. Gesch. u. Statistik d. ev. Kirche, p. 788ss.

i) Luther in Beziehung a. d. Preuss. KAgende. Brl. 1827.

k) A. KZ. 1829. N. 140. 1830. N. 93. *Eylert*, ü. Werth u. Wirkung d. Agende nach d. Resultate e. zehnjähr. Erfahrung. Potsd. 1830.

l) Archiv f. alte u. neue KGesch. vol. IV. p. 189ss. *m*) *Nitzsch*, p. 134s.

n) *Tittmann*, ü. Vereinigung. Lps. 1818. *Steudel*, ü. Vereinigung. Tüb. 1821.

§ 454. *Lutheranism as a Sect under Frederic William III.*

The spirit of orthodoxy which had now been once more awakened, perceived that it would soon lose its principal power, if those portions of the symbolical books in which the different churches opposed and condemned each other were no longer binding upon the people. So strong, indeed, was the feeling now aroused, that in men of a reckless spirit it resembled Luther's horror at all fellowship with the Reformed Church. That which in other places was a conscientious conviction in opposition to the Union, or a theological opposition, (*a*) in Prussia necessarily came into collision with the lively interest which the government took in the united and uniform Church. When the Union and the Agenda were accepted at Breslau (1830), Dr. *Schaibel* remained the pastor of a church which rejected the Union as a work of Indifferentism, a compact between Christ and Belial and the Agenda, as a part of the same scheme. After many efforts at accommodation, he was suspended from the ministry, and when he insisted upon a final decision, he was dismissed (1832). (*b*) *Guericke* announced that he had returned to the old Lutheran Church, from which he had unconsciously and involuntarily been removed, and he now obtained a secret installation for himself as the pastor of a congregation in and near Halle (1834). After many disturbances of divine worship in his house by the police, he was deprived of his professorship on account of a rash attack which he made upon an order issued by the government (1835). (*c*) A few pastors connected with the established Church in Silesia produced an excitement among the ignorant people of their congregations, by preaching that Luther's precious faith, the religion of their fathers, had been superseded by the theology of the king. To hush up these disturbances, an order was obtained (Feb. 28, 1834) from the cabinet by the pietistic party then forming in the court, (*d*) which assured the people that the Lutheran Church, with its various confessions of faith, was not abolished by the Agenda and the Union, and that nothing but that Church was established by law; and that the sacraments were to be administered according to the usages of the old Lutheran Church to all who desired them in that mode. The Lutherans, however, could not comprehend how the Lutheran confession, condemning the doctrines of the Reformed Church, could really be received in a united Church, or how the same liturgy could be received in two Churches which were essentially so different. These pastors, who had renounced the Union and the Agenda, and would no longer yield obedience to the consistory of the united Church, were suspended. When *Kellner*, the pastor of the church in Honigern, was about to be suspended (Sept. 11th, 1834), the congregation while singing and praying presented an unwearied passive resistance to the opening of their church, being resolved to do noth-

a) *Gieseler*, neuester Unionsvers. in Bremen. Bonn. 1824. *Rudelbach*, Grundveste d. luth. Kirchenlehre u. Friedenspraxis. Lps. 1840.

b) *Steffens*, wie ich wieder Lutheraner wurde, und was mir Lutherthum ist. Brsl. 1831. (*Huschke*) Theol. Votum e. Juristen in Sachsen d. preuss. Hof-Ag. ed. by Scheibel, Nrnb. 1832. *Scheibel*, actenmassige Gesch. d. nst. Unternehmung e. Union bes. im preuss. Staate. Lps. 1834. 2 vols.

c) Einige Urkunden betr. d. Gesch. d. luth. Gemeinde in u. um Halle. Lps. 1835.

d) Comp. Ev. KZ. 1853. N. 5.

ing by which they would participate in the crime of desecrating their altars. The church was therefore broken open by the military, and on Christmas day public worship was performed for the first time according to the forms of the Agenda. Kellner was thrown into prison, and at a public trial, he and those who took part with him were condemned for insurrection. The congregation was finally obliged to yield by having soldiers quartered in their houses, (*e*) and the party then seemed to be entirely broken up. But in Feb., 1835, the suspended pastors held a synod at Breslau, at which they resolved to effect the deliverance of the Lutheran Church by every practicable and lawful means. From the borders of Poland to Erfurt, the scattered remnants of former congregations, impelled by an obscure feeling of attachment to the Church of their fathers, assembled together, and by adopting the old Wittenberg Agenda, became separated from the established church. Scheibel (d. 1843), whose mind was of a very limited order, but who had become powerful through the influence of a faith which knew no doubt, led these people from Saxony and Franconia, and induced the congregations of Silesia and Brandenburg to adopt a form of government like that of the apostles, and a rigid system of ecclesiastical discipline. But by the application of the laws against conventicles, by a neglect of the schools, and a refusal to give testimony, these poor people, who assured their rulers that their assemblies for worship were not conventicles, but the old Lutheran Church, whose existence had been guaranteed by sacred compacts, were in various ways distrained or imprisoned, their ministers were generally kept in custody, and a few wandered about without means of support, and persecuted by the police. A portion of them finally sought an asylum for the Lutheran Church beyond the ocean. Since the contracted spirit of this exclusive Lutheranism, whose conduct appears much like that of the seven sleepers after a slumber of three hundred years, has been exposed by Hengstenberg; since Olshausen has shown the rebellious nature of its defence, and Hahn, the consistorial counsellor, has moved against it with the military, the orthodox party has become subdivided into two portions. The recollection of their common origin has only embittered these in their antipathies to each other, and they exchange against each other nearly the same reproaches which had previously been employed by them against those whom they regarded as unbelievers. (*f*) Even the Separatists fell out among themselves, for Guericke would not accept of the apostolic constitution, and having acknowledged that a Lutheran conscience might find peace in a Church belonging to the Prussian establishment, provided Christ was preached there, he soon found opportunity to become reconciled with the government (1840). (*g*) This government with some confusion and reluctance now liberated (1838) clergymen who had been detained in prison long beyond the term fixed in their original sentence

e) A. Z. 1835. Append. 16. 26s. 50. 64. Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 360ss. *H. Olshausen*, was ist v. d. nst. kirchl. Ereign. in Schlesien zu halten? Lps. 1835. *Kellner*, Sendschr. an Olsh. Lps. 1835. *O. F. Wehrhan*, Verth. d. luth. Sache gegen Olsh. Meiss. 1835.

f) Ev. KZ. 1835. N. 1ss. *Olshausen* (nt. *e*).—*Guericke*, d. ev. KZ. u. d. Lutheraner. L. 1836. *Scheibel*, Mittheil. esp. II. 1. *C. Ehrenström* u. *E. Kellner*, die nst. Wiedersacher d. luth. K. in Preuss. Lps. 1838.

g) Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 659. A. KZ. 1840. N. 52.

of condemnation, and ceased to imprison according to law those private members who had refused to testify against their ministers with reference to official acts prohibited by the authorities. (*b*) *Frederic William III.* always acknowledged the rights of conscience in matters of religion, but with a mind remarkably fond of order, he loved to bring every thing to uniformity. In spiritual things he generally thought it safest to refer to father Luther, but he esteemed a man a rebel who adhered to Luther's sentiments with Luther's obstinacy. He felt himself, and he proved himself to be the protector of the evangelical Church far beyond the limits of Prussia, and he even bestowed many favors upon the Catholic Church of his kingdom. And yet, in the evening of his life, he found himself involved in acts of arbitrary violence against each of these Churches. His time on earth was spent in disquietude, but his trust was in God.

§ 455. *Legal Views and Legal Relations in German Countries.*

L. Richter, (p. 441.) *K. Hase*, d. ev. prot. K. d. deutschen Reichs. Lps. (1848.) 1852.

In a time of ecclesiastical exhaustion there was no disposition or ability to construct a peculiar system of laws for the Church. *Schaderoff* (1766–1843) almost alone then contended for a collegiate system, but his zeal against jurists in the Church had rather a hierarchical tendency. (*a*) As soon as the ecclesiastical life exhibited its former vigor, general complaints were heard that the Church was subject to an arbitrary foreign influence, and that its members excused themselves from all interest in its affairs on account of the bureaucratic interference of the civil authorities, and their exclusion from all share in its administration. Hence, when the union with the Reformed Church took place, attention was turned to the fragments of the old ecclesiastical establishment, preserved in the latter in the form of ecclesiastical elders and synods, and to the union by means of consistories under the sovereign of the country. (*b*) In the literary controversies between the advocates of the different legal views, those who believed that the Church was purchased by the blood of the God-man maintained that its territory was manifestly beyond the reach of the secular powers. But a disinclination for all theories of natural liberty, and a dread of popular suffrage as the dominion of the flesh, then prevailed, and gave great advantage to those who advocated the predominance of the princely, or at least of the spiritual powers. (*c*)

b) *Scheibel:* Mittheilungen d. nst. Gesch. d. luth. K. Alton. 1835ss. 6 H. Archiv f. hist. Entw. u. nst. Gesch. d. luth. K. Nürnb. 1841. 2 P. u. A. K. Z. 1838. N. 191s. *O. F. Wehrhan*, meine Suspendirung, Einkerkerung, u. Auswander. Lps. 1839. *J. D. Loewenburg*, Persecution of the Luth. Church in Prussia from 1831. Lond. 1840. Berl. K. Z. 1839. N. 39. 46. 87. *Steffens*, was ich erlebte. vol. X. p. 71. 724ss.

a) Ansichten u. Wünsche betr. d. prot. KWesen u. d. Geistlichk. Lps. 1814.

b) *J. Schaderoff*, Grundz. z. ev. prot. KVerf. Lps. 1817. *E. Zimmermann*, Grundz. z. ev. KVerf. in s. Monatsch. vol. I. H. 1s. *Pahl*, d. öffentl. Recht d. ev. luth. K. in Teutschl. Tüb. 1827. On the other side: *F. v. Bibra*, ü. d. gegenw. Verh. d. ev. KWes. in Deutschl. Mgdb. (1818.) 1819. *Bretschneider*, Votum ü. d. repraes. Verf. d. K. Lps. 1832.

c) Ev. KZ. 1832. N. 2. *Rudelbach*, 14 Thesen ü. Presb. u. Syn. Lps. 1832. *Puchta*, Einl. in d. Recht d. K. Lps. 1840. *F. J. Stahl*, d. KVerf. nach Lehre u. Recht d. Prot. Erlang. 1840. *C. Rothe*, d. wahren Grundl. d. ev. KVerf. Brl. 1844.

The Hegelian school once more brought forward the territorial system in connection with their higher view of the state, according to which the Church, as a distinct society, entirely disappears, and becomes merely the religious element of the state. (*d*) But the more the importance of the state in a popular and patriotic point of view was recognized, the more the right of the Christian congregations to develope by their own energies the constitution best suited to their progress in cultivation, was also acknowledged. The relation of these congregations to the state was to be that of mutual assistance, but in the existing organization of the German state confederacies, they were to be dependent only upon the widest national limits. (*e*) *Baden* received with the union a synodal system, but the general synod was to be convened only at the suggestion of the sovereign, and then simply as an advisory council. (*f*) In 1845, *Zittel*, a pastor of a congregation, proposed to the Diet, that instead of the past religious intolerance, under which Christianity had found no peace, they should try the effect of religious liberty, under which every form of worship should be tolerated, and no civil penalties should be exacted unless a failure in the performance of civil duties appeared probable. A complete storm of petitions principally from the Catholic sections of the country, against the majority in the chamber which was ready to concur with the proposition, was the result. The Union Church was here so strictly constituted, that when the pastor *Eichhorn* felt constrained in conscience, from his attachment to exclusive Lutheranism, to give notice (1850) of his secession from the united Church, and had received the permission which he had asked, he was punished by imprisonment, or was directed by the police to leave the country, because in some instances he afterwards performed ministerial duties for those who like him had forsaken the Church. These persons, according to their own confession, knew but little of their former or their present creed, and had in general been involved in the revolutions of that period, but they have hitherto received no permission to form any Lutheran congregation. (*g*) The evangelical Church in *Bavaria*, by an appendix to the national constitution (1818), was allowed the privilege of managing its own internal affairs, under the supervision of the supreme authorities of the state. In the Rhenish Palatinate, as soon as the Union was formed, parochial councils with power to fill their own vacancies, district synods and a general synod, chosen partly by and from the congregations themselves, were organized, and it was for this reason that the rationalistic party in that country was able to maintain its ground in the long conflict with the superior consistory at Munich, which was essentially Lutheran, though occasionally under Catholic influence. The order for the election of elders in the congregations on the eastern side of the Rhine (1821), was so indefinite with respect

d) *Rothe*, d. Anfange d. K. u. ihrer Verf. Witt. 1837. 1 vol. Die ev. Landesk. Preussens u. d. Wiss. Lps. 1840.

e) *C. Ullmann*, f. d. Zuk. d. ev. K. Deutschl. Stuttg. 1845. *Jul. Müller*, die nächsten Aufgaben f. d. Fortbild. d. deutsch-prot. KVerf. Brsl. 1845. *C. C. J. Bunsen*, d. Verf. d. K. d. Zukunft. Hamb. 1845. [Const. of the Church of the Future, &c. from the Germ. Lond. 1848. 8.] *K. Hase*, d. gute alte Recht d. K. Lps. 2 ed. 1847.

f) A. KZ. 1832. N. 201. 1835. N. 98. 1843. N. 101. 117s. 170s. Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 414ss.

g) Actenmass. Darst. betr. Past. Eichh. (Allg. KBlatt. 1852. N. 16s.)—*C. Eichhorn*, gesch. Abriss d. Entsteh. ev. luth. Gemeinden im G. Baden. Stuttg. 1852.

to the peculiar duties of these officers, that many feared a hierarchical discipline was intended, and hence such a unanimous expression of public opinion was raised against it, that the government withdrew the plan. (*h*) The subsequent establishment of the synodal constitution (after 1825) took place under many suspicious limitations: each of the two dioceses were to have a separate general synod; the representatives of the congregations were to be chosen by the pastors; one half of all elected for the general synod by the district assemblies were to be set aside by the superior consistory; all acts were to be merely advisory, and even from such deliberations the hyper-catholic ministry of Abel had power to exclude at pleasure precisely those things which were of any interest to the Church. (*i*) In *Würtemberg*, the Church was represented in the diet by prelates nominated by the king, and through these its principal effort was to recover the ecclesiastical property, of which the recollection of the people was still fresh. After 1830, when most of the middle German states received representative constitutions, it became necessary to make many changes in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and the Church demanded securities for its established rights. (*k*) But the theory of the semi-liberal constitution of that country was not favorable to a peculiar department of laws for the Church, and when the clergy set up new claims, they lost their old privileges, until the power and the embarrassments of the religious interests (since 1840) have combined with the kindred improvements in political and ecclesiastical jurisprudence to strengthen their demands and call forth partial promises, for the oppressions of the people in civil life have compelled them to seek freedom in ecclesiastical agitations. (*l*) The *National Assembly* in St. Paul's church (1848) had no idea of jeopardizing the unity of the nation of which it was then dreaming, by engaging in the old ecclesiastical disputes; but in forming a theory of the *original rights* of the German people, it was driven by a recollection of many civil and ecclesiastical aggressions upon mental freedom to put forth a declaration respecting the true relation of the state to religion. During the deliberations upon this subject, it appeared that some were opposed to every kind of church, but the co-operation of these extreme parties in favor of the complete independence of Church and state, was held in check by the hesitation of a middle party, which feared to open the door for an unlimited ecclesias-

h) A. KZ. 1822. N. 24. 31. 34. 42. Works by Lehmus, Kaiser, Fuchs. On the other side: Vogel, Oertel, and others. —*Paulus*, will d. Baiersche LandesK nicht mundig werden? (Sophronizon, 1824. vol. VI. H. 1.)

i) *Stephani*, kan. Kecht. Tüb. 1825. p. 61ss. *F. J. Niethammer*, Nachr. v. d. ersten Versamml. d. Gen. Synoden in B. Sulzb. 1825. *Fuchs*, Zust. d. prot. K. in B. Ansb. 1830. (Printed) Manuscript: Die Gen. Syn. zu Ansbach im J. 1844. Without place. f. Another revision of this document printed at Ulm.

k) *Bickell* u. *Hupfeld*, ü. d. Ref. d. KVerf. in bes. Rücks. a. Kurhessen. Marb. 1831. Wünsche d. ev. Geistlichk. Sachs. L. 1831. *Grossmann*, ü. Ref. d. KVerf. in Sachs. L. 1833. For lit. see Stud. u. Krit. 1833. H. 2s.

l) *G. v. Weber*, die Umgestaltung d. KVerf. in Sachs. L. 1833. *Bräunig*, constitutionelles Leben in d. K. Lps. 1833. *C. Wolff*, die Zukunft d. prot. K. Stuttg. 1840. *C. B. König*, d. nst. Zeit. in d. ev. K. d. Preuss. Staats. Braunschw. 1843. *B. Moll*, d. gegenw. Noth. d. ev. K. Preuss. Pasewalk, 1843.—Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 419ss. Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 23ss. 63.—(*Hundeshagen*) Der deutsche Protest., s. Vergangenh. u. heutigen Lebensfragen. Frkf. 1847. *J. Wiggers*, die kirchl. Beweg. in Deutschl. Rost. 1848.

tical interference from abroad. Accordingly, all were allowed full liberty to believe in any form of religion, or in none, without affecting their civil or municipal rights; no special political privileges were allowed to any religious societies; permission was given to form new religious societies, and all were independently to manage their own affairs, subject only to the general laws of the state. A general form of an oath suited to any religious opinions was also provided, and the validity of marriage was made to depend entirely upon a civil act. With respect to the schools there was much contention between the different parties, for the Protestant teachers especially demanded a complete emancipation from the bonds of the Church, while the Catholic party with its pietistic adjunct endeavored to attain an opposite result by a free election of the teachers by the congregation. The majority, however, while it held to the principle that all science and instruction in it should be free, placed the whole school system under the supervision of the state, and removed the schools from the inspection of the clergy as such, without forbidding the employment of skilful clergymen in the supervision of them. (*m*) In the composition of the Prussian fundamental laws at Erfurth, these principles were essentially retained, with the exception only of the article respecting special political privileges, which the state wished to have power to grant to religious societies whose general aims might specially correspond with its own. The establishment of a state Church, however, was especially guarded against, and all charitable institutions were secured from any infringement. These principles were indeed incorporated in the constitutional charter of almost every German state, but the revived diet of the confederation declared (Aug., 1851) that these pretended fundamental laws never possessed any legal authority. Very little was done even when the power existed to enforce them, for the masses of society were interested only in political questions, and the clergy were jealous of majorities supposed to be unfriendly to the Church. In almost every place committees were appointed by means of the previous ecclesiastical authorities, by whom outlines of constitutions were prepared, which conveyed the executive power of the Church into the hands of a series of representative synods, rising through several gradations from the congregation, with an unequal number of secular and clerical deputies, and subject, as before agreed upon, to the control of the evangelical sovereign through certain officers. All contemplated at some future period a great evangelical Church of the German empire. These plans were of course laid aside when the political party of the reaction became every where triumphant. A few national churches like those of Wurtemberg and Weimar have nevertheless been allowed to have councils chosen partly by the congregations for the administration of their ecclesiastical affairs (1851), which have since been actually elected, and been engaged in a limited sphere of Christian activity. In *Bavaria*, the two divisions of the Church on the eastern side of the Rhine, by the free choice of the congregations at a provisional election, united under one General Synod at Anspach (1849), and obtained from the government (1850–53) an electoral law, according to which those who possessed the confidence of the congregations

m) Fund. Law of Dec. 21, 1848. Artt. 5 and 6.

could be appointed to manage their ecclesiastical affairs, and a double number of clergymen could be elected to the general synod. (*n*) The General Synod of the Rhenish Electorate assembled in October, 1848, and received from the government a release from the control of the superior consistory, and the grant of an electoral law. (*o*) A committee appointed by this synod, in a rationalistic spirit and without much consideration, changed the original record of the Union of 1818, which, after the overthrow of the revolution, called forth the opposition of the minority, and received the censure of the Protestant faculties of Germany when their opinions were asked respecting it. (*p*) The General Synod of 1853, in terror of the sword of dissolution, in face of many dishonorable elections of elders, and in consequence of the appointment of a number of clergymen from the division on the other side of the Rhine, returned to the patriarchal electoral laws of 1818, went, in fact, beyond them, and decided with respect to the creed, that the *consensus* which exists in the principal confessions of the evangelical German Church, of which the Church of the Palatinate is a part, is best to be found in the Augsburg Confession of 1540. A reservation, however, was distinctly put forth, that no compulsory obligation of an ecclesiastical or political nature was thus asserted in behalf of the symbolic books. (*q*) In *Oldenburg* alone the favorable moment was improved, and an ecclesiastical government was actually set up (1849) by a synod chosen by the congregations. Here the ecclesiastical authority of the sovereign was set aside, and the affairs of each congregation were committed to an assembly of its adult men, and a council chosen by them; the common business of the congregations was intrusted to an annual general synod, chosen directly by the people, and one half composed of clergymen; and the administration was placed in the hands of an ecclesiastical council chosen by and responsible to the synod. Though this constitution had no connection with the civil power, it was proclaimed by the Grand Duke; and as men of an ecclesiastical spirit were chosen, it was not unworthily carried into execution, and was capable of throwing off any defects which might be found in it. (*r*) But by its separation from the state, the security of ecclesiastical property was gone, it was soon left without support in consequence of the hostility of the civil officers, the suspicions of the orthodox party for the indefiniteness of its creed, (*s*) and the dislike of the clergy on account of their dependence upon the congregations, and in a time of general political reaction, few would defend it against the reproach of its revolutionary origin. A change in accordance with the terms of the fundamental law of 1852 was effected (April, 1853) by the Grand Duke, after an audience with the general synod and the supreme ecclesiastical council, on the ground that the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Oldenburg should independently admin-

n) Brl. KZ. 1849. N. 16. 30. 34. 39. 43. 1850. N. 84. A. K. Z. 1853. N. 149.

o) Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 66. 91. 104. 1849. N. 6. 27. 43.

p) Gutachten deutscher ev. th. Facultäten ü. den der K. d. bay. Pfalz zugedachten Verfassungsentw. Frkf. 1851.

q) A. KZ. 1853. N. 173.

r) Verhandll. d. Syn. ü. d. Verf. d. Oldenb. ev. K. Oldenb. 1849. 4. Verhandll. d. 1. Landessyn. 1850. 4.—d. 2. Landessyn. 1851. 4. Gesetz- u. Verordnungsbl. d. ev. Kirche. vol. I. St. 1.

s) Der Nothstand d. ev. K. Oldenb. 1852. Ev. KZ. 1851. N. 908.

ister its affairs in scriptural correspondence with the confessions of the Reformation, that it ought not to infringe upon the laws of the state, and that the Grand Duke, who adhered to the evangelical confession, should have the same control of ecclesiastical affairs which was usually conceded to the evangelical princes of Germany. This control was, however, to be limited by the constitution, which, in addition to a supreme ecclesiastical council appointed by the Grand Duke, establishes a triple synodal system regularly ascending from the congregations. No ecclesiastical law can be enacted without the consent of the national synod, which is to be composed of twelve clergymen, seventeen laymen chosen by the district synods, and five persons nominated by the Grand Duke, but elected by the supreme ecclesiastical council. (*t*)

§ 456. *The Prussian National Church and its Branches since* 1840.

When *Frederic William IV.* ascended the throne which a century before had been occupied by Frederic the Great, the pietistic orthodox party expected to have complete control. Although he had been educated in a school too intellectual and modern to sympathize with every kind of literal orthodoxy, he found spiritual benefit at the baptismal font of the Prince of Wales, and at the laying of the foundation-stone of the portal of the cathedral of Cologne. But the zeal of that party for orthodoxy he regarded as only an excess of commendable fidelity, while he looked upon their opponents as perjurers. He fully understood the feelings of St. Louis when he co-operated with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the establishment of the bishopric of St. James in Jerusalem (1841), but so unanimously was public opinion against what was supposed to be a new attempt to transfer the English ecclesiastical system to Prussia (§ 414), that this pious foundation was obliged to be brought back to its essential object, which was, to be a spiritual union in spite of ecclesiastical differences, and to be a mustard-seed of Protestantism on Mount Zion, which has since sent forth its first shoots under Bishop Gobat (since 1846), though not without some danger of Anglicising and languishing. (*a*) When the king bestowed his special favors upon the priests of a mediaeval Church, men began to think there was some truth in a prophecy invented near the close of the seventeenth century, but ascribed to an aged monk of Lehnin (about 1300), that after the many wrongs inflicted upon the old Church by the rulers of the house of Hohenzollern, the last should be the king of all Germany, and should then re-establish the convents and restore the Church to its former unity. (*b*) Indeed, the royal assurance was not needed to con-

t) Verhandll. d. 3. Landessyn. Oldenb. 1853. 4. Gesetz- u. Verordnungsbl. d. ev. luth. K. vol. II. St. 1.—*Th. v. Wedderkop*, die Verf. d. ev. luth. K. Oldenb. 1853.

a) (*Schneckenburger* and *Handeshagen*) Das anglo-preuss. Bisth. zu S. Jacob u. was daran hängt. Freib. 1842. (*Schneckenb.*) Die orient. Frage d. deutschen ev. K. Berne. 1848. *Ibid.* die ev. KZ. im. Kampfe f. d. Bisth. in Jerus. Berne, 1844.—(*Abeken*) Das ev. Bisth. zu Jerus. geschichtl. Darst. m. d. Urk. Brl. 1842. Briefwechsel (zw. Gladstone u. Bunsen) ü. d. deutsche K., das Episcopat u. Jerus. Hamb. 1844.—*F. C. Ewald*, Journal of Miss. Labors in the City of Jerus. Lond. 1846.—Brl. KZ. 1843. N. 6. 1846. N. 52. 63ss. 1847. N. 7. 1852. N. 4. 1853. N. 3. 18.

b) *L. de Bouverot*, Extrait d'un manuscrit relatif à la prophétie du frère Hermann de Lehnin. Brux. 1846. *Meinhold*, in d. N. Preuss. Ztg. 1849. Append. to N. 54.—*Gieseler*, d. Lehninsche Weiss. Erf. 1849. Comp. *M. W. Heffter*, Gesch. d. Kl. Lehnin. Brandenb. 1851.

vince the people that he was firmly established in the faith of his fathers. (*c*) From his regard not only to justice, but to what was ancient and peculiar, he had the last of the old Lutheran imprisoned clergymen set at liberty. (*d*) At a general synod held at Breslau (1841), these Separatists formed a *Lutheran Church* of Prussia, under a well-constructed constitution, but rigidly exclusive with respect to the established Church and the civil government, (*e*) and they were recognized by the state as congregations of Lutherans separated from the national Church. (*f*) Since the cessation of persecution they have increased with less rapidity. They now consist of about thirty ministerial charges, and we hear not only of appeals for aid for the "Lutheran Church involved in debt," but confessions that the love of many has waxed cold, and that the word of God is no longer heard with zeal. (*g*) In consequence of internal dissensions, sometimes amounting to mutual excommunications, their ecclesiastical ideals have been carried to the new world, and there continued with brighter prospects. (*h*) But even within the established Church, a decided Lutheran tendency, like that which has risen in other German countries, has made its appearance, under the direction sometimes of great learning and judgment, subjecting all theological principles to its standard, (*i*) and sometimes of a shallow fanaticism. (*k*) At an early period of his reign, the king had expressed his determination to allow the Church, over which the crown had acquired supreme power during the Reformation, freely to form for itself its own external organization. The transfer of a part of the ecclesiastical administration from the provincial governments to the consistories (1845), (*l*) might be construed as an expedient to get an easier control of the Church by the appointment of persons of a particular party. But when the provincial synods had assembled in 1844, composed of the superintendents in each of the six eastern provinces, and a clergyman chosen from each diocese, (*m*) the king called a *General Synod* at Berlin, not of representatives, but of distinguished persons in the Church, thirty-seven of whom were clergymen, and thirty-eight were laymen. Under the presidency of the minister for public worship, during a session continued from June 2, to Aug. 29, 1846, this body, which made no pretensions to a legal authority, but had no restraint on the expression of its opinions, and acted on conclusions drawn from the proceedings of the provincial synods, presented its views of the existing wants of the Church. (*n*) Its plan for a future ecclesiastical constitution combined the consistorial administration proceeding directly from the crown,

c) D. A. Z. 1851. N. 494. Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 74. *d*) A. KZ. 1840. N. 163.

e) Beschlüsse d. v. d. ev. luth K. in Pr. gehaltenen Generalsyn. Lps. 1842.

f) Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 84.

g) Der gegenw. Stand. d. ev. luth. K. in Pr. Vom Oberkirchencollegium. Lps. 1847. Luth. KBlatt. 1852. N. 77. Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 93.

h) Ev. KZ. 1843. N. 68. A. KZ. 1853. N. 15.

i) Zeitsch. f. d. gesammte luth. Th. u. K. v. *Rudelbach* u. *Guericke*, since 1840.

k) *K. M. Hegn.* die in d. seine Netz d. Union gerathene ev. luth. K. in bes. Bez. a. Hamburg. Ibid. 1844. *l*) Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 66.

m) Protocolle d. im J. 1844 in d. oestl. Prov. d. Pr. Monarchie abgeh. Prov. Synoden. 2 H. 4. Bruns, Rep. 1846. vol. VI. p. 253ss. vol. VII. p. 47ss.

n) *G. Krüger*, Berichte ü. d. erste ev. Gen. Syn. Preuss. Lps. 1846. Verhandlungen d. ev. Gen. Syn. zu Berlin Amtl. Abdruck. Brl. 1846. 4. *L. Richter*, d. Verhandlungen d. preuss. Generalsyn. Uebersichtl. Darst. Lps. 1847.

with the synods proceeding directly from the congregations in regularly ascending circles. (*o*) This assembly had not been convened without some reference to its nature, and only a single voice was raised in it in behalf of undisguised rationalism. But as the great majority there, as well as in the previous provincial synods, declared itself against not only unconditional freedom of instruction, but the compulsory obligation of creeds, (*p*) the party of the Evangelical Church Journal found itself in a decided minority. The moral impossibility of compelling men to adhere to the old creeds (*q*) was conceded, and yet it was thought indispensable to the completion of the Union that a confession of faith should be formed, to serve as a formula for ordination. But the confession then composed expressed only those sentiments which are essential to Protestant Christianity in Scriptural language, and without the precision of theological science. (*r*) The orthodox minority (14 to 48) therefore had reason to complain, notwithstanding all that was said for their satisfaction, that the adoption of the new confession was a virtual abrogation of the old. It was, however, decided that those congregations and patrons who were especially attached to the Lutheran or the Reformed type of doctrine or worship, should have full liberty, without endangering the development and existence of the Union, to use their respective confessions, if they wished in a regular manner to bring those clergymen whom they called under obligation to some creed. (*s*) But the orthodox opposition from without, in whose eyes such a body seemed a Robber-Synod, in which Christ was denied, (*t*) was powerful enough at least to postpone the execution of these enactments, although the ecclesiastical authorities had given them a unanimous concurrence, and had pronounced them of urgent importance. The superior Consistory was the only court finally formed under them (Jan., 1848), but as this was not sustained by any contemporary synodal regulations, it was looked upon as a mere party-authority. In opposition to the various combinations formed by the pietistic party, a free association of *Protestant Friends* was organized to promote the interests of rational and practical Christianity, and in the spirit of the Scriptures, and with all the means afforded by the nineteenth century, to secure both Christianity and the improvements of the age as equally inalienable and inseparable possessions. In the district of Middle Germany reached by railroads, this association soon increased from a small conference of clergymen (1841) to a large popular assembly under the presidency of *Uhlich*, a country pastor of simple but liberal views, and possessing a remarkable and continually developing talent for presiding over such a multitude. (*u*) The rationalism which appealed wholly

o) *Richter*, p. 553ss.

p) Review in Bruns. Rep. 1846. vol. VI. p. 272ss. Comp. Ev. KZ. 1845. N. 8.

q) Comp. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 65. 66. 1847. N. 1. 3.—1846. N. 31. 36. 1847. N. 30. 44. 46.

r) *Richter*, p. 382ss.

s) *Krüger*, p. 128ss. 185s. Verhandll. p. 134ss. 368ss. 527. *Richter*, p. 359ss.

t) Ev. KZ. 1846. N. 77. 78. 81s. 83s. 85. 86s. 95. 96s. 100. 103s. 1847. N. 3ss. 14s. 26s. 29. 30s. *Rudelbach*, in d. Zeitsch. f. luth. Theol. 1847. H. 3. *C. Haver*, Beleucht. d. Ord. Form. Barmen, 1846. Comp. Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 47.—Apologetical: *Dorner*, in the Liter. Z. 1847. N. 89ss. *Jul. Müller*, ü. d. erste Preuss. Gen. Syn. Brsl. 1847. On the other side: *Sander*, die moderne Theol. u. d. uralte bibl. Gl. Elberf. 1847.

u) A. KZ. 1841. N. 187. Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 44. 103. 1843. N. 47. 82. 1845. N. 40s. 45. 51. 1846. N.

to a sound common sense, hard pressed as it was in the domain of science, found its natural theatre for action among the middle classes, and in these assemblies exhibited itself as a popular power, on which even the friends of the Hegelian philosophy, now almost discarded in Prussia, leaned for support. At an assembly held at Cöthen in the spring of 1844, *Wislicenus* started the question whether the Scriptures or the Spirit was the rule of our faith, and then, in opposition to the common self-delusion of the rationalists, came to a decision exclusively in favor of the Spirit. But by the Spirit, he meant the spirit of truth and love which always animates every man, and especially every Christian, and by which the Scriptures were themselves essentially produced. *Guericke* therefore accused him and the *Friends of Light* generally of having renounced Christianity, and in order to uphold the absolute authority of the Scriptures, he did not hesitate, when pressed with the inquiry whether he believed in the story of Balaam's speaking ass, to answer promptly in the affirmative. (*v*) Although a general Protestant feeling even among the Protestant Friends was averse to an abandonment of the Scriptures, this establishment of a large party, and this discussion of abstract doctrines before a multitude entirely incompetent to sit in judgment upon them, appeared to most persons of doubtful expediency. (*w*) When the ministry of state in Saxony had, in accordance with their oath, prohibited (July 17th, 1845) all efforts and public meetings to call in question the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, and other creeds of the same general character, (*x*) a royal interpretation of the law against popular assemblies in Prussia, applied it to the promiscuous meetings of the Friends of Light. The consequence was, that they soon lost their importance, and became once more nothing but pastoral conferences. (*y*) The Evangelical Church Journal in public advertisements announced that Wislicenus and his associates had been virtually excommunicated, by the declarations of ministers, who in some instances had made public confession, and in others had openly renounced the communion of the Church. (*z*) Hundreds of these were opposed by thousands of protests from persons of all classes, against the spirit of the Evangelical Church Journal. (*a*) The school of Schleiermacher, and some other friends of the Church, though not belonging to the orthodox party, threw themselves between the combatants (Aug. 15), with the assertion that the doctrinal formula of the free development from Christ to Christ belonged to the same basis with

78. Their Organs: Blätter f. christl. Erbauung, by *R. Fischer*, Zeitsch. f. prot. Geistl. by *H. Niemeyer* and *Franke*.

v) *Guericke* in d. Ev. KZ. 1844. N. 46. 55. 57. 63. 67. 70. 71s. 102. *G. A. Wislicenus*, ob Schrift, ob Geist. Verantw. gegen Ankläger. Lps. 1845. *C. B. König*, d. rechte Standp. Magdeb. 1844. On the other side: *J. Schaffler*, Königs unruhiges Wort u. unrechter Standp. Lps. 1844. *Guericke*, ob Schr., ob Geist? Ein Comitat f. d. Dachpredigt d. Wisl. Hal. 1845. Comp. *E. Schwarz*, in d. Jen. A. L. Z. 1844. N. 131ss. 1845. N. 7ss.

w) Ue. d. Verein d. prot. Freunde Darmst. 1843. *A. R. Findeis*, ü. d. Gesellsch. d. prot. Fr. Magdeb. 1844. *Guericke*, Lichtfreundthum u. Kirchenth. Lps. 1847.—*C. Zschiesche*, die prot. Fr. Eine Selbstkritik. Altenb. 1846. Kritik d. prot. Fr. Berne. 1845.

x) Brl. K. Z. N. 60. D. A. Z. 1845. N. 283. *K. Matthes*, kurze Betr. ü. d. neueste Bekanntm. d. Staatsminist. im K. Sachs. Altenb. 1845.

y) Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 75. 1846. N. 51. 1847. N. 52.

z) Ev. KZ. 1844. N. 68. 73. 79. 84s. 89. 90. 92s. 95. 97. 102. 1845. N. 9. 17. 22. 81.

a) Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 59. 63. 68. 75.

that which asserted that Christ was the only ground of salvation. (*b*) Such a declaration was immediately denounced as the offspring of personal uneasiness, as the creed of the friends of twilight, and as a duel in the day of battle. (*c*) *Eichhorn*, the minister for public worship, had once belonged to the circle of Schleiermacher's friends, but he was urged forward by the party of the Church Journal, and according to the expression used by that party, he sought the welfare of the Church though in weakness. It was thought that all appointments to higher offices of instruction or of administration, were made in accordance with the views of that party at the expense sometimes of even the municipal rights of election. (*d*) Solemn addresses from the municipalities of Berlin, Breslau, and Königsberg prayed for protection against the threatened encroachments of the party in whose spirit the ecclesiastical authorities appeared to have acted in opposition to the religion of the great majority of the educated class among the people and the legitimate results of the Union, and they entreated that the freedom of Protestant instruction might be secured so far as it was not inconsistent with public morals and the security of the state. In the king's reply, the interference of the petitioners was repelled, their accusations were reproved, and their anxieties were dispelled. (*e*) In Königsberg, *Rupp*, a chaplain of a division in the army, held that Christianity was not a peculiar form of religion, but a universal principle of life. He therefore declared from the pulpit that he renounced the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed, on the ground that they were unchristian. Having been deposed by the consistory of that place (Dec., 1845), he resigned his office in the consistorial church, and in the midst of frequent alternations of good and ill fortune, established in a place which had previously been the scene of political agitations, a free evangelical congregation (Jan. 16, 1846), which recognized the Scriptures as a merely human production, but found in it the basis of a faith in the unity of God, and a supreme rule of moral conduct. As this congregation had assumed all power over its own religious affairs, its preacher found that he was opposed by a party in this very ideal of a fraternal congregation of the nineteenth century, which would hardly allow him to administer baptism even when requested by the parents, though using the apostolic formula modernized by himself. (*f*) *Wislicenus* was accused of elevating himself above the Holy Scriptures, and in his ordinary ecclesiastical practice, of virtually dispensing with the use of the apostolic creed. But since he, according to the ordinary legal usage of rationalists in the established Church, and the annihilation of their legal connection

b) Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 75.

c) *Stahl*, zwei Sendschr. an die Unterzeichner d. Erklär. v. 15. Aug. Brl. 1845. *Hengstenberg:* Ev. KZ. 1845. N. 84ss. *Harms:* Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 77. On the other side: (*E. Henke*) Bemerk. ü. Stahls Sendschr. Brl. 1845. Further Lit. in Bruns, Rep. 1846. vol. VI. p. 32ss.

d) (*Eilers*) Zur Beurth. d. Ministeriums Eichh. v. e. Mitgliede desselb. 1849. Das geistl. Minist. in Pr. u. d. Min. Eichh. (Bruns, Rep. 1848. vol. XV. II. 3. vol. XIX. II. 1.)

e) Brl. A. KZ. 1845. N. 68. 89. 1846. N. 16. Die Theologie des Berl. Magistrates. Münst. 1845.

f) Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 6. 9. 11. 46. 54. 94. 97. 1847. N. 12. 43. 47. 67. 70. 75. *Ulrich*, d. Verfahren gegen Rupp. in d. Recursinstanz v. s. Defensor. Lps. 1846. *H. Bertholdi*, Kritik d. Ruppianismus. 1846.—*Rupp:* Ue. d. christl. Staat. Königsb. 1842. Die Symbole oder Gottes Wort. Lps. 1846. Offner Brief an Dr. Bensch. Lps. 1847. Die freie ev. K. in Verbind. m. Gleichgesinnten. Altenb. 1847. P. 1. Christl. Erbauungsbuch f. freie ev. Gemeinden. Königsb. 1846s. 3 vols.

with any public body, was unwilling to be controlled in his doctrine and usages by any authority but that of the majority of his congregation, he was deposed (April, 1846) by the Consistory of Magdeburg from the pastoral office which he held at Halle, for gross violations of the established order with respect to the liturgy and the doctrines of the Church. (*g*) He collected a small congregation professing to believe in an always progressive revelation, and constituting a serious moral association with agreeable forms of social life, in which baptism was left to every one's own choice, and no one claimed any ecclesiastical character. (*h*) Merely as an attempt to form a congregation at *Marburg*, a few Friends of Light in that place proclaimed (Feb., 1847) that they had emancipated themselves from the dualism of humanity and divinity, and of time and eternity, exemplified in the person of Jesus, and had planted themselves on the universal foundation of Christianity and Protestantism. They professed that they had abandoned the fanciful world embraced in the Church, which had become disgusting to them, and that they had now advanced to the more fraternal union of a free humanity. (*i*) But *free congregations* sprung up at first in the Prussian towns through the efforts of pastors who had either been deposed, or were hard pressed by the authorities. They recognized no definite confessions of faith; their Christianity was a mere humanity; the only remnant of the Church which they retained in various degrees, was a system of morality free to all who were disposed to receive it; and they looked upon themselves as a particular family of the great human race, which was to be united at some future day in the bonds of peace. They kept up a voluntary form of association, although at an assembly of their deputies at Nordhausen (Sept., 1847), the representatives from Marburg and Halle proposed to give up the name of Christian, thus reducing to practice the fanciful idea of the *Philalethes* of Kiel, who only wished to ignore Christianity, and to use the most general forms of piety. (*k*) The consistories maintained their jurisdiction over these separated congregations, and punishment was inflicted upon particular individuals for an unauthorized performance of ministerial acts, and the marriages solemnized by them were treated as illicit until the *Edict* of *Toleration* (March 30, 1847), which, on the one hand, defined the existing law so as, in the spirit of Frederic the Great, to permit any number of licensed chapels of another faith to be built around the Evangelical and Catholic national churches; and on the other, declared the principle that certain civil rights were not dependent upon certain religious acts of a religious society recognized by the state. (*l*) The orthodox party was pleased with this law, because it proposed a way by

g) *G. Eberty*, Schutzschr. f. Wisl. durch s. erwählten Vertheidiger. Altenb. 1846. Die Amtsentsetz. d. Pfarrers G. A. Wisl. Actenmässig dargest. durch. G. A. Wisl. Lps. 1846.

h) Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 53s. 83. 1847. N. 7. Letter to Königsberg: *Ibid.* 1846. N. 41. Organ: Kirchl. Reform. Monatsschr. f. freie Protestanten. Hal. 1846ss.—*R. Benfey*, d. prot. Freunde u. d. Juden. Lps. 1847.

i) Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 83. 1847. N. 7. 15. *Bayrhofer*, d. wahre Wesen d. gegenw. rel. Ref. in Deutschl. Mannh. 1846.

k) Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 93. 99. 1846. N. 102. 1847. N. 4. 6. 9. 63. 67. *Ed. Baltzer*, d. deutsche K. Sondersh. 1847. 2 H.—Entw. e. Bittschr. an deutsche Fürsten. Kiel, 1880. Grunds. d. rel. Wahrheitsfreunde. K. 1830. Vorläuf. Nachricht v. d. im März 1812. gestifteten Holst. Philalethenverein. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1839. II. 2.) *l*) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 29s.

which the Rationalists might leave the Church. Accordingly, *Uhlich* (after 1845), the preacher in St. Catharine's church at Magdeburg, was thus provoked to leave the Church. He however at first refused to do so on account of the beneficial influence which he hoped to exert upon the Great Church, as his exemplary character was zealously vouched for by his congregation, and the city in which he ministered. But when he was asked by the consistory, whether he would subsequently conform with punctuality to the requirements of the Agenda, and in no way assail the creed of the Evangelical Church, he hesitated to give an affirmative answer without some conditions, and prayed for Christian forbearance and indulgence. He was then suspended (Sept., 1847), that by a regular process of discipline he might be legally deposed. Referring to the publicity of his instructions and his example, he appealed to the Evangelical Church in Germany, in opposition to a consistory which, under the influence of party zeal, he said was about to rend the Church into a variety of sects, (*m*) and as a defence in case of necessity against the present ecclesiastical government, established a more numerous congregation than had before been formed (in the time of its highest prosperity it numbered five thousand members). The legal existence of this congregation was secured by a compliance with the terms of the Edict of Toleration (Jan., 1848), and its permanency by a well-devised congregational polity, through which it became rich in works of charity. In its original charter it bore also a decidedly evangelical character, (*n*) but this was endangered by its connection with other free congregations, and by the different parties which had an existence in it.—The great storm of March, 1848, soon destroyed the odious name of an ecclesiastical administration. Count *Schwerin*, the minister for public worship, admonished the consistories, in accordance with the principles of religious liberty adopted by the royal government, to give the preference to no dogmatic or theological party whatever, and to look only that, in the spirit of evangelical charity, Christian truth be promoted on the basis of the word of God. (*o*) He dissolved the Superior Consistory, and gave orders for a committee to devise a synodal constitution, to be submitted to an imperial synod which should soon after be convened, that thus the Church might, according to a frequently expressed wish of the king, construct her future organization for herself. (*p*) The outline of the electoral law for the appointing synods, was published and defended by counsellors of the crown versed in ecclesiastical law. It proposed that the deputies should be elected by the congregations, but that the existing synods should be made use of in the Western, and that district and provincial synods should be arranged so as to serve for electoral bodies in the Eastern provinces. (*q*) But during the patriotic movements which so happily corresponded with the ideals the king had formed, his piety was deeply wounded by the pedantic outrage which

m) *Uhlich:* Bekenntnisse. Lps. 1845. Christenth. u. K. Lps. 1846. 17 Sätze in Bezug a. d. Verpflichtungsformel d. Synode in Berl. Wolfenb. 1847.—Amtl. Verhandll. (till July 9, 1847.) betr. den Pred Uhlich. Magdeb. 1847. Weitere Mittheill. in Sachen d. Uhlich, ed. by himself. Wolfenb. 1847. Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 19. 65. 1852. N. 16. A. KZ. 1847. N. 154. D. A. Z. 1847. N. 199. 316. 319. Uhl. Protest.: A. Z. f. Christenth. u. K. 1847. N. 81.—*Moeller* u. Uhlich. Lps. 1847.

n) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 94. *o*) Of April 24. Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 38.

p) Ibid. N. 31. 36. *q*) *L. Richter.* Vortrag ü. d. Berufung e. ev. Landessyn. Brl. 1848.

aimed to deprive royalty of its claim to exist by the grace of God. Before the appointed synod could actually come together, the revolution was overthrown, and the Evangelical Church Journal denounced the clamor for a synodal constitution as an ill-concealed enmity to Christ, and the whole scheme of an election by the people as a denial of God. (*r*) The provisional ministry of *Ladenberg* inquired (Jan., 1849) of the consistories, faculties, and select men of learning, what measures should be taken to secure to the Evangelical Church, by a constitution, the independent management of its own affairs. The numerous replies which it received, were filled with doubts as to the expediency of any synod which might be chosen by the people to form a constitution. (*s*) The constitution of Jan. 31, 1850, granted by the crown, contained many criticisms on itself, but the deputies united in it, and swore allegiance to it. With respect to religion, the whole essential spirit of the German fundamental laws was retained; but as the opposite parties, the one rejoicing and the other lamenting, had fallen into the notion that the state, by its separation from the Church, had become unchristian and atheistic, it was added, that whenever the state made any regulations with reference to religion, they should be on the basis of Christianity. A collegiate supreme council for deciding upon the internal affairs of the Church, was formed, by the order of the king, from the evangelical portion of the ministry of public worship, and a system of rules for the regulation of congregational affairs, was bestowed upon the six eastern provinces. (*t*) The supreme ecclesiastical council from that period governed the Church in the king's name, and *von Raumer*, the minister for public worship, in the presence of the Chambers declared that the new doctrine was, that the Evangelical Church exercises her constitutional right independently to regulate and administer her affairs, by its entire separation from, and consequent independence of the state, and its government according to its ancient constitution, by the sovereign as its most prominent member. (*u*) By this happy thought, anxiety for the independence of the Church was tranquillized, and the Chambers succeeded in repelling all complaints about violations of those articles of the fundamental law of the state which relate to the independence of the Evangelical Church. (*v*) The plan for congregational government, which was looked upon as the basis of true ecclesiastical freedom, contained a suspicious limitation of the power of choosing the vestries, and an extraordinary requisition that the private members should be bound by the three principal creeds, the confessions of the Reformation, and certain general laws for the Church which were yet unknown. In some of the eastern provinces, this plan was protested against by parties opposed to each other, but it was at last gradually admitted into

r) Brl. KZ. 1849. N. 3.

s) Amtl. Gutachten d. Verf. d. ev. K. in Pr. betr. Im Auftrage durch L. Richter. Brl. 1849.

t) Of Jan. 26, 1849, and June 29, 1850. Allerhöchster Erlass. betr. d. Grundzüge e. Gemeinde-Ord. u. d. Einsetz. d. Ev. Oberkirchenr. nebst Aktenst. Brl. 1850. Comp. *J. Müller*, Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1851. N. 1ss.

u) Feb. 8. 1851. Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 13. 15. 17.

v) Die Selbstandigk. d. ev. Landesk. u. ihre Vollziehung durch das Cultusmin. Aktenmassig dargest. u. der zweiten Pr. Kammer ueberreicht v. Jonas, Sydow, Eltester, Krause, Lisco, Mueller. Brl. 1851.

most of the congregations. (*w*) The supreme ecclesiastical council added many salutary provisions for the order, discipline, and temporal wants of the national Church, but under great disadvantages on account of its origin, and in the midst of much opposition to its jurisdiction. (*x*) As a natural result of the political reaction, the power of the orthodox party was increased, and its eloquent legal advocate endeavored to show that the revolution was the appropriate consequence of Rationalism; that the essential spirit of both was the alienation of man from his God; (*y*) that authority should henceforth take the place of the majority; and that the king might, under certain pious forms, be properly exonerated from his sinful oath to support the fundamental civil laws. (*z*) Some ecclesiastical authorities at ordinations demanded a stricter adherence to the articles of faith than had been usually required; and even pastors, who could receive the confession in only some peculiar ideal sense, were subjected to examinations which had long been discontinued, and which terminated in their deposition. (*a*) Questions were also proposed to candidates for theological professorships, which could not be answered, as was required, in the affirmative, without a renunciation of all theological investigation. (*b*) The free congregations (numbering about forty in Prussia and the contiguous countries), which had in 1848, like almost all associations, taken some part in politics, and whose leaders had to some extent been involved in the movements of the day, had nearly all their houses of worship closed by the police under the new law against political societies. These proceedings were partially confirmed by the judicial courts, but some measures of the police seemed so inconsistent with the freedom of conscience guaranteed by the fundamental laws, that inquiries were instituted respecting them even in the Chambers (1852), where the government had avowed its determination to exterminate by every legal means the whole system of dissent. (*c*) The supreme ecclesiastical council excommunicated all the free congregations, without reference to the various tendencies among them, and pronounced their baptisms invalid, (*d*) yet the civil courts punished every official act of their ministers as an invasion of the clerical office. (*e*) But no mere liberty without religious energy, nor connections with even impious men, who denied the existence of a living God, nor popular adulation, to which their best leaders felt constrained to resort, nor persecution itself, have been found sufficient for the salvation of these people. (*f*) *Rupp*, however, endeavored to obtain a higher degree of purity, by a legal dissolution of the old, and the formation

w) Allg. KBlatt. f. d. ev. Deutschl. 1852. N. 33ss. 1853. N. 36ss.—*G. Schwerin's* Protest: Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 65.

x) Aktenstücke a. d. Verwalt. d. Abth. d. Minist. f. d. innern ev. KSachen. Brl. 1850. Aktenst. a. d. Verw. d. ev. OKRaths. Brl. 1851s. 5 H.

y) *F. J. Stahl*, was ist die Rev.? Brl. 1852. Yet Comp. *Ibid.* d. Protestant. als polit. Princip. (Ev. KZ. 1853. N. 28.)

z) Briefe u. Staatskunst. Brl. 1853. Yet Ev. KZ. 1853. N. 1s.

a) *W. F. Sintenis*, Moeller's Wirken in Consist. u. in d. Gen. Super. Lps. 1849. *J. H. Baltzer*, e. Glaubensgericht in der Mitte d. 19 Jahrh. Lps. 1850.

b) Zeitsch. f. unirte K. 1853. vol. XV. N. 3s. *c*) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 6. 9.

d) Aktenst. d. OKRaths. H. 2. p. 36ss. *e*) Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 37. 77. 1852. N. 11.

f) *Weissgerber*, Douai's neue rel. Meuselw. 1851. *C. Zschiesche*, d. freie Gemeinde, ihre Wirksamk. u. ihre Stimmfürer in d. Pr. Sachsen. Halbrst. 1850.

of a new but small congregation (Oct., 1853), in which the Bible was regarded as the original source of truth, and the imitation of Christ was made the supreme end of life. (*g*) The orthodox portion, on the other hand, which had recently become so artificially prominent, was compelled once more, and in more general relations, to be as exclusive as Luther himself. But these Lutherans were so confident of success, and so little troubled with conscientious scruples, that although they had before formed an association at Leipsic composed of clergymen belonging to the different national churches, and in friendly connection with the Separatists for the maintenance of the Lutheran confession; and although, according to this association, the modern notion of union in the fundamental doctrines of the two confessions was nothing but a syncretism of many chameleon forms, (*h*) they refused to attach themselves to the Church of Luther which the Separatists had formed, but under the conduct of the fugitive president of the Consistory of Magdeburg, they constituted over the graves of the Reformers a league (Sept., 1849) for carrying out the Lutheran confession, even in its provisions for public worship, congregational order, and the government of the national Church. (*i*) In the kingdom of Saxony, they had in their favor the letter of the law, and the countenance of the rulers, and in Electoral Hesse they had at least the latter advantage. In Bavaria, although the younger clergy on the eastern side of the Rhine had been educated at Erlangen under their influence, the more zealous portion declared that they had already taken the staff to leave a Church whose altar had been polluted by the admission of the members of the united Church, and that they only waited to see if it could not be freed from this impurity. (*k*) In Prussia, they demanded that the Union, which they declared had never been legally formed, and denounced as confusion and revolution, should be utterly dissolved. Internal dissensions, like those which usually distract a triumphant party, began already to prevail, principally with respect to the question, whether those invested with the clerical office were endowed with special grace as the sole depositaries of ecclesiastical power. (*l*) By the separated Lutherans their whole course was declared to be a lie. *Guericke*, the confessor of Lutheranism, and afterwards much abused as an apostate from it, once more abandoned the fellowship of the rigid Lutherans, where he had vainly hoped to find a Christian spirit and freedom for a Lutheran conscience. (*m*) While those who were faithful to the Union charged the supreme council with having sacrificed it, prayer was offered in a Lutheran pulpit for an orthodox supreme council, and even then the existence of that which then ruled the Church was declared to be a sin. (*n*) It however agreed that it regarded only those congregations in

g) D. A. Z. 1853. N. 253. *h*) Ev. KZ. 1849. N. 81.

i) Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 94. 1849. N. 77.—Die Leipzeiger Konferenz am 31. Aug. and 1. Sept. 1853. (*Kahnis*, ü. d. Unionsdoctrin.) Lps. 1853.

k) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 55. 1852. N. 1. *Hommel*, Recht d. K., Union u. d. bay. prot. Landesk. Ansp. 1853.

l) *J. W. F. Höfling*, Grundsätze ev. luth. KVerf. Erl. (1850.) 1851.—*Flörke*, z. Lehre v. d. K. (Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. 1852. H. 1.)

m) *Guericke*, Versöhnliches ü. brennende KFragen d. Gegenw. Lps. 1852.

n) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 94. *Otto*, Sup. in Naugard, in d. Denksch. d. luth. Vereins in Pommern, s. d. Antwort des OKRaths: Aktenst. H. 3. p. 39ss. Comp. *Otto*, Monatsschrift. 1851ss.

Silesia as truly united in the Confession, which could show the original documents relating to the Union; it delivered the whole of Pomerania, which really possessed them, over to the exclusively Lutheran Confession; and it conceded that particular pastors might dispense at will with the breaking of the bread, which was looked upon as the symbol of the Union, and that the Silesian consistory might separate into three parts, so as to form a Lutheran, a Reformed, and a United division, with a council for each Confession. (*o*) Even the Evangelical Church Journal had already long doubted with regard to the enthusiasm it had displayed for the Union under Frederic William III., and it found an occasion for a change of course in its opposition to a Union which absorbed all the Confessions. (*p*) The king made known to the Lutheran association (1850) his desire to establish consistories and superior authorities in the Church, which in the eastern provinces should be Lutheran, with Reformed assessors; (*q*) and he gave orders that, in order to preserve the independence of the two confessions in the Union, the supreme ecclesiastical council should consist of members from both confessions, and that all business which could properly be decided by but one of the confessions, should be left to the votes of those who belonged to that confession. The same division was also to be made in the consistories. (*r*) The supreme council separated into two divisions, according as they were members of the Lutheran or the Reformed confessions. Dr. *Nitzsch* alone preferred to adhere to the consensus of the two confessions, and was therefore released from all participation in the decision of confessional questions, but he was held up as the patron of the congregations united in the confession by the original document. (*s*) These proceedings were regarded by the Lutherans as a legal dissolution of the Union, and they now therefore demanded in Luther's name, that the monster of the authorities of the united Church which still existed should be completely abolished; that purely Lutheran faculties, or at least professors, should be appointed; and that the patrimony of the Lutheran Church should be restored. (*t*) Even those advocates of orthodoxy who had formerly been moderate in their demands, now raised the watchword that those who governed the Church appeared to give their countenance not to the Union, but to its opponents, and that the natural result of this should be the separation of clergymen and congregations, until finally the royal regent of the Church would be the only individual belonging to the united body. (*u*) Indeed, the old traditions and necessary policy peculiar to the Hohenzollern family seemed entirely forgotten in the pleasure which all seemed to feel in the separation of the confessions. The king then avowed his just displeasure at the unfair interpretation given to his orders of the previous year. He declared that he had never intended to disturb the Union, and thus produce a

o) Aktenst. H. 1. p. 40ss. H. 2. p. 14ss. Brl. KZ. 1853. H. 30. Aktenst. d. Abth. d. Minist. p. 70ss.

p) First in 1844. N. 2s. 1847. N. 1.—1849. N. 5ss. 1851. N. 4.

q) Printed by *Hase*, K. d. dt. Reichs. p. 277.

r) Order of the Cabinet, March 6, 1852: Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 38. Instructions for the consistories: *Ibid.* N. 41. *s*) *Ibid.* N. 63.

t) Open Declar. in the Monatsschr. June, 1852. Luth. Gen. Conf. at Witt. Sept. 1852.: Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 82. A. KZ. 1852. N. 105.

u) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 61. 90. Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1853. N. 1ss. 10ss.

division of the national Church, nor to renew the old controversy about the confessions. The ecclesiastical authorities were therefore directed to oppose all attempts to separate the two confessions, to allow no synods, or even individual clergymen or congregations, to lay aside the name of Evangelical Congregations, or the ritual prescribed for the Union; and only on the united request of a clergyman and his congregation, after all proper means and persuasions had been tried, to permit particular congregations to deviate from the regulations prescribed for the Evangelical National Church. (*v*) Two views of this proceeding were expressed among the Lutherans: one was that of painful disappointment from a conviction that this order of the cabinet was a complete renunciation of the previous legislation; and the other looked upon it as a mere check to the wavering course of the whole policy for the Union. (*w*)

§ 457. *Combinations.*

The *Evangelical Conference* assembled at Berlin in consequence of a wish expressed by the Kings of Wurtemberg and Prussia, that the Evangelical Church of Germany might be more perfectly united, and continued in session from January 6th to February 14th, 1846. Some hopes were entertained in it of forming a union by a stricter construction of doctrines, and some violent measures were proposed for the accomplishment of such an object. But as the great majority were only in favor of securing, on the basis of the confessions, the two fundamental doctrines which asserted that the Scriptures were the only source of the knowledge of saving truth, and that justification was by faith, this diplomatic assembly from its nature could only exchange views and make arrangements for an intercourse between the different parts of the common church by annual assemblies. (*a*). The *Church Conference*, which had been for a while suspended, was resumed at the suggestion of a private company of persons, and of a journal used as an official organ by the ecclesiastical authorities of all Germany. (*b*) It was held after Pentecost 1852 and 1853 at the foot of the Wartburg, and was intended to be a meeting of deputies from the supreme authorities of most of the national German churches for confidential conference, but with no legislative powers. (*c*) But although these spiritual and secular authorities of the Church stood in this independent position with respect to each other, some of them believed in the development of Protestantism and in the Union, while others saw no reality in either. But as all were anxious to preserve the blessing of some visible form of unity for the whole Protestant Church of Germany, questions of a deeper and more dreaded nature were held at a distance. The experience and the wishes of different individuals were here compared, and a

v) Cabinet Order of July 12, 1853: Zeitsch. f. unirte ev. K. 1853. N. 35.

w) Luth. Gen. Conf. at Witt. Sept. 1853: Ev. KZ. 1853. N. 83. Comp. 73. 79s. Counter assertion of the king to the Witt. Conf. of Oct. 11: D. A. Z. 1853. N. 273.

a) Literar. Programme: *C. Ullmann* (p. 572. nt. *e*.) Official action: Loccumer Artikel. (Die Vorschläge d. Dr. Snethlage & Ruppstein z. Verein d. ev. K. Deutschl. mitgetheilt v. Perez. Grim. 1846. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 7. 11. 28. 33.)—Account in Biedermann, unsre Gegenw. u. Zuk. 1846. II. 2. Die Resultate d. Berl. Konf. Lps. 1846. Comp. Bruns, Rep. 1846. vol. VI. p. 228ss.

b) Allg. Kirchenblatt für d. ev. Deutschland, ed. by C. G. Moser. Stuttg. I. 1852. II. 1853.

c) Protocols: KBlatt. 1852. N. 13. 1853. N. 29ss. Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 17. 36. 39. 40s. 1853. N. 44. 47.

choice collection of hymns for a general hymn-book was adopted, (*d*) though not till, in the committee of invited persons conversant with such matters, one party contending for the adoption, at every hazard, of the old text, had been excluded, and another, wishing to preserve the ecclesiastical poetry of the eighteenth century, had been set aside without a hearing of its peculiar views. (*e*) A desire which had been expressed at a secular festival on the field of Lutzen, to erect a monument to the heroic death of Gustavus Adolphus, by obtaining minute contributions from the people, was so modified, when the sovereign himself erected a monument over the Swedish stone, as to lead to the idea of a charitable institution bearing his name, to sustain those evangelical congregations which, in the neighboring Catholic countries, were unable to endure the expense needful for their ecclesiastical support. The *Gustavus Adolphus Institution* in Saxony, with some assistance from Sweden, collected (after 1834) a small capital, the interest of which was barely sufficient to render the necessity of such aid more apparent. Finally an appeal from Darmstadt (Oct. 31, 1841) produced another effort in connection with the Saxon institution, though in a superior style (1842). An assembly was then held at Frankfort (1843), at which a wise division of labor was made among various auxiliary associations, with a central committee at Leipsic, and a superior movable assembly of deputies returning at fixed intervals. The result of all these proceedings was the establishment of an Evangelical Society of the Gustavus Adolphus Institution, which, as a Protestant German popular cause, collects the means for sustaining and building churches for many poor and almost extinct congregations. (*f*) The German governments, though in some cases with reluctance, yielded to the popular influence of this association, though in Bavaria it was proscribed until 1848, on the ground that it was hostile to the Catholic Church, and inconsistent with the German character. (*g*) As it was founded principally by the liberal party, Hengstenberg pronounced the association a great lie, (*h*) and the Prussian crown was unwilling to sustain any but an independent Prussian society under the patronage of the king. (*i*) But as every effort was likely to be paralyzed by this separation, the government finally yielded to the popular will, and at the assembly at Gottingen (1844) the Prussian deputies extended to it the hand of brotherhood. (*k*) The internal importance of the society, in spite of the limited nature of its external object, resulted from the fact that it was a neutral holy ground on which all parties in the Evangelical Church could meet, and on which that Church could once more be seen as an undivided power. When therefore, at the assembly at Gottingen, it was asked that more definite qualifications should be named for admission to the association than a mere agree-

d) Deutsches ev. Kirchengesangbuch in 150 Kernliedern.

e) *J. Geffcken*, d. allg. ev. Gesangb. u. d. darüber geführten Verhandll. Hamb. 1853.

f) Leipz. Z. 1832. N. 164. 1833. N. 11. A. K. Z. 1835. N. 9. 66. 1841. N. 19. 80. 172. 189. 203. 1842. N. 107. 133. 139. 174. Organ, since the Assemb. at Frankfort: Der Bote des ev. Vereins d. G. A. Stiftung, issued by *K. Zimmermann*.

g) A. K. Z. 1844. N. 34. 45. Brl. K. Z. 1849. N. 76.

h) Ev. K. Z. 1844. N. 6. yet comp. 788. A. K. Z. 1844. N. 41.

i) Cabinet order of Feb. 14. 1844: Report of the G. A. St. I. p. 83s.

k) Ibid. p. 289ss. Berl. K. Z. 1844. N. 15. 17. 72.

ment with the principles of the Evangelical Church, the request was at once rejected. (*l*) Dr. Rupp was sent by the superior association of Konigsberg as its deputy to the assembly at Berlin in 1846. A vote being taken on the validity of his credentials on the night of September 7th, a small majority appeared against recognizing him as a member of the assembly. (*m*) Although the general sentiment was averse to a perversion of the society to objects foreign to its nature, yet the orthodox party demanded his exclusion as an apostate, and they were joined by some of the liberal deputies. This was done by the latter either because they wished to prevent the society being made an authority in matters of faith, and therefore allowed the Evangelical Church to be postponed for the Established Church, or they had a superior regard for the success of the society which seemed of special importance in that particular locality. Immediately was heard in every part of Protestant Germany a cry of extreme displeasure at this action, and an immense majority appeared in the local societies in various ways, offering protests and asserting that the decision at Berlin was based upon a false idea of the Evangelical Church, and that the free alliance of love had degenerated into an inquisitorial tribunal. (*n*) On the other hand, the other party threatened to withdraw, and even then Gustavus Adolphus Societies with separate ecclesiastical connections had been formed at Koenigsburg and Berlin, and were readily licensed by the government, but never exhibited much life. (*o*) The new elections threw the power in the assembly at Darmstadt (1847) into the hands of those opposed to the decision at Berlin; but as all dreaded the impiety of a schism, as Rupp had withdrawn, and as the subsequent course of the free congregations themselves was such as to render their right to a membership in the Evangelical Church very doubtful, the parties agreed that without reconsidering the decision at Berlin, whenever it became necessary to act upon the exclusion of a deputy for his want of a membership in the Evangelical Church, the decision should belong to the superior assembly under such regulations as would give no room for temporary passions and prejudices, and as would allow the true majority at the time to show itself. It was resolved that no deputy from a society unconnected with the established churches should be entitled to a seat. (*p*) After a decline in consequence of the sway of the political spirit of 1848, the interest in this cause annually increased as in former times until 1853, when the yearly revenue amounted to $38,000. Numerous churches have been erected, those which were decaying have been repaired, and those outposts of Protestantism which seemed almost lost have had their confidence revived. The idea of an Evangelical

l) Report of the G. A. St. I. p. 369ss.

m) Protocoll ü. d. Sitzung d. 5. Hauptvers. Lps. 1846. 4. Comp. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 74s. 76s. *J. Geffcken*, Bericht ü. die zu Berlin geh. Hauptvers. Hamb. 1846.

n) Report of the G. A. 1846. p. 295ss. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 93. 95. *C. Schwarz*, Dr. Rupp's Ausschliess. Hal. 1846. *Theile*, Rupp's Ausschliess. Lps. 1846. Rupp. d. G. A. Verein u. d. ev. K. Altenb. 1847. *Ettester* u. *Krause*, ist d. G. A. V. ein Landeskirchl. o. e. ev. protestantischer? *W. Dittenberger*, ü. d. Ausschl. v. R. Heidelb. 1847. For the decision: *C. Lampe*, ü. d. Ausschl. d. Dr. Rupp. Lps. 1846. *Lücke* u. *Ullmann*, ü. d. Nichtannahme d. Königsb. Deputirten. Hamb. 1847. *De Wette*, d. Ausschl. d. Dr. Rupp. Lps. 1847.—Krisis d. G. A. Vereins. Wechselreden. v. *F. Mallet* u. *H. Hupfeld*. Hal. 1847. comp. Reuter, Rep. 1847. H. 6s.

o) Ev. K. Z. 1847. N. 5. Brl. K. Z. 1847. N. 9. 63. 63s. 75. *p*) *Ibid.* N. 79.

Church Alliance was started in a circle of friends at the Sandhof near Frankfort, but the association itself was formed by persons of a similar spirit, called together by a public appeal in the Castle church of Wittenberg (Sept. 1848). Its general aim was to constitute, in a time of fearful division, a firm bulwark for the faith, and the two special objects which it had in view have been well represented in the persons of the two jurists *von Bethmann-Hollweg* and *Stahl*, who have been annually but regularly elected the Presidents of its yearly meetings. One of these was to satisfy in some practicable form the desire then generally felt for a German National Church, and the other was to modify the Union, for which the new Prussian regulations had left no other distinction than the permission for each confession to follow out its own peculiar system of government, until it should become a mere confederation. (*q*) Hence, in the original charter, the Church Alliance was declared, on the one hand, not to be a union in which the confessional churches are to be abolished, but a confederation of all those ecclesiastical bodies which stood on the basis of the reformed confessions, viz., the Lutheran, the Reformed, the United, and the Moravian Churches, for the promotion of certain common interests, without impairing the complete independence of either particular church; and on the other, to have no actual existence until, in compliance with the request of a committee afterwards to be chosen, the authorities of the respective national and confessional churches should send deputies whose special business it should be to form the true Ecclesiastical Council of the Evangelical Church (of Germany). Stahl's object was frustrated by the power which still remained in the Union, and that of B. Hollweg found no support, and nothing to draw men together during the political revolutions then taking place. The only effects of their efforts were, the separation of the Prussian supreme ecclesiastical council into its different confessions, and the meeting of the Conference at Eisenach. But the assemblies annually convened by the invitation of the permanent committee became, like the movable assemblies of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, though with far more comprehensive objects and ecclesiastical results, great pastoral conferences, to which distinguished preachers were invited for the discussion of the practical questions of the day. (*r*) With no other limitation than the equivocal condition that all should stand on the Reformed Confessions, here were collected for free co-operation and sympathy those two parties especially which, at the Prussian General Synod, and with respect to that synod, stood in such hostile relations to each other. At these *Ecclesiastical Diets* the members not only poured forth the warm feelings of their hearts and uttered many devotional sentiments without reference to each other's peculiarities, but many maxims and plans of Christian wisdom were presented. The divided state of opinion and the hesitation apparent in it, made its decisions of but little

q) *Dorner* ü. Reform d. ev. Landeskirchen im Zusammenh. mit Herstell. e. ev. deutschen Nationalk. Bonn. 1848.

r) Die Verhandlungen d. Witt. Versamml. by Kling. Brl. 1848. Verh. d. 2. Witt. KTages. B. 1849. 2 H. Verh. d. 3. deutschen KTages zu Stuttg. ed. by Lechler, B. 1850. 2 H. Verh. d. 4. KTages zu Elberfeld, ed. by Krafft. B. 1851. 2 H. Verh. d. 5. KT. zu Bremen, ed. by Toel, B. 1852. 2 H. Verh. d. 6. KT. zu Berlin, ed. by Rendtorff, B. 1853.—Entstehung u. bisher. Gesch. d. deutschen ev. KTages. Brl. 1853.

avail, but they were generally put forth against the unbelief and partial faith of the times. Propositions of an extraordinary character were generally modified, or allowed to remain as rash threats; (*s*) but the partial reports which particular parties sometimes gave of the proceedings of some assembly, acting without due preparation or skill, were in danger of conveying statements or hasty representations to the minds of evangelical princes, and thus suspicions might be thrown upon the efforts of more liberal persons, and the natural development of their plans might be disturbed. The propositions of a committee at the Ecclesiastical Diet at Berlin, to leave undisturbed the peculiar confession of each church, but to acknowledge the Augsburg Confession of 1530 as the common record of evangelical doctrine in Germany (according to the programme, as the fundamental creed of the whole Evangelical Church of Germany), was almost unanimously adopted, and every attempt to modify or explain it was repelled in a dictatorial manner. From the first every invitation to co-operate in this movement had been declined by the separatist Lutheran Church. A few Lutheran doctors of Erlangen, Leipsic, and Rostock, gave their testimony against the resolution of the Assembly at Berlin, on the ground that it was a deceptive act, and injurious, not only to the Lutheran Church which claimed the Augsburg Confession as its exclusive property, but to the Confession itself, and that it obliterated all those distinctions which God had placed between truth and error. (*t*) The ecclesiastical diet, from its first organization, was principally engaged in plans for *domestic missions* to relieve the spiritual and temporal necessities of evangelical people by means of evangelical instruction and fraternal supplies. The Church had indeed always been an institution for affording such relief, but the doctrine of the merit of works had made the Catholic far more efficient in such matters than the Evangelical Church, and the practical activity of the Reformed had always exceeded that of the Lutheran body. With the increase of life in the Church, Christian love manifested itself also more energetically in those various associations which had been devised against the miseries of social life, and entered with more or less earnestness into measures for the spiritual welfare of all who were alienated from God. (*u*) *Wichern*, a licentiate, and the superintendent of the Rough House near Hamburg, for the rescue of neglected children (after 1833), succeeded by enthusiastic speeches and writings in making the cause of Domestic Missions a popular object even in circles of fashion, and the hesitation of the Lutherans on the ground that it might be an interference with the clerical office, through the unrestrained activity of associations, and that it was a development of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, has been insufficient to check its progress.(*v*) The centralization of the quiet but complicated action of

s) Ev. KZ. 1852. p. 904.

t) Das Bekenntniss der luth. K. gegen d. Bek. d. Berl. KTags gewahrt von etlichen Lehrern d. Th. u. d. KRechts. Erl. 1853. Comp. *W. F. Besser*, Union u. Confoed. (Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. 1849. H. 2.)

u) Diaconissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswörth. (A. KZ. 1839. N. 135. 1840. N. 41.) Die barmh. Schwestern d. ev. K. (Deutsche Vierteljahrssch. 1842. N. 19.)

v) Die fliegenden Blätter des rauhen Hauses, Hamb. s. 1848. Die innere Mission d. deutschen ev. K. Denkschr. an d. dt. Nation. Hamb. 1849.

the local associations which some have attempted, will, perhaps, only give greater importance to the whole by the increase of counsel, and by the proposed education of well qualified laborers; (*w*) and the ecclesiastical diet, while it serves to inflame the hearts of men to afford an ample supply for the abyss of neglected wretchedness which it discloses, will make the Church Alliance a voluntary alliance of faith working by love. The progress of Catholicism in England produced such a spirit of co-operation among the Protestants of that country, that many were prepared for a plan of union embracing all truly evangelical communities. After a preliminary meeting at Liverpool (1845), and after much discussion of various propositions at an assembly in London (1846), an *Evangelical Alliance* was formed with great rejoicings, in which, on the basis of nine articles as a common platform of faith, any persons in their individual capacity, and without interfering with their ecclesiastical differences, might extend to each other as Evangelical Christians the hand of fellowship. Even Germans took part in these proceedings, and Northern and Southern Germany were marked out for auxiliary societies. But such was the nature of the articles that no union based upon them could be of much importance except for Great Britain and North America, to remind the numerous sects of those countries, who are divided by certain rigid literalities, but are united in the many fundamental doctrines of primitive orthodoxy, of their higher unity. (*x*)

§ 458. *The Scriptures.* *Cont. from* § 379, 411.

De Wette, Einl. in das A. u. N. Test. (p. 550.) [Int. to the O. T. transl. from the Germ. of *De Wette*, with copious add. by Theod. Parker. Bost. 1843. 2 vols.] in d. N. T. by *Credner*, Hal. 1836ss. by *Neudecker*, Lps. 1840. *Reuss*, Gesch. d. H. Schrift. (p. 416.) [Some notices may also be found in *T. H. Horne's* & *Davidson's* Introductions.]

The peculiar nature of Protestantism was exhibited in the fact that all parties, in proportion as they had a living connection with the Church, met on the common ground of the Scriptures. Although these had lost something of the venerable majesty they once possessed as a holy book, modern Protestantism made it easier to investigate them as original documents. With respect to the New Testament, *Griesbach* (1745–1812) examined all the libraries of Europe, and laid down the principles for ascertaining the most probable reading by a careful weighing of testimony and a preference of the older Alexandrian manuscripts. (*a*) *Lachmann* (d. 1851), without regard to the sense of the passages, merely sought for the most ancient reading, (*b*) and *Tischendorf* recovered manuscripts which had been lost, and restored others which had been defaced. (*c*) In the historical investigations for determining

w) Entsteh. u. Gesch. d. KTags. p. 548. Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 17.

x) Essays on Chr. Union. Edinb. 1845. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 41ss. 45. 50. 63s. 71. 74. 81. 87. 89. 1847. N. 11. 34. *C. Mann* & *Th. Plitt*, d. ev. Bund. Bas. 1847. *E. Boehmer*, d. ev. Bundestag in London. 1851. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. W. 1851. N. 46s.) Journals of the Alliance: Evangelical Christendom, & Bulletin du Monde chrétien.

a) *J. C. W. Augusti*, ü. Griesb. Verdienste. Bresl. 1812.

b) N. T. Brl. 1831. Stud. u. Krit. 1830. H. 4. 1832. H. 4. N. Test. gr. et lat. *C. Lachmann*, rec. *Phil. Buttmannus*, gr. lect. auctoritates apposuit. Ber. 1842–50. 2 vols.

c) Cod. Ephraemi rescr. Lps. 1843-5. 2 vols. 4. Monumm. sacra N. T. Lps. 1846. 4.

the genuineness of the writings of the Old Testament, especially of those which bore the names of Moses and Daniel, then generally regarded as the work of later authors, every effort was made by the newly awakened orthodoxy to prove that they were composed by those whose names they bore. (*d*) Besides those books of the New Testament which had been subject to some suspicion in ancient times, the first gospel lost the name of Matthew, (*e*) the pastoral epistles were called in question, (*f*) some painful but easily retracted doubts were raised respecting the gospel of John, which had been so highly extolled for its theology of feeling. (*g*) No sooner was the interpretation of the Scriptures released from the service of Orthodoxy than it was taken up by the party of the Enlightenment. The ultimate results of their efforts may be seen in the ethical expositions required by Kant, and the rationalistic explanation of the miraculous history. When science itself succeeded in overcoming this feeble effort, the object of all true interpretation was generally acknowledged to be a faithful representation of the literal sense intended by the sacred authors. *Winer* (b. 1789) made use of the development given to classical philology for determining the idioms of the New Testament, that he might terminate all uncertainty about the meaning of particular words by the highest degree of grammatical accuracy. (*h*) *Lücke* (b. 1791) was the first who, in the spirit of the recent free investigation, referred once more to the religious element as it may be learned through the sympathy which the interpreter should feel with primitive antiquity, and as it is indicated by ecclesiastical tradition, (*i*) and enriched by a strong predilection for the explanation given by the ecclesiastical fathers and reformers. The Hegelian school insisted that it was the highest duty of an interpreter to bring out the ideas which lie unconsciously at the basis of the biblical representations and figures. (*k*) This practice was afterwards accommodated to the heterodox method of mythical interpretation which, so far as relates to the application of antiquities to the primeval history of the Old Testament, was for a long time in vogue, and met with almost universal opposition when it substituted an ideal general truth for the original facts of the Christian history. (*l*) Two parties were at last arrayed in direct opposition to each other; the one regarded the Scriptures entirely as the work of man, and the other looked upon them as a direct revelation from God. The new *Tubingen school*, particularly, has endeavored to show that the writings of the New Tes-

d) *Hengstenberg*, Beitrr. z. Einl. in d. A. T. Brl. 1831–39. 3 v. [The 3 first vols. of Contributions on Zech. & Dan. and on Pentateuch, trans. by *Ryland*, & publ. in Clarke's For. & Theol. Lib. Edinb. 1847. 3 v. 8.]

e) *Siegfried*, d. Ursprr. d. ersten kan. Ev. Koenigsb. 1832.

f) § 449. 11. *a*. *F. C. Baur*, die sogen. Pastoralbr. Stuttg. 1835.

g) *Bretschneider*, Probabilia de Ev. et Epp. Jo. indole et orig. Lps. 1820.

h) Grammatik d. neutest Sprachidioms. Lps. 1822. 5 ed. 1844. [Gram. of the Idioms of the Gr. Lang. of the N. T. from the Germ. of G. B. Winer, by *J. H. Agnew* & *O. G. Ebbeke*, Philad. 1840. 8.]

i) Grundriss d. neutest. Hermeneutik. Gott. 1817. Brl. theol. Zeitsch. 1822. II. 3. More fully in his Commentar ü. d. Schrr. d. Joh. since 1820. [*Lücke* on the Epp. of John is transl. & publ. in Clark's Bibl. Cab. Edinb. 1846.]

k) *Bildroth*, Comm. zu den Brr. an d. Cor. Lps. 1833. [*Bildroth* on the Epp. to the Cor. is transl. & publ. in Clark's Bib. Cab. Ed. 1838.] Brl. Jahrbb. 1833. N. 58.

l) *K. Hase*, Leben Jesu. § 22. nt. *a*.

tament were the result of a series of conflicts and attempts at compromise between the Jewish Christianity of Peter and the Gentile Christianity of Paul. Certain points of development following each other at regular periods, are supposed by these writers to be discoverable in the doctrinal contents of the sacred writings, and principally on the basis of these the Revelation of John, and the four great epistles of Paul, are alone regarded as genuine monuments of the Apostolic Church, and the first gospel is looked upon as a collection of apostolic traditions made very near the same period. The original Gospel of Luke they endeavored to find in that of Marcion, though in this they have been corrected by their own disciples, and in the fourth gospel they have discovered a dogmatic and figurative composition formed from materials supplied by the synoptic gospels, to reconcile all ecclesiastical parties in the second century, during the latter part of which the notion of the Logos was applied to that of Christ, and so attained ascendency in the Church for all subsequent ages. (*m*) We have at last a criticism from this school which seems to have originated more in a love of offence than of truth, for even the four epistles of Paul are thrown by it into the general abyss. (*n*) On the other hand, the new orthodox school professed to take a higher view of the whole sacred history; it was convinced of the genuineness of all the books of the Bible; it found in every part of them not only divine truth but the Lutheran theology, and the only danger was that the theosophic fancies in which many indulged might carry them beyond even this. In their fondness for the supernatural they delighted in extending the work of God's Spirit, and of redemption, to material things; and while they conceded that the account of creation is perhaps poetical, and addressed to the outward vision, they not only regard it as a veritable history, but have discovered that before the day of creation, and before the fall of the angels, the earth was the habitation of Satan and his angels. (*o*) Their views of general history are occasionally full of interest, and exhibit some traces of the Hegelian philosophy, for the whole history of man is represented as a gradual revelation of Christ. But on an intermediate ground between these schools, some men, and especially some learned divines have arisen, and have long been tolerated among the faithful by the Evangelical Church Journal, who make a distinction between what is divine and what is human in the Scriptures, and have sought reconciliation with the natural science of modern times, not merely by ironical compromises, but by limiting divine inspiration to that which is strictly religious, and even describing it as nothing more than a remarkable tact in religious matters. (*p*) Although they feel bound by their own religious consciousness to regard the Scriptures as a divine revelation, they endeavor to treat every one as an evan-

m) *F. C. Baur*, d. Christenth. d. 3 ersten Jahrhh. Tüb. 1853. Earlier points p. 24. Comp. Theol. Jahrbb. 1851. H. 3. p. 294ss.

n) *B. Baur*, Kritik d. paul. Briefe. Brl. 1850s. 2 H.

o) *Thie sch* (p. 24.)—*R. Stier*, Andeutt. f. gläub. Schriftverständn. Königsb. Lps. 1824ss. 4 vols.—*F. Delitzsch*, Gesch. d. proph. Th. s. Crusius. Lps. 1845. *J. C. K. Hofmann*: Weissag. u. Erfüll. Nördl. 1841–4. 2 vols. Schriftbeweis. Ibid. 1852. vol. I. *J. H. Kurtz*, Gesch. d. alten Bundes. Brl. 2. ed. 1853. 2 vols.

p) *Tholuck*: Komm. ü. d. B. an d. Hebr. Hmb. 1836. p. 83ss. Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1850. N. 16ss. 42ss.

gelical companion in the faith who truly believes, even if he does not believe correctly in the authority of the Scriptures, and in justification by faith in Christ. (*g*)

§ 459. *Calvinism as a Sect.*

Schickedanz, d. K. v. Genf im 19. Jahrh. (Archiv f. KG. vol. V. St. 1.) *J. S. Chenevière*, Precis des debats theol. qui depuis quelques années ont agités la ville de Genève, Gén. 1824. *A. Bost*, Défense des Fidèles de l'égl. de Gen., qui se sont constitués en egl. indépendant. Par. 1825. Hist. véritable des Momiers. Par. 1824. 2 vols. Bas. 1825. 2 H. *Malan*, le procès du méthodisme du Gén. Gén. 1835. Genfs kirchl. Zustände. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1850. N. 31ss.) Also Bemerkk. by *L. Thomas*. (Ibid. 1851. N. 17.) Die frühern rel. Zustande d. Waadtl. (Reuter, Rep. 1847. II. 2s.)—*T. Fliedner*, Collectenreise n. Holland. Essen. 1831. 2 vols. *Augusti*, Betr. ü. d. Zust. d. K. u. Theol. d. Niederl. (Beitrr. z. Gesch. u. Statist. d. ev. K. Lps. 1837. vol. II.) Die Unruhen in d. niederl. ref. K. 1833–39. By X. edit. by Gieseler. Hamb. 1840. comp. Acta hist. ecc. 1836. p. 561ss. Ev. K. Z. 1838. N. 38ss. [*K. R. Hagenbach*, (p. 416.) Vorles. 19. Th. 2.]

Even in the time of Rousseau the ministers of the Church in Geneva shrunk from answering the question whether Christ was God. The venerable Society of Pastors enacted a law (1817), by which it was announced that every minister would be required at his installation to promise that he would abstain from the discussion of certain principal points of Calvinistic orthodoxy. After 1813, however, some persons zealous for orthodoxy became excited, and were strengthened by the influence of Mad. de Krudener (1766–1824). The attention of this lady was now turned from palaces to cottages, that she might preach repentance in the wilderness of civilization, and collect and establish out of all churches a kingdom for the Lion of Judah. (*a*) This class of persons became numerous in the Pays de Vaud, and under the direction of some suspended ministers many Separatist congregations were formed, with various individual peculiarities. According to a popular witticism they were called *Momiers*, but a more respectable appellation was that of Methodists. The people, who were reproved by them even for innocent mirth and harmless usages, not unfrequently rose upon them in acts of violence, and the leaders of the new church were punished by the government with imprisonment and exile. Under the feeling that they were thereby imitating the primitive Christians, they endured these persecutions with much courage. After the Revolution of 1830 the conviction became nearly universal that it was unbecoming for a free people to persecute men for any religious creed whatever. An Evangelical Society for the restoration of Calvinism after a Scriptural model was then formed (1831), by which a theological seminary has been established (1832) for orthodox students. (*b*) But although the Church of Geneva had been accused by the Momiers of apostasy from itself, the jubilee of the Reformation was triumphantly celebrated there, (*c*) and the Grand Council of the Canton of Vaud, after a protracted debate, tore in pieces the Helvetic Confession (1839) because it was the standard of

g) Conversation saloons: Studien u. Krit. ed. by Umbreit & Ullmann since 1828. Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. u. chr. Leben since 1850. Comp. *G. F. Krauss*, die sogen. neuere Theol. (Theol. Jahrbb. 1853. II. 2.)

a) (*Hurter*,) Frau v. Krudener in d. Schweiz. Helvet. 1817. Zeitgenossen. Lps. 1818. vol. III.

b) A. K. Z. 1831. N. 92. 1833. N. 59. Ev. K. Z. 1831. N. 84. 1832. N. 54. Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. W. 1850. N. 50.

c) Jubilé de la Ref. de Genève. Gén. 1835. 3 vols. Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 448ss.

the Momiers. (*d*) The Revolution of 1846 overthrew the Calvinistic aristocracy of the pastors, and a Consistory, elected by the congregation, and with a majority from the congregation, was placed at the head of the National Church. (*e*) The various congregations of dissenters formed themselves (1848) into an Evangelical Church, whose wants have been supplied, and whose pious efforts have been sustained with a generous liberality from England, in a noble rivalry with the Established Church. (*f*)—The Church of the Netherlands was completely re-organized during the occupation of the country by the French. By the fundamental law of 1816 the synodal form of government was renewed and concentrated, but the old church discipline was abolished, and the influence of the state retained. The disposition of the people was favorable to a merely practical Christianity, and the educated clergy were partial to a Scriptural supernaturalism, which now retained no repugnance to the Remonstrants. In consequence of the poetic interests in the Netherlands of former times, created by the poet Bilderdyk, many began to long after the orthodoxy of those times, and two Israelites who had been converted by him, displayed much zeal in opposition to the constitution, to vaccination and the Remonstrants (1823). Gradually a party was formed which demanded that every thing should be restored to the condition required by the constitution and the creed of the Synod of Dort. The leader of this party, a young minister whose name was *De Cock*, was at first suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities because he would not refrain from interfering in the spiritual affairs of the parishes of others, and for calling his ministerial brethren wolves, and the hymns which had (since 1807) supplanted the Psalms the songs of Sirens, and was finally deposed (1834). A portion of his congregation forthwith declared themselves separated with him from an Established Church in which they believed so many heresies were mingled, and in a short time their number was increased by the accession of four ministers and four thousand people. Even in the Established Church many were alarmed at an open rupture with the decrees of the Synod of Dort, but the General Synod refused to explain the legal oath respecting the public confessions of faith in such a way as to take from each one the right of judging for himself whether they were conformed to the Scriptures or not (1835). The Separatists were fined and imprisoned by the civil courts as disturbers of public worship, and for violating the law which forbade more than twenty persons to assemble without permission from the authorities. They at first claimed protection on the ground that they were the old orthodox church, and not a new sect, but they finally presented their statutes to the king, together with a renunciation of their claim upon the property of the Church, and obtained the royal permission to form themselves into separate Christian congregations (1839). The Synod of the National Church, which met in 1850, in view of the numerous changes which had been made in the fundamental law of the state, formed an independent synodal system, ac-

d) Ev. K. Z. 1839. N. 26. 1840. N. 9.

e) Rapport du Consist. d. l'égl. nationale de Gén. 1849. Réglement organique pour l'égl. nat. Gén. 1849.

f) Egl. évang. à Gén. 1848. Assemblée gén. de la Soc. év. Gén. 1849.

cording to which the general affairs of the Church were to be managed by the General Synod, which met annually at the Hague, and consisted of delegates from the ten provincial synods, and from the three theological faculties, and by a commission chosen by the General Synod to act in its name during the intervals between its meetings. (*g*)

§ 460. *Division of the Church in Scotland and in the Pays de Vaud.*

A. F. Gfrörer, d. schott. Nationalkirche. Hamb. 1828. *K. H. Sack*, d. K. v. Schottland. Heidlb. 1844. 2 vols. *B. W. Noel*, Case of the Free Church of Scotland. Lond. 1844. 8. *Ad. Sydow*, d. schott Kirchenfrage. Potsd. 1845. *J. Kostlin*, d. schott. K. Hamb. 1852.—With respect to the public acts of the Council of State, and the comments of the Pres. *Druey*: Allg. Z. Monatsbl. Febr. 1846. Der waadtl. KStreit by X. (Schweglers Jahrb. d. Gegenw. Febr. 1846.)—Précis des faits qui ont amené et suivi la démission de la majorité des pasteurs et ministres de l'égl. du canton de Vaud. Accomp. des docum. offic. recueil par *Ch. Bunp.* Laus. 1846. Also on this subject: *Leopold* in Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1846. II. 4. 1847. II. 1. 3.—*Al. Schweizer*, d. kirchl. Zerwürfnisse im Kanton Waadt Zür. 1846. *E. F. Gelpke*, d. kirchl. Beweg. im K. Waadt. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. II. 3.) [*Hetherington*, Hist. of the Chh. of Scot. Edinb. 1843. New York. 1844. p. 363ss. *Hanna*, Life of T. Chalmers. New York. 1850–2. 4 v. *W. L. Alexander*, Notes of a Tour & Notices of the Rel. Bodies of Switz. Glasg. 1846. 8.]

The Church of Scotland always felt a peculiar jealousy in behalf of its independence in all spiritual matters. The right of patronage was therefore abolished in the fundamental law of 1690 (revolution settlement.) When this, however, was restored by secular violence (1712), the protests of the Church were generally quieted by those (Moderates) who found their own comfort promoted by the existing state of things. But when the religious life of the Church was revived, and the puritanic element became powerful, the whole energy of the party then formed (evangelical party) was concentrated in the effort to destroy the power of patrons to impose upon congregations ministers who were not acceptable to the people. In 1834 the General Assembly conceded to each congregation the right to reject such ministers (veto act). When, however, the royal courts took under their protection the rights of the patrons, and in consequence of the resistance made by the General Assembly, interfered in various ways in the spiritual affairs of the Church, and finally, when redress had been sought in vain from the imperial parliament, on the opening of the General Assembly, May 18, 1843, the friends of ecclesiastical freedom (Nonintrusionists), including a large and the most influential portion of the clergy, with the noble-minded Dr. Chalmers (d. 1847) at their head, separated themselves by a solemn protest from the Established Church, on the ground that violence had been done to their consciences, and dishonor had been inflicted upon the crown of Christ by the civil power. All their churches and revenues were abandoned by these seceders with no other hope than their reliance upon the free-will offerings of the Scottish people. As on the one hand some proprietors refused to sell the necessary ground and materials for building new churches, so particular congregations, on the other, attempted by violence to exclude from their churches those ministers who were obtruded upon them by patronage. Millions of pounds, however, amply

g) A. KZ. 1851. N. 80s. Comp. Ibid. 1853. N. 15. Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 9. *Ullmann*, z. Charakteristik d. holl. Th. (Stud. u. Krit. 1844. II. 3.)

sufficient for all the ecclesiastical wants of the people, were contributed, (*a*) and with the utmost worldly prudence, as well as the most earnest piety, the Free Presbyterian Church was founded, and became the real National Church of Scotland.—In the *Canton of Vaud* the spirit of the methodistic piety so far penetrated even the Established Church, that sometimes when its ministers had performed the duties of public worship many would hold devotional assemblies in the evening (oratoires), which were attended especially by the higher classes. In direct contrariety to the traditional doctrine inculcated from Berne, that the Church was strictly dependent upon the state, the idea that the Church was absolutely independent of the state was diffused among the clergy, more especially by the labors of *Vinet*. (*b*) After the overthrow of the comparatively aristocratic government (1845) the provisional regency of the sovereign people prohibited the clergy of the Established Church from attending the oratories which had been already threatened by the populace, and some clergymen who disobeyed were suspended. When the new democratic constitution was about to be submitted to a vote of the people, the government, wishing to recommend it by proclamation, sent it to the clergy to be read from their pulpits. About forty clergymen refused to comply with this request, and in justification of their act appealed to a law which appeared to give the use of the pulpit to the government only for the publication of acts relating to religion. For this refusal they were accused before their ecclesiastical courts, and acquitted, but they were punished by the civil government in a suspension for one month from their spiritual duties. To extricate the Church from this thraldom it was proposed (Nov. 11, 1845), in an assembly at Lausanne of the clergy belonging to the establishment, that every clergyman should resign his office, when a majority immediately renounced their charges and their salaries. But as they possessed no hold upon the popular mind, they were only able by foreign assistance to start a Free Church in small conventicles, which were persecuted by the police until 1850. In the mean time the government found but scanty means for the spiritual support of the Established Church.

§ 461. *The Anglican Church and the Dissenters.*

Bogue & Bennett, H. of Dissenters. Lond. 1808-12. 4 vols. (Archiv f. KG. vol. II. p. 541. III. p. 304. 497. IV. 1. 237ss.) Lond. 1833. 2 vols. J. Bennett, H. of Diss. during the last 30 years. Lond. 1839. *K. H. Sack*, ü. Rel. u. K. in Engl. Brl. 1818. *Funk*, Organisirung d. engl. Staatsk. Alton. 1829. *M Roose*, Ecclesiastica, or, The Church, her schools and her clergy. Lond. 1842. 8. *H. F. Uhden*, d. Zustände d. angl. K. Lps. 1843. *O. V. Gerlach*, ü. d. rel. Zustand. d. angl. K. Potsd. 1845. *C. Schoell*, d. kirchl. Zustande in Engl. (Gelzer. prot. Monatsch. 1853. May.) [*J. Grant*, H. of the Engl. Church & of the Sects which have departed from her Com. Lond. 1811-26. 4 vols. 8.]

The principal religious activity of the country was found among the Dissenters, who constituted about one third of the whole population, and in Wales the majority. But as they possessed no common centre, they became broken up into a great variety of sects, among which might be seen, in their

a) Brl. K. Z. 1846. N. 38. 1850. N. 49.

b) Essai sur la manifestation des convictions relig. et sur la séparation de l'egl. et de l'état. Par. 1842. Hdlb. 1845. Considerations dédiées a Mss. les ministres démissionaires. Laus. 1845.

extreme forms, every grade of religious life, from the most enthusiastic exaltation down to the most sceptical rationalism. Some of the principal sects among them, however, have recently attempted to unite together in more intimate fellowship. They were protected and made subservient to various party purposes by the opposition in Parliament, but with all his eloquence, *Fox* was unsuccessful when he pleaded (1790) for their civil rights. (*a*) But with the increasing spirit of general freedom, public sentiment became changed, and after many attempts at partial relief the test act was finally abolished in 1828, and the exclusive right of the Episcopal clergy to solemnize marriage and baptism for dissenters was taken away in 1836. They were, however, still compelled to pay taxes to the Established Church, and the House of Lords thought it necessary, by lifeless orthodox forms, to protect the Universities under the patronage of the State against the intrusion of dissenters. (*b*) But many powerful associations avowed their determination to promote the principle of religious freedom, not only in England but in every quarter of the world. (*c*) A charter was obtained for the University of London (1836), the object of which was principally the education of dissenters. The Established Church became almost a sinecure, while the actual duties of the pastoral office were either evaded, or performed by poorly paid pastors and hired vicars. (*d*) For a long time the bishops in the House of Lords, with the aristocracy, set themselves in direct opposition to the wishes of the people, and persons of worldly sagacity lost confidence in the spiritual privileges of the bishops, as well as in the divine right of tithes. The injurious influence of an Established Church was demonstrated by the dissenters, and the bishops were warned by the government to set their house in order. They appealed to the oath taken by the king at his coronation, that he would maintain the inviolability of the Church, and by virtue of which he held his crown. But an evangelical party had now been developed which especially represented the Protestant, as the High Church party did the Catholic element in the Episcopal Church. This evangelical party expected deliverance only in such a reformation as was demanded by the times. (*e*) Certain literary men at Oxford, of whom the principal were Newman and Pusey (after 1833), raised the Catholic element to a still higher position. The object of these persons was avowed to be the revival of genuine Catholicity. Protestantism was disavowed, and many Catholic but old ecclesiastical usages and statutes, so far as they were consistent with the thirty-nine articles, were brought once more into practice. These efforts were favored by the High Church party, until their gradually developed tendencies to Roman Catholicism aroused the Protestant spirit of the nation, and *Puseyism* was rejected, even by the bishops. Since that time many persons have passed over from

a) *Stäudlin*, Geogr. u. Stat. vol. I. p. 162ss.

b) After *Beverley*: A. Z. 1834. N. 222. 229. Rheinwald, Rep. vol. XXIX. p. 92ss.

c) A. Z. 1834. N. 150. *d*) A. K. Z. 1831. p. 312.

e) Lord *Henley*, A Plan of Church Reform. Lond. ed. 4. 1832. [Edinb. Review, vol. XXXVIII. p. 145. Feb. 1823. XLIV. p. 490. Sept. 1826. (Sel. from Ed. Rev. Par. 1835. vol. V. p. 301-324.) *B. W. Noel*, Union of Chh. & State. Lond. & New York. 1849. 12.] Further Reform Literature: A. K. Z. 1833. Lit. Bl. N. 49. Stud. u. Krit. 1833. P. 1s.

the Established to the Catholic Church. (*f*) During this collision of parties, and in consequence of the serious spirit of practical piety excited among the people (after 1820), a new and fresh life was awakened in the bosom of the Church itself. The hierarchy gave up a portion of its tithes that they might not have the whole wrested from them. In 1836 a bill for the reform of the Church was introduced into Parliament by Lord Russell. It diminished the prodigious inequalities which had existed in the revenues of the bishops, improved and increased the parishes by means of a portion of the sinecures, and placed restraints upon pluralities and the performance of pastoral duties by hired proxies. Some further concessions were made even by the aristocracy, when a Commission for Inquiry was appointed by Sir Robert Peel. The ministry, however, admonished the reformers that they should be satisfied with what they could get, rather than attempt radical changes. The concessions were accepted with much reluctance by the majority in the Lower House, and constituted the commencement of a reform, which was subsequently carried out in the same spirit in the Ecclesiastical Revenue Bill (1840). (*g*) When a number of bishops had been consecrated for foreign countries the ministry began also to endow dioceses in England with the savings of the hierarchy (1847), without connecting with them seats in the House of Lords. (*h*) The Church Pastoral Aid Society, with the assistance of Parliament and munificent voluntary contributions from the people, erected numerous churches in the commercial towns, and sent forth assistant preachers to supply the spiritual wants of an increasing population. When *Gorham*, a vicar, was accused of teaching that the grace of regeneration does not necessarily accompany the act of baptism, and when the Bishop of Exeter, who was favorable to Puseyism, refused to admit him to the benefice to which he had been presented by the crown, he was instituted (1847–50), in accordance with the verdict of the privy council, the highest ecclesiastical court (after 1833), in spite of the protest of his bishop, on the ground that his views were not inconsistent with the articles of the English Church. In this affair was exhibited on the one hand, the stubbornness of episcopal orthodoxy even when not much sustained by public opinion, and on the other, the impropriety of submitting theological controversies for decision to the civil courts. But all attempts springing out of it to raise the assemblies of the clergy from their nominal existence to the real spiritual powers which they formerly possessed (p. 442), or at least to transfer the decision of controversies on ecclesiastical doctrines to the episcopal courts, were frustrated either in Parliament or by the ministry. (*i*)

f) *Newman*) Tracts for the times, espec. No. 90; Remarks on certain passages in the 39 Artt. 1841. (Brl. K. Z. 1841. N. 31. 36. 42.) *E. B. Pusey*, The Articles treated on in Tract 90 reconsidered. Oxf. 1841. *H. Abeken*, Letter to E. B. Pusey, in reference to certain charges against the Germ. Church. Lond. 1842. *M. Petri*, Beitrr. z. Würdig. d. Pus. Gött. 1843. 2 H. *C. Fock*, d. Pus. (Schwegler, Jahrbb. 1844. p. 742ss.) *R. Weaver*, d. Pus. A. d. Engl. v. Amthor, Lps. 1844. Bruns, Rep. 1846. vol. VI. p. 181ss. vol. VII. p. 89ss.

g) A. Z. 1836. N. 198. Supplem. N. 211. 216. 233. Brl. K. Z. 1840. N. 73.

h) Brl. K. Z. 1847. N. 35.

i) Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1853. H. 1. [Judgment of the Dean of the Arches' Court in the case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter. Lond. 1849.]

§ 462. *Ecclesiastical Affairs in the North American Republic.*

A. Reed and *J. Matheson*, Visit to the American Churches. New York. 1835. 2 vols. (Ev. KZ 1837. N. 88.) *H. Caswell*, America and the Amer. Church. 2 ed. Lond. 1853. (Ev. KZ. 1839. N. 66ss.) *J. D. Rupp*, He pasa Ekklesia, or Hist. of the Rel. Denominations in the U. S. Phil. 1844. *R. Baird*, Religion in the U. S. Edinb. 1844. Revised as KGesch. u. kirchl. Statist. by *C. Beardes*, Brl. 1844. [*Ibid.* Chr. Retrospect and Register. N. York. 1850. 12. *Ibid.* Rel. Denomn. in the U. S. (in Amer. and For. Chr. Union. vol. I. N. 2.—vol. III. N. 4.) Rel. Denomn. in the U. S. by various authors. Harrisburg. 2 ed. 1849. *P. D. Gurrie*, Churches and Sects in the U. S. N. York. 1850.]—*J. G. Büttner*, Briefe aus u. ü. N. A. Dresd. 1845. 2 vols. *F. v. Raumer*, [America and the Amer. People, from the Germ. N. York. 1846. 8.] Lps. 1845. 2 vols.—*W. Klose*, d. chr. K. in d. Verein. St. N. A. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1848. II. 1.) [*J. Dixon*, Tour through the U. S. N. York. 1848. 12.]

[A peculiar form of ecclesiastical life has been developed in the United States of America. The religious spirit has there been allowed unlimited freedom to assume every variety of external organization, and has found full scope for its utmost zeal. The national and State governments are prohibited by their constitutions from all interference with religion, but Christianity is generally recognized as a part of the common law, stringent regulations are in force against blasphemy and the profanation of the Sabbath, and public prayers are daily offered in connection with all legislative proceedings. (*a*) Error is permitted to contend on equal terms with truth, no civil disability is imposed for opinion's sake, and all may propagate their views in public and in private as long as the rights of others are not invaded. As yet, there is no evidence that in such circumstances Christianity will not triumph. In the exercise of its free energies, it has contended with a highly stimulated worldly spirit and a multitude of errors, which have here found their best and often only asylum; and not only is it almost universally received, but its most prevalent forms are those of the strictest evangelical piety. From the peculiar origin and history of the nation, we should of course expect to find that its ecclesiastical organizations and usages resemble those of the Old World. But the Puritan and Methodistic elements have been especially attracted there, and have become prominent in the national character. The zeal engendered by an earnest Christianity thrown into such powerful conflict with the world, has led its friends to an intense use of ordinary and extraordinary means for the conversion of men, and the religious revivals which have sometimes been witnessed in other lands, have here become frequent. (*b*) Accustomed also to rely much upon the power of numbers, great societies have been formed for the removal of social evils, and for combined effort to plant the institutions of the gospel among the destitute at home and abroad. A majority of the whole population have abandoned the habitual use of intoxicating drinks, and seven States of the Union have already prohibited the sale of them as an ordinary beverage. More than 3,000 ministers of the gospel are sustained principally in the older States, to labor among the newer

a) Constitutions of the several States, and of the U. S. &c. N. York. 8. *J. Story*, Exposition of the Const. of the U. S. N. York. 1847. *M. McKinney*, Amer. Magistrate. (Philad. 1850.) p. 689. 193. 208. *G. T. Curtis*, Hist. of the Const. of the U. S. N. York. 1854. 2 vols.

b) *W. B. Sprague*, Lectt. on Revivals. Albany. 1832. 8. *A. Barnes*, On Revivals. N. York. 1841. *C. Finney*, Lectt. on Revivals. N. York. 1835. *Colton*, Hist. and Char. of Amer. Revivals. Lond. 1832.

settlements of the West and South. (*c*) There is one house of worship for every 646, and one minister for every 600 of the entire population. (*d*) As each denomination of Christians, in case of general disagreement or grievance, finds its ultimate remedy in separation, numerous sects have sprung up, without important distinctions in doctrine or organization; but the evils of disunion are in many instances much mitigated by an interchange of corresponding delegates through their superior assemblies, by the free reception of each other's ministers and members on prescribed terms, and by co-operation in many of the national charitable associations. The *Roman Catholic* Church has in some instances attempted to ingraft upon itself popular traits and usages, but its general spirit of uniformity has resisted them, and its prevailing character here is the same as in the Old World. Its growth in this country has been for a few late years remarkably rapid, almost exclusively by Catholic emigrants from Europe, multitudes of whom, however, are for ever lost to the general Roman fold. (*e*) The vast funds, numerous clergy, and other laborers, with which foreign societies have supplied it, have enabled it to establish many institutions for education and charity, and erect a splendid hierarchy, which give it great power for proselytism, and have raised the hope that Rome might recover its life by appropriating to itself the youthful energies of this growing nation. (*f*) But by its conflicts with educational establishments, by its unity of action in behalf of political interests, and by its sympathies and connections with foreign and anti-republican influences, it has awakened against itself a powerful political and religious feeling which has sometimes broken forth into unlawful violence. (*g*) It probably has under its control, principally in the large cities, in Maryland and in Louisiana, about one in twelve of the whole population. The *Episcopal* Church, though the oldest (1607), is still among the smallest of the Protestant sects, but its progress has recently become accelerated especially among the wealthy and conservative classes. It differs from its parent English Church by its want of a connection with a civil establishment, by an extensive participation of the laity in the legislative and administrative power of the Church, and by its synodal constitution under annual diocesan and triennial national conventions. (*h*) The *Congregationalists*, whose first church was formed in the ship which conveyed the pilgrims to America (1619), and who are principally descendants of the English Puritans, believe that each congregation possesses all ecclesiastical power in itself; but in the exercise of this, they form occasional Councils, composed of neighboring ministers and the delegates of contiguous churches, for the ordination, the settlement, and the dismission of ministers; District Associations, composed of a few ministers and churches who may permanently associate for mutual counsel and

c) *R. Baird*, Retrospect. p. 218ss. 259ss. *d*) Abstract of Consus. p. 29.

e) Amer. and For. Chr. Union. Aug. 1852. p. 251. N. York Observer, June 10, 1852.

f) Catholic Almanac for 1854. Balt. 1854. Foreign Conspiracy. New York. 1835. *N. L. Rice*, Romanism, the Enemy of Education, Free Institutions, &c. Cincin. 1852. 12.

g) Romanism incompatible with Republican Principles. N. York. 1834. 18. Our Country, its Danger, &c. N. York. 1840. 18. *G. B. Cheever*, Right of the Bible in Schools. N. York. 1850. 16.

h) *S. Wilberforce*, Hist. of the Prot. Episc. Church in Am. Lond. and N. Y. (1844.) 1846. 12 *W. White*, H. of the Church. N. York. 1854. 8. *A. B. Chapin*, in Hist. of Rel. Denom. p. 601ss.

fellowship; and General Associations or Consociations, comprising all the ministers and churches of a State. Such bodies, however, have only advisory power, and their decisions have the force of discipline only by their moral influence. The intelligence, the systematic benevolence, and the sober piety of this people, have rendered them especially influential. They prevail principally in the six Eastern States, in New York, and north of the Ohio. They acknowledge the absolute authority of no uninspired creed, but great respect is paid to certain Calvinistic Confessions of Faith and Catechisms which are used among them, and some of their divines have exerted a decisive influence upon the theology of the age. (*i*) Near the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, a number of the Congregational ministers and churches of Massachusetts were known to believe Unitarian doctrines; but a general separation was not effected until (1815) the orthodox party were startled by some announcements respecting the progress of Unitarianism in America in an English publication, and immediately withdrew their fellowship from all who were suspected. (*k*) After an excited controversy, the *Unitarian* Congregationalists were left in a distinct body, which has since extensively prevailed in the vicinity of Boston, with an elegant literature, a high standard of morality, and a liberal philanthropy. There are said to be in the United States not less than 250 congregations especially connected together as Unitarians; but a still larger body who call themselves by the simple name of Christians, the Universalists, and a seceding portion of the Society of Friends, agree with them in the distinctive article of their faith. The *Baptists* follow next in the order of time (1639); and if we include under the appellation all who deny the validity of baptism except by immersion, and on the professed faith of the subject, they must be regarded as the most numerous denomination but one in the United States. With but few exceptions, they are rigidly Calvinistic in doctrine, but they agree with, and even exceed the Congregationalists in their rejection of all human authority in matters of faith, and in their practical maintenance of the independence of the congregations. They, however, have their occasional Councils, their Associations for small districts, their Conventions for States, and until the recent separation of the Northern and Southern sections, a Triennial General Convention for the whole nation. A large number of Baptist churches are never represented beyond their district Associations, and differ from their brethren on many important articles of faith and practice. (*l*) Many minor sects have seceded from the general fellowship, on the ground of questions connected with the Sabbath, missions to the heathen, the nature of the faith and obedience to be professed before baptism, and the

i) *G. Punchard*, View of Congregationalism. Andover, 1835. *Ibid.* Hist. of Cong. And. 1848. Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms of Church Disc. Boston. 1829. 8. *T. C. Upham*, Ratio Disciplinae. Portland. 1829. *L. Bacon*, Man. of Church Members. New Haven. 1833. *R. Baird*, Sketches of the Rel. Denom. in Am. and For. Chr. Union. vol. I. N. 3. p. 123.

k) *Belsham*, Memoirs of Lindsey. Lond. 1812. Boston. 1815. *A. Lamson*, in Rel. Denom p. 586 Letters on the Introd. and Prog. of Unitarianism in New Engl., in Spirit of the Pilgrims. vol. II. and III. Boston. 1829–30.

l) *D. Benedict*, Hist. of the Baptists. N. York. 1824. *W. Hague*, Bap. Church Transplanted, &c. N. York. 1846. 12. *F. A. Cox* and *J. Hoby*, Baptists in America. Boston. 1839. 12.

general doctrines of religion. (*m*) Of late years, some portions of this denomination have done much to redeem their order from the reproach of indifference to education, and they have now under their control fourteen colleges, and eight theological seminaries. The *Presbyterians* are also separated into many minor divisions, among which the Dutch Reformed (since 1619), the German Reformed (s. 1720), the Associate (s. 1750), and the Reformed Presbyterian (s. 1752), have always maintained a distinct existence since their first settlement in this country; and others, as the Cumberland (1810) and the Free Presbyterian (1846), were offshoots from the main body. In 1838 this main body was itself divided into two nearly equal portions, each claiming to be the true Presbyterian Church, but differing from each other in their construction of their articles of faith, and in their views of ecclesiastical policy. (*n*) With a slight exception with respect to the Cumberland body, (*o*) all these members of the great Presbyterian family claim to be Calvinistic in doctrine, and most of them are in fraternal correspondence with each other through their highest judicatories. Their form of government is essentially the same with that of similar European bodies, and they are distinguished for their intelligence, their stability, and their attachment to truth. The *Lutherans* have retained the faith even better than the language of their ancestors; they are beginning zealously to cultivate the orthodox literature of their Fatherland, and are providing an ecclesiastical home for the multitudes of a kindred faith who are landing on their shores. (*p*) The *Methodists* have adopted the doctrines and discipline of the English Wesleyan connection, with no essential change. Their Episcopacy is not prelatic, but presbyterian, since its powers originate in, and are continued by the eldership, and its duties are simply to preside in the conferences, to station the elders and preachers, to ordain bishops and deacons, to travel through the connection, and to oversee the spiritual concerns of the Church. They have been especially successful in reaching and reclaiming the great masses of society, in carrying the truth in its living power to even the most retired districts; and though they were the last to commence their labors, seventy years have been sufficient for them to become the most numerous class of Protestant Christians in the United States. Their ardent zeal, their active energy, their numerous institutions of learning, their earnest literature, and their thorough system of polity, must exert a powerful influence upon the future character of the nation. A division nearly corresponding with the geographical boundary between the Northern and Southern States, has taken place within their Church on account of slavery, and a number of fragments have fallen away from it on account of its government and discipline, but its general usefulness and stability have not been apparently impaired. (*q*) Among other minor bodies,

m) History of the various Baptist sects in Rel. Denomm., by authors belonging to them. See also Gorrie's Churches and Sects, p. 132ss. *Baird*, in Amer. and For. Chr. Union, vol. I. p. 208ss. 503ss.

n) History of the Division of the Presb. Church, (by a Com. of the Syn. of N. York and N. Jersey.) N. York. 1852. *J. Woods*, Old and New Theology. Philad. 1840. 12. *N. L. Rice*, Old and New Schools. Cincin. 1853. 12. *o*) *L. Jones*, Plea for the Cumb. Presb. Church. Louisville. 1847. 12.

p) Ev. KZ. 1847. N. 28ss. Comp. Brl. K. Z. 1848. N. 45. *Büttner*, Briefe. Dresd. 1845. 2 vols. Comp. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XLIV. p. 182ss.

q) *A. Stevens*, On Church Polity. N. York. 1850. 12. Memorial of Methodism. N. York. 1851. 12. *N. Bangs*, Hist. of the M. E. Church till 1840. N. York. 1836. 4 vols. 12.

there are about 6,000 *Moravians* in twenty-two congregations, under as many ministers, and two bishops claiming apostolical succession; (*r*) about 150,000 *Friends*, whose orthodoxy and efficiency have been increased by a recent secession, and who, in spite of some decline in their numbers, quietly maintain their ancient doctrines and usages under a regular system of Preparative, Monthly, Quarterly, and ten independent Yearly meetings; (*s*) about 6,000 *Shakers*, who, since the decease of the "Elect Lady" (p. 546), have formed sixteen communities in which all things are held in common, and endeavor to find the purity and bliss of Paradise in perpetual virginity, and a wild mode of worship; (*t*) about 8,000 *Swedenborgians*, with an extensive literature, and a number of highly learned and eminent advocates; (*u*) and above 1,100 societies of *Universalists*, who have formed a regular organization under a regular ministry, and a General Convention, and have collected a respectable literature. (*v*)—A system of education, from which all sectarian peculiarities is excluded, except with the consent of the local inhabitants of a district, is provided for by law, in some States, with great liberality and intelligence, and in all with increasing emulation and zeal, so that already one in five of the whole free population are under its instruction. In many denominations of Christians, candidates for the ministry are required by ecclesiastical rule to pass through what is equivalent to a complete course of collegiate and theological instruction, and in nearly all the usage is more and more in accordance with such a rule. In no part of the world are the clergy more respected and laborious; and though in most instances sustained entirely by the voluntary contributions of their people, their position and comparatively small number render them independent of popular caprice. The piety of this people, being entirely spontaneous, is remarkably sincere and fervent, and many of its exhibitions, which seem peculiar and even grotesque, will be found not ill adapted to the wants of a peculiar population; but we need not be surprised to find that an aristocracy of wealth, and a regard for numerical power, should sometimes divert attention from the refinements of a graceful humanity.]

§ 463. *Legal Conditions with respect to Catholic Governments.*

The Congress of Vienna could not agree with regard to the expressions by which the constitution of the Catholic and Protestant churches of *Germany* were to be placed under the protection of the Alliance. The sixteenth article of the Act of the Alliance was therefore merely so formed, that no differences between the parties professing the Christian religion were to create any inequalities in municipal or political rights. The perfect equality of both Churches, so far as relates to the law of the land, has accordingly been more or less expressly acknowledged by most of the states connected with the Alliance. (*a*) In *Bavaria*, however, in addition to other violations of Prot-

r) *L. D. von Schweinitz*, in the Hist. of Rel. Denomm. p. 359ss.
s) *T. Evans* and *W. Gibbons*, Histories in Ibid. p. 279ss. 290ss.
t) *C. Green* and *S. Y. Wells*, A Summary View of the Millennial Church. N. York. 1823. 12.
u) New Jerusalem Magazine. Boston. 26 vols. 1827–1854.
v) *T. Whittemore*, Mod. Hist. of Universalism. Boston, 1830. 12.
a) *Klüber*, Uebers. d. Verh. d. W. Congr. Abth. 3. p. 397. 441ss. *Tittmann*, Quaestt. de art. 16

estant privileges, an order dictated by a new zeal in favor of Catholicism, required all persons connected with the army to bow the knee to the sacramental host (Aug. 14th, 1838). This was regarded by the Protestants as a measure intended to compel them to commit what seemed to them an act of idolatry, or at least as an illegal imposition upon their consciences. Although it was described to them as legally only a military ceremony, it was practically adhered to as if it were a triumph of the Catholic Church; and after a long series of forced and partial concessions, it was not completely yielded to the bitter complaints of the whole Protestant population, until (Dec. 12th, 1845) the diet threatened to adopt the grievances of the Protestant deputies as its own. (*b*) In the Austrian hereditary states, Protestantism was but partially tolerated, and until the movement of 1848, its churches were interdicted the use of names and spires, and were deprived of important rights. (*c*) To take from them the necessity of going to foreign universities, a theological school was opened for them at Vienna (1821). In Bohemia, recollections of the Hussites were awakened with the revival of the national spirit of the ancient Czechen. In the *Zillerthal*, certain ancient traditions preserved at Salzburg, and evangelical influences upon some Tyrolese travellers, produced a party strongly opposed to the Catholic Church. This opposition was still further increased by the perusal of the Scriptures, and finally induced a few families to make application (1826) for liberty, in conformity with the spirit of the Edict of Toleration, to join the Evangelical Church. But as the states of Tyrol were opposed to a Protestant form of worship in their country, and contended that the Edict of Toleration was never published for such cases, and as the evangelical party continued to increase even under the oppression of a decidedly Catholic population, and with no services for public worship, the emperor finally commanded them either to settle in some other province, or to emigrate to another country. In these circumstances they addressed themselves to the King of Prussia, who erected for them a church and private dwellings on his domain of Erdmansdorf in Silesia. Thither, in the autumn of 1837, about four hundred of them removed, although a hundred never became settled there, or in 1838–39 left their new Zillerthal, to connect themselves with some of the Lutherans who had separated themselves from the established churches. (*d*) In *Hungary*, when the partial privileges conceded by the law respecting religion had been in many ways violated, and the complaints of three millions of Protestants had been for a long time dis-

Foederis Germ. L. 1830. *W. v. Hohenthal*, d. Parität. d. Rechte zw. d. kath. u. nichtkath. Unterth. d. Bundesst. L. 1831.

b) Ev. K. Z. 1844. N. 67ss.—(*K. v. Giech*) Die Kniebeug. d. Protestanten vor d. Sanctissimum d. kath. K. Ulm. 1841. With "Offenen Bedenken" of 1844–45 against later insufficient modifications. *A. Harless:* Offene Antw. Münch. 1843. u. Zeitschr. f. Prot. u. K. 1843. vol. VI. *F. Thiersch*, ü. Protest. u. Knieb. 3 Sendschr. an Döllinger. Marb. 1844.—*J. Döllinger:* Die Frage v. d. Knieb. d. Prot. v. d. rel. u. staatsrechtl. Seite. Münch. 1843. Der Prot. in Baiern u. d. Knieb. Kegensb. 1843. Lit. Uebers. by *Schoder* in d. Jen. Lit. Z. 1845. N. 202ss. Bruns, Rep. 1845. vol. III. p. 24ss. Brl. K. Z. 1846. N. 15. 25s.

c) *J. Helfert*, d. Rechte u. Verf. d. Akatholiken im östr. Kaiserst. Vien. (2 ed. 1827.) 1843.

d) (*Rheinwald*) Die Evangelischgesinnten im Zillerthal. Brl. 1837. In 4 ed.: Die ev. Zillerthaler in Schlesien. 1838. Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 655ss. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXXVII. p. 84ss. [Exiles of Zillerthal. (Publ. by the Am. and For. Chr. Union.) N. York. 1840. 18.]

regarded, their cause became identified in public estimation with the free development of the state. At the Diet of 1833, the great majority appeared enthusiastic for justice to their Protestant fellow-citizens, but the State-Table preferred entirely to dispense with the mutilated bill of religious grievances proposed to them by the magnates, and rather than take up with a partial grant, to trust to their chances for the future. (*e*) At the Diets of 1839–40, both Tables united in presenting to the crown certain bills by which the members of the Evangelical Church were guarantied absolute freedom, and equality of legal privileges. But when the papal brief of April 30, 1841, against the ecclesiastical confirmation of mixed marriages without security that the children should be educated in the Catholic faith, had received the royal sanction, the courts began to inflict penalties upon all bishops and pastors who acted in accordance with this measure. At the Diet of 1843, bold voices were raised in both Tables in opposition to this system of mediaeval Church polity; and although there was still an episcopal majority among the magnates, which succeeded in modifying the demands of the other Table, both houses were opposed to the royal order of July 5th, respecting mixed marriages. They declared, that while they were agreed with regard to the principle advanced in that enactment on the subjects of freedom of conscience and complete reciprocity, the only proper application of it, as well as the only way to satisfy the minds of the people, which they could discover, was the enactment of a law by which the children should be disposed of according to the religion of the father, except where special promises had been conceded by one of the parties (reversales) to the contrary. Accordingly, the whole subject was virtually disposed of by the royal ordinances of March 25th and Nov. 11th, 1844, which left the education of the children of mixed marriages to be determined by the agreement of the parents, acknowledged the validity of marriages solemnized in the Evangelical Church, and prohibited the clergy from arbitrarily interfering when persons were disposed to pass from the one to the other Church. (*f*) But the storm which since 1848 has passed over Hungary, has for a while committed to the military power the Church as well as the country of the orator from whose mouth issued a sword. (*g*) In the south of *France*, the long-restrained hostility of the Catholic populace broke out on the restoration of the Bourbons (1815), and for three months, in Nismes and its vicinity, the members of the Reformed Church were robbed, murdered, and driven from their dwellings by the flames. No notice of these excesses was taken by the government until expressions of indignation from all parts of France and of Europe found their way to the throne. Individual instances of outrage were repeated in 1816, the perpetrators of which were never punished; and the Protestants were always treated with contempt, until they recovered their privileges at the revolution of 1830. (*h*) But their Church was never able

e) *Berzeviczy*, Nachr. ü. d. Zust. d. Evv. in U. Lps. 1822. *Friedrich*, Br. ü. d. Lage d. ev. K. in U. Lps. 1825. Die Religionsbeschwerden d. Prot. in U. a. d. Reichst. im J. 1833. edit. by *Elias Tibiscanus*, Lps. 1833 [Hist. of the Prot. Church in Hung. from the Ref. to 1850, with reference also to Transylvania, from the German by *J. Craig*, Lond. 1854. 8.]

f) *J. v. Maitáth*, d. Rel. Wirren in U. Ratisb. 1845. 2 vols. Nachtr. Ratisb. 1846.

g) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 17. 20. 1851. N. 6. 9. 1852. N. 92.

h) Défense des Protestans du Bas-Languedoc. 1815. 4. (Archiv f. KG. vol. III. p. 225ss.) *Wilks*,

to come together in a general synod, and by a decision of the Court of Cassation (1843), notwithstanding the fundamental law of religious liberty, no evangelical congregation could be established under the statute respecting associations, without the arbitrary permission of the government and the local authorities. (*i*) Under the republic, the Lutheran Church, especially in Alsace, at a freely elected General Assembly in Strasbourg, and the Reformed Church at a Synod in Paris, deliberated about the best means of developing in an independent manner their old established constitutions (1848). (*k*) Louis Napoleon ordained (March 26th, 1852) that the congregations should be governed by presbyteries, and their districts by consistories, freely chosen by them, but both under the presidency of chosen pastors approved by the government; that the churches of the Augsburg Confession should have for their superintending and legislative authority a supreme consistory, to be convened annually, and to be composed of the presidents and lay-deputies of all the consistories, and for their administrative authority, a directory, half of whose members were to be appointed by the government, and half by the supreme consistory; and that the Reformed churches should have a Central Council at Paris, with indefinite powers, and consisting for the first time of distinguished Protestants, and the two oldest Parisian pastors. (*l*) In the elections held under this edict, all persons were allowed to vote, and the presbyteries which had been previously in existence were confirmed. The *Evangelical Society*, a free association formed under English influence, undertook to evangelize France from Geneva (p. 595) and from Paris (since 1833); for it endeavored, by its colporteurs and evangelists with Bibles and tracts, not only to win the Catholics, but to bring back the Reformed Church to its original principles, (*m*) while the Society for the General Interests of Protestantism aimed only to unite the orthodox portion of the Church in the pursuit of general objects. (*n*) Although the Reformed Church has since increased, not only by persons coming from other bodies, but by the accession of those whose preferences had either been unformed or concealed, in these intellectual contests its spirituality has been exposed to great hazard. When the Synod of 1848 resolved to disregard all confessions of faith, that it might keep the Church practically united, pastor Fred. Monod and Count Gasparin, the noble champion of French Protestantism, abandoned it. On their invitation, thirty congregations which, from a desire to possess a more rigid discipline or a purer faith, had previously been independent, now united in a Synod at Paris (1849), and formed a *Union* of evangelical congregations on the basis of a new confession, whose articles were merely devotional, in the style of the apostles John and Paul. These congregations had been formed with a distinct creed, received no support or assistance from the state, and were

II. of the Persecutions endured by the Prot. of the south of France. Lond. 1821. 2 vols. (KHist. Archiv. 1823. H. 3s.)

i) *H. Reuchlin*, d. Christenth. in Fr. Hamb. 1837. p. 337ss. Le procès de Senneville. Affaire de liberté des cultes, plaidée par *Odillon Barrot*. Par. 1843. (*A. Mäder*) Die prot. K. Fr. 1787–1846. ed. by Gieseler, Lps. 1848. 2 vols.

k) Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 75. 89. 90. 98. 102.—76. 95. 1849. N. 7.

l) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 28. A. KZ. 1853. N. 143. *m*) Organ: Archive du Christianisme.

n) *Agénor de Gasparin*, Les Intérêts généraux du Protest. franç. Par. 1843. Essen. 1843.

independent in government and worship; but they now resolved to maintain unity by means of a biennial synod, and a synodal commission for the intervening period. (*o*) But even in the Reformed National Church there are two opposite parties: the Evangelical, under Ad. Monod, agreeing in doctrine with the Separatists, and anxious to preserve, as far as possible, the old confession and the old customs; (*p*) and the Liberal under Coquerel, rejecting every creed except the Scriptures as the word of God, and before the altar of the Lord. The number of ministers in each of these parties is nearly the same; they remain united, and both are rich in works of pious charity. (*q*) The theological faculty at Strasbourg maintains an intimate fellowship with German science, and the other at Montauban, with a clergy trained by rhetorical rules and with a practical spirit, is conversant principally with devotional subjects. (*r*) By its acquisition of territory in 1815, and by its Constitution of 1842, *Geneva* lost its Protestant independence. (*s*) In *Italy*, an evangelical public worship was needed only for foreigners residing there. The policy of the governments of Milan and Florence did not lead them to oppose the formation of particular congregations. A regard for England, Prussia, and America, disposed Naples and the ecclesiastical states to tolerate Protestant chapels; and after the old prophecy had been twice fulfilled, German Protestantism found an abode in the Capitol. (*t*) When the national desires of the Italians began to come in conflict with the hierarchy, an inclination towards Protestantism showed itself here and there under English influence, and the pope found himself threatened by a host of reforming spirits and Italian Bibles. After the re-establishment of the legitimate authorities, the revolutionary religion was put down, and many a victim was sacrificed in the prisons. (*u*) But when the *Madiai* family in Florence were condemned (June, 1852) to an imprisonment for several years, on a charge of endeavoring to make proselytes to Protestantism by reading the Bible, the zeal of their Protestant friends in England became powerfully excited against this anachronism. In opposition to the deputation of the Evangelical Alliance, and the intercession of the King of Prussia and the English government, the Grand Duke asserted the independence of his judicial courts, and his obligation to protect the religion of the state; but so menacing became the popular excitement in England in support of the ministry, that the Tuscan government thought it best to get rid of their troublesome prisoners by sending them out of the country (March, 1853). (*v*) In consequence of this affair, an association was formed in Hamburg (Aug. 1853), under the presi-

o) Union des égl. évang. de France. Par. 1850. *H. Hellmar*, Entst. d. Unionskirche in Fr. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 3.)

p) *Adolphe Monod*, pourquoi je demeure dans l'égl. établie. Par. 1849.

q) *A. Damman*, d. prot. K. in Fr. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. H. 1.) E. S. ü. d. rel. Zust. Fr. (Gelzer, prot. Monatsch. 1853. Aug.–Oct.)

r) *E. Reuss*, d. wiss. Theol. unter d. fr. Prot. (Stud. u. Krit. 1844. H. 1.)

s) Comp. Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 26. A. KZ. 1853. N. 149. *E. Cunitz* in d. Jen. L. Z. 1843. N. 242ss.

t) *Niebuhr's* Briefe, vol. II. p. 406. *Fleck*, wiss. Reise Lps. 1835. vol. II. 1. p. 124ss. *R. Baird*, Sketches of Protestantism in Italy, past and present. Boston. 1846. 12.

u) Brl. KZ. 1849 N. 73. 96. 1850. N. 21. Ev. KZ. 1852. N. 93. A. D. Z. 1853. N. 264.

v) Ev. KZ. 1852. N. 102. Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 16.—Hist. pol. Bll. 1853. vol. XXXI. p. 783ss. [Story of the Madiai. N. York. 1853. Amer. and For. Chr. Union. vol. III. p. 307ss. vol. IV. p. 65ss.]

dency of Lord Shaftesbury, with an executive committee in London, to assist by every means sanctioned by the gospel all who might suffer persecution for their confession of Christ, or for reading and distributing the Holy Scriptures. (*w*)

§ 464. *Old and New Sects.*

1. The *Waldenses*, who were connected with the Hussites by fraternal ties, recognized finally in the Reformation (Synod of Angrogna, 1532) the very objects which their ancestors had been obscurely seeking. (*a*) They were therefore exterminated in France, with the exception of some remnants living in the High Alps of Dauphiné, but they have been preserved under a synodal system of pastors and elders in three Alpine valleys in *Piedmont*. Here they came sometimes under the influence of distinguished persons belonging to the Genevan Church, though generally they retained the character of great pious simplicity. They have been much oppressed by their own authorities, but since the time of Cromwell, they have received pecuniary aid from the English government. Napoleon favored them, but after the restoration they were thrown back under their former oppressions, and confined to the narrow valleys of their ancestors. (*b*) The flag of liberty on the throne of Piedmont opened to them the whole country (Feb., 1848), the inclination generally felt toward Protestantism found among them a primitive legal form, and a great Waldensian church was dedicated with much solemnity in the city of Turin itself (1853). (*c*) 2. Among the *Mennonites* in Holland, the Arminian party obtained the ascendency, and when the different factions of the *Gross* became united, all distinct creeds were abandoned (1800). (*d*) The *Baptists* of England and North America had their origin principally among the Independents (since 1630). The largest portion adhere strictly to Calvinistic orthodoxy and discipline, but a part are Arminians (General Baptists), and some have no ecclesiastical discipline. Some minor communities among them have originated, in some instances, from their adoption of the Jewish Sabbath (Sabbatarians); in others, from their inculcating opposition to the slave-trade as a religious duty (Emancipationists); and still in others, from the principle of abstinence from all controversies on the ordinary orthodox doctrines (Christians). (*e*) In Germany, persons sometimes became Anabaptists from pietistic scruples, or from some religious extravagances, and a few small congregations have here and there been baptized by the English missionary *Oncken*, of Hamburg (since 1834). (*f*) In Denmark, they were

w) A. KZ. 1853. N. 175ss.

a) *Herzog*, röm. Waldenser. p. 333ss.

b) *W. Dieterici*, d. Wald. u. ihr Verh. z. Preuss. Staat. Brl. 1831. *Mayerhoff*, d. W. in unsern Tagen. Brl. 1834. *Fleck*, Reise. vol. II, 1. p. 21ss. [*E. Henderson*, Tour in the Valleys of Piedmont, in 1844. Lond. 1845. 8.]

c) *J. H. Weiss*, d. KVerf. d. Piem. W. Zür. 1844. Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 21. 77. A. KZ. 1853. N. 173.

d) *Fliedner*, Collectenreise. vol. I. p. 133ss.

e) *Backus*, H. of the English-American Baptists. Boston, 1772–84. 2 vols. [*D. Douglas*, H. of Bapt. Churches in the North of Engl. Lond. 1846. 8.] *A. F. Cox* and *J. Hoby*, (p. 663.) Archiv. f. KG. vol. II. p. 576ss. KHist. Archiv. 1824. St. 3. Ev. KZ. 1832. N. 95. 1839. N. 91ss.

f) *Pupikofer*, d. neuer K. in der Schweiz. St. Gall. 1834. *C. Grüneisen*, Abriss e. Gesch. d. rel. Gemeinschaften in Würtemb. m. bes. Rücks. a. d. neuen Taufgesinnten. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1841. H. 1.) Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 74. 1841. N. 79. 87. 1851. N. 34. 37.

at first punished by fine and imprisonment; but when this course was found to be ineffectual, they were allowed to have a single congregation in Fredericia (1842). It was, however, found impossible to confine them within this limit. (*g*) 3. As *Unitarianism* could be propagated simply as an opinion, it had less occasion to be extended as a sect. In Transylvania, the Unitarians have maintained a well constructed ecclesiastical system, and have developed their views in consistency with their supernaturalist concessions. (*h*) In England they lived legally subject to the axe of the executioner, and although the laws against them had long since ceased to be enforced, even in 1792, Parliament refused formally to abolish the statutes against them, and it was not till 1813 that they were finally tolerated by law. *Lindsey* (d. 1808), whose gentle spirit led him voluntarily to withdraw from a congregation connected with the Established Church (1773), and the natural philosopher *Priestley* founded a few Unitarian congregations, and an academy for free theological inquiry.(*i*) When Priestley was obliged to retire to America before the storm of the popular will (1794), he there encountered every kind of opposition. But after his death (1804), a kind of Rationalism began to spread in opposition to the prevalent sentiment of the people there, and found a peculiarly favorable home in the general isolation and freedom of the churches. Several hundred congregations among the Independents and Baptists have embraced it, and for some time it has had the ascendency in the State of Massachusetts. (*k*) In England, the greater part of the Presbyterian and General Baptist congregations have adopted the same sentiments. When they thus denied the doctrine of a Triune, incarnate God, the orthodox Dissenters maintained that they had forfeited their right to all ecclesiastical property derived from foundations established for the promotion of the Christian faith. This view was sustained by the civil courts, and many congregations were deprived of their former splendor in public worship, until by a new law (Dissenters' Chapel Bill, 1844), which gave a legal title to such as had enjoyed immemorial possession of the fund, a termination was given to this scandal. (*l*) 4. The *Plymouth Brethren*, a society founded by Darby, an English clergyman, and propagated from Plymouth to the Canton of Vaud (1840), felt constrained to abandon the Protestant Church, on the ground that it also had become a Babylon, but they remained strictly Calvinistic in doctrine, and were diligent in religious labors. Regarding themselves as the elect children, and therefore universally the priests of God, they relied on the promise of our Lord (Matth. 18, 20), dispensed with a regular clergy, and in small domestic churches waited for the approaching second advent of Christ. (*m*) 5. A

g) Brl. KZ. 1843. N. 9. 1846. N. 13. 30. 1847. N. 12.

h) (*G. Markos,*) Summa Theol. univ. sec. Unitarios. Claudiopoli, 1787. Archiv f. KGesch. vol. IV. St. 1.

i) *Th. Belsham*, Memoirs of Lindsey. Lond. 1820. Memoirs of *J. Priestley*, (by himself and his son.) Lond. 1806ss. 2 vols. *W. Turner*, Lives of Eminent Unitarians, Lond. 1840ss. 2 vols.

k) *Walch*, nst. rel. Gesch. vol. V. p. 175. VII, 347ss. Archiv f. KG. vol. I. p. 83. IV, 149ss. Ev. KZ. 1830. N. 13. 1831. N. 40.

l) *J. Marsh*, Hist. of the Pres. and Gen. Baptist Churches in the West of Engl. Lond. 1835. *K. A. Credner*, kirchl. Zustände. (Heidlb. Jahrb. 1845. II. 1.)

m) *J. J. Herzog*, les Frères de Plymouth et John Darby. Laus. 1845. Ev. KZ. 1844. N. 23. 28. Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 90. [*C. F. Leopold*, in the Stud. u. Krit. 1848. II. 4.]

romance founded on the story that the ten tribes of Israel had been driven to America, and been converted under the personal ministry of our Lord there, was turned into a holy book which *Joseph Smith* (b. 1805) claimed to have discovered by revelation, and found to be an historical record by Mormon, an old prophet among that people. Professing to be himself an inspired prophet, he collected around him an active host, which were driven from a number of places, but at last commenced the erection of a city and a splendid temple in the State of Illinois. Their pious claims upon the property of their neighbors soon armed a multitude of fanatics against them, by whom their temple was destroyed and their prophet was slain (1844). During two subsequent years, and in the midst of indescribable troubles, the *Mormons* went through the wilderness and across the Rocky Mountains to the great ocean, and founded on the Salt Lake (Utah Territory) a city and a flourishing state, which is preparing to take its place under the starry banner of the United States. From this point their messengers are going forth, full of faith in old and new prophecies, into all parts of the world, to baptize the Latter-Day-Saints and to assemble them in their new Zion on the Salt Lake. Their Catechism has an evangelical and almost an orthodox tone; they take some pains to deny the limited polygamy which is practised among them, and their community of goods is limited to one tenth of all property and annual rents, to be used for objects of common utility. The purpose of their theocratic government is to establish a firm social and military system, and it offers those who have come to them, especially from Scotland and Scandinavia, the prospect at least of a temporal kingdom. (*n*)

§ 465. *Missionary and Bible Societies.*

The ordinary Annual Reports, esp. of the London, Edinburgh, Basle, Halle, and Berlin Bible Societies. For a Gen. View: *Knapp*, Abriss e. prot. Missionsgesch. (Hall. Jahresb. 1816. St. 66.) Fortschritte d. ev. Missionsw. im 1. Viertel d. 19. Jahrh. Bas. 1826. *F. Lücke*, Missionsstudien. Gött. 1841. *F. W. Klumpp*, d. ev. Missionswesen, s. weltgesch. u. nation. Bedeut. Stuttg. 1841. *J. Wiggers*, (p. 510.) *J. H. Brauer*, d. Missionswesen d. ev. K. Statistik. Hamb. 1847-51. I. vol. 1. 2 H. *K. J. Nitzsch*, d. Wirk. d. ev. Chr. auf kulturlose Völker. Brl. 1852. Comp. *Wisemann*, d. Unfruchtbark. d. v. Protestanten unternommen. Miss. Augsb. 1835.—*J. Owen*, Hist. of the Orig. and first ten years of the Bible Soc. Lond. 1816. 3 vols. Lps. 1824. Archiv. f. KG. vol. II. p. 229ss. III. 171ss. A. KZ. 1825. N. 123. 1828. N. 25. 1829. N. 86. [*F. Schobert*, Present State of Christianity, and of the Miss. Establishments. Lond. 1828. 12. *J. O. Choules*, Hist. of Missions. Boston, 1838. 2 vols. *B. B. Edwards*, Miss. Gazetteer. Bost. 1832. 12. *C. Williams*, Miss. Gaz. Lond. 1828. 12. *J. Tracy*, H. of the Am. Board. Boston, 1838. 12.]

In the spirit of the present age, which accomplishes great enterprises by means of private voluntary associations, the extension of Christianity has become a popular cause. Boards for missionary societies, each of which is peculiar and distinct in its character, were organized at London in 1795, (*a*) at Edinburgh in 1796, at Boston in 1810, at Basle in 1816, (*b*) at New York

n) Book of Mormon. Book of Covenants. The former work has been several times printed since 1830, even in German. *Pratt*, e. Stimme d. Warnung u. Beleh. f. alle Völker. from the Engl. Hamb. 1853.—*Turner*, Mormonism in all Ages. N. York. 1843. *Caswell*, The Prophet of the 19th Cent. Lond. 1842. *Raumer*, (p. 601.) vol. II. p. 154ss. Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 69. 1852. N. 100. 1853. N. 6. 42. 45. A. KZ. 1853. N. 8ss.

a) *W. Ellis*, Hist. of the Lond. Miss. Soc. Lond. 1844. vol. I.

b) *W. Hoffmann*, Eilf Jahre in d. Miss. Stuttg. 1853.

in 1820, at Berlin in 1823, at Barmen in 1828, and at Dresden in 1836. Wherever Protestants were found, auxiliaries to these societies were formed, and about five millions of dollars are annually collected for the education and support of five thousand native and foreign laborers in the missions of nearly fifteen hundred stations on the globe. Every party in the Church, especially in England and America, contributes of its money and its prayers, under the conviction that the more a Christian gives for objects abroad, the more he will have of spiritual blessings in his own heart. The English missions aim to make their converts thoroughly English, but the American missionaries avow that they wish to become national pastors, wherever they may be stationed. In consequence of the peculiar organization of the London Society, it was obliged to confine its attention to the simple proclamation of Christianity, and to leave the ecclesiastical connection to be determined by the converts, or rather by the missionaries themselves. The Church Missionary Society recognized indeed only the system of Christian faith professed by the Episcopal Church, but it employed even German missionaries, and allowed them to manage their ecclesiastical affairs in their own way. The difficulties experienced by *Rhenius* (d. 1838), so remarkable for his powerful faith, and who was the first that fell out with the society, sprung entirely from his decided literary tendencies. (*c*) The North German Missionary Society (1836) was much endangered by its controversy about the Lutheran and the Reformed Confessions, but with respect to missionary operations it always perceived the necessity of a union. (*d*) The missionary societies of all countries where the German language was spoken, were united (1846) into one general body, that concert in missionary operations might be secured by means of periodical general assemblies and a central Board, whose location might be changed according to circumstances. (*e*) But when the Dresden mission was transferred to Leipsic (1847), it placed itself decidedly on the ground of the Lutheran Confession, and the Bavarian Lutherans pronounced all contributions to the society of Nuremberg sinful, until it received a Lutheran name and character (1852). (*f*) As most of the missions were commenced under the management of what was called the Methodistic party and the Moravians, it was found that none but those of a kindred spirit would enter heartily into the work of conducting them. Gradually, therefore, a certain degree of coolness with regard to them sprung up among the Rationalists. (*g*) Although the doctrines of many of the missionaries may have reminded one more of the Formula of Concord than of the gospel, there were certainly some missionaries, as *e. g.*, those who proceeded from the school of the sincere *Jaenike* of Berlin (since 1800), whose virtues and sacrifices remind us of apostolic times. (*h*) Not only ministers with a regu-

c) *Rheinwald*, Rep. vol. XXIV. p. 184ss.

d) Report of the Nordd. Miss. G. Hamb. 1839. A. KZ. 1847. N. 152. Allg. Missionszeitung, ed. by *Brauer*, Hamb. 1845ss.

e) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 70.

f) *L. A. Petri*, d. Miss. u. d. K. Hann. 1841. *K. Graul*, d. ev. luth. M. zu Dresden an die luth K. Lps. 1845. Ev. luth. Missionsbl. Dr. u. Lps. s. 1846ss.

g) *Röhr*, Pred. Bibl. vol. XII. H. 4. Notizenbl. and oft. A. KZ. 1830. N. 83s.

h) Ev. KZ. 1831. N. 90.

lar education, but in some cases mechanics of an elevated religious spirit, were sent forth. Their principal influence has been exerted by means of popular schools, and generally none have been admitted to baptism until their fidelity has been proved.—When the Pietists of Halle had begun (1712) to provide cheap Bibles, (*i*) this attempt to supply those who in different places were found destitute of the word of God, suggested to some benevolent people in England the idea of supplying every nation on earth with the Holy Scriptures in their own language. The British and Foreign Bible Society at London was the first and the most important of all these enterprises. The single penny of the poor soon became a million, and innumerable Bibles are now distributed in more than a hundred languages. That the whole power of all parties may be combined for the accomplishment of this object, nothing is printed by this society but the word of God, in a faithful, and, when it is possible, in an ecclesiastical translation, without note or comment. The relations of the English society to foreign societies were disturbed by its resolution to withdraw from all co-operation in the circulation of the Apocrypha (1827); but although the difficulty was nearly settled by mutual concessions, (*k*) it was made the subject of controversy in the orthodox party in Germany, because those who maintained the divine authority of the Scriptures were against, while those who regarded them as merely traditionary records were in favor of the Apocrypha, and the practical interest might therefore be so explained as to be on either side. (*l*) The proposition in London, to banish from the society all who did not believe in a Triune God, was voted down with great unanimity (1831), but its advocates withdrew, and formed a separate society. (*m*)

§ 466. *Spread of Christianity.*

In consequence of the revolutionary wars in the south of Europe and America, the dominion of the seas had fallen into the hands of Protestant powers, and all the shores of the earth were open to their missions. Hence, when peace was concluded, the gospel was proclaimed in all parts of the world with more power than ever before, and with a powerful popular sympathy in its favor. In the *South Sea Islands*, even among the milder tribes, Christianity had to contend with the most licentious practices, and the terrible sanctity of the Tabu. At Tahiti, the dissenting missionaries, since 1797, never despaired even in the most hopeless seasons, and have finally obtained possession of the native children. King *Pomare II.* learned to read and write; an insurrection in favor of the old religion was quelled after a sanguinary struggle (Nov. 12th, 1815), and the magic work of the first printing press was hailed (1817) with the most joyful anticipations. At the Sandwich Islands, king *Riho-riho* had already destroyed the old gods when the American missionaries first landed on his shores (1820). (*a*) Since that time, most of the Society and Sandwich Islands, as they could not escape the vices

i) *A. H. Niemeyer*, Gesch. d. Canstein. Bibelanst. Hal. 1827. *k*) A. KZ. 1827. N. 12. 1830. N. 29.
l) Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 43. *m*) Ev. KZ. 1831. N. 63s. 1832. N. 34. 95.
a) *E. Prout*, Mem. of the Life of J. Williams. Lond. 1843. *W. J. Besser*, J. W. d. Apostel d. Südsee. Brl. 2 ed. 1847.

of civilization, have accepted also of the virtues of a Puritanic form of Christianity, and submitted themselves to the theocratic government of the missionaries; (*b*) but the English missionaries have been driven from the Marquesas, and the evangelical churches of Tahiti have been wasted by French ships of war with Catholic priests (since 1842). (*c*) The old land of wonders, the land of Brahma, had now become subject to the merchants of England. The East India Company has sometimes favored Brahminism because it believed that the security of its dominion might be promoted by the jealousies of the Brahmins and the Mussulmen. But public opinion in England demanded that the government should act in consistency with the Christian religion, and accordingly, in 1829, the suttees ceased to receive the protection of the laws, and in 1831, all offices open to any natives were made free to Christian Hindoos. The system of caste still presents very great obstacles; the manner in which the Brahmins have been educated enables them to propose objections (*d*) which an uneducated missionary finds it hard to answer; the number of converts is small, and the missionaries' native helpers have very little influence with those whom they have forsaken. The Anglican Church is the only body which has laid the basis of an external polity there. The diocese of Calcutta has been established (1815), and the suffragans of Bombay and Madras have been since attached to it (1833). But the foundations of the old temples have been powerfully shaken by the quiet influence of Christian dominion and improvements, by the schools, a free press, and trials by jury. In the promotion of these objects, Bishop *Heber* (d. 1826) spent the brief day of his administration in his immense diocese laboring principally for the Christian education of the people. (*e*) Bishop *Wilson* has declared all distinctions of caste abolished among such as profess the Christian religion (1833), since the gospel has placed all men of every nation and condition on the same footing. (*f*) On the other hand, the great *Rammahun-Roy* (1780–1833), in possession of the treasures of Indian and Christian learning, has proclaimed that the purely moral worship of the one

b) *E. W. Löhn*, ü. d. Rel. d. Polynesier, o. d. Tapuländer. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1842. H. 4.)—*O. v. Kotzebue*, Reise um d. Welt. Weim. 1830. (*Röhr*, Pr. Bibl. vol. X. H. 5. XII. 4. XIII, 5.) To be modified by: *Ellis*, Polynesian Researches. Lond. 1830. 2 vols. (Ev. KZ. 1830. N. 80ss.) [N. York. 1831. 2 vols.] *F. Krohn*. d. Missionswesen d. Südsee. Hmb. 1833. *J. Williams*, Narrative of Miss. Enterprises in the South Sea Islands. Lond. 1837. *C. E. Meinicke*, d. Südseevölker u. d. Christenth. Prenzl. 1844. *H. Wegener*, Gesch. d. chr. K. a. d. Gesellschafts-Archipel. Brl. 1844. vol. I.

c) *H. Lutteroth*, Gesch. d. I. Tahiti, u. ihrer Besitznahme durch d. Franzosen. from the Fr. by Bruns. Brl. 1843. *W. F. Besser*, d. Missionär u. s. Lohn. (from *Pritchard*, The Missionary's Reward. Lond. 1844.) Hal. 1846.—*E. Michaelis*, d. Völker d. Südsee u. Gesch. d. prot. u. kath. Miss. unter denn. Munst. 1847.

d) An Apology for Heathenism, and Controversial Treatises against Christianity, by a Brahmin. Translated, with notes by Bp. Wilson. Bombay, 1832. (Mitgeth. v. Poret in Stud. u. Krit. 1853. H. 2.)

e) *Buchanan*, nst. Unters. u. d. Zust. d. Christen in Asien. A. d. E. Stuttg. 1813. [Christian Researches in Asia. Lond. 1811. 8. and oft.] *Niemeyer*, neuere Gesch. d. ev. Miss. in Ostind. (Hal. 1830. St. 77.) *Heber*, Journal. Lond. 1826. 2 vols. 4. Life of Heber. Lond. 1830. 2 vols. 4. United in: *Krohn*, Hebers Leben u. Nachrr. ü. Ind. Brl. 1831. 2 vols. *J. Hough*, Hist. of Christ. in India. Lond. 1839–45. 4 vols. Die Entw. d. chr. Miss. in Ostind. (Bas. Mag. 1841. II. 1. 2. 4. 1842. II. 1. 2s. 1843. II. 1ss. 1844. II. 2s. 1845. II. 2.) *J. J. Weitbrecht*, d. prot. Miss. in Ind. m. bes. Rücks. a. Bengalen. Heidlb. 1844.

f) Ev. KZ. 1834. N. 73s.

God is merely the restoration of original Brahminism, and that this doctrine constitutes the unity of that system with the essential principles of the gospel. (*g*) At Malacca, a Christian school was opened for the education of the *Chinese* residing there, and *Morrison* (d. 1844) translated the Scriptures for their use. English cannons have compelled the Celestial Empire to open its gates for the reception of the gospel as well as opium (1842), and the Hessian Missionary Society has avowed its special interest in the conversion of China. *Gützlaff* (1803–51), born a missionary, and trained in the school of Jaenike, in the full costume of a native, and sometimes in connection with English merchants, has penetrated with some violence into the interior of China (since 1831). At first he was obliged to communicate Christianity to the Chinese only in a manuscript form, but after a time he succeeded in sending forth in every direction a large number of native preachers from the Anglo-Chinese seminary, which has been removed from Macao to Hong-Kong, and finally, as a friend of China, has pleaded its cause in the different countries of Germany. (*h*) The insurrection created by the new Son of Heaven (Tien-ti), has already destroyed the idols (since 1852), threatens to overthrow the Tartar dynasty, and has adopted many ideas peculiar to Christianity. (*i*) Missions of all denominations have been established among the colonies on the coast of *Southern Africa*, where, in consequence of the reverence which the negro generally feels for the white man, the difficulty has been not so much with the decided opposition as with the indifference of a stupid barbarism. The Rhenish Missionary Society looks with pious expectations to the miniature likeness of its own native valley in the Wupperthal belonging to the Colony of the Cape, but when the Hottentots rose against the white men (since 1850), they forgot their catechism. At *Sierra Leone* has been formed the germ of freedom and of Christianity (since 1816), at an expense of millions of money, but it is continually threatened by a most noxious climate. (*k*) To secure the benefits of European civilization for his subjects, King Radama allowed Christianity to be freely introduced into *Madagascar* (since 1818). The queen who succeeded him, however, commanded her subjects to think no more of the new doctrine; the missionaries abandoned the island (1836), and the native Christians were impaled alive,

g) Translation of several principal books of the Veds. ed. 2. Lond. 1832. Appeal to Christians. Calcutta, 1820s. 2 vols. Correspondence relative to the prospect of the reception of Christ. in India. Lond. 1824. A. KZ. 1824. N. 43. Gesch. d. ev. Miss. Hal. 1837. St. 83. p. 956s. [Christ. Examiner, Sept. and Oct. 1826. Spirit of the Pilgrims, vol. II. p. 270ss. North Amer. Review, vol. XX. p. 398ss.]

h) *W. H. Medhurst*, China, its State and Prospects. Lond. 1838. Freely revised. Stuttg. 1840.—*Gutzlaff*, Sketch of Chinese Hist., Anc. and Mod. N. York. 1840. 2 vols. 12.—*C. Gutzlaff*, Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China. N. York, 1833. Lond. 1834. (Ev. KZ. 1833. N. 56. 1834. N. 79ss.) Gaihan's (Gützl.) chin. Berichte, 1841–46. ed. by the chin. Stiftung. 1850. A. KZ. 1846. N. 181. 1847. N. 143. 1850. N. 202ss. 1851. N. 40.

i) Beitrr. z. Kunde Chinas in Bez. a. d. Miss. ed. by *K. L. Biernatzki*, Cass. 1853. vol. I. II. 2. A. KZ. 1853. N. 180.

k) (*O. v. Gerlach,*) Gesch. d. ev. Miss. im südl. Afr. Brl. 1832. (7. and 8. Rep. of the Berl. Soc.) Reports of the Rhenish Miss. Soc. Barm. 1830ss. Hist. of the Civilization and Christianization of Southern Afr. Edinb. 1830. Some circulars sent from South Afr. to Bishop Neander, ed. by G. Gebel. Hamb. 1840.

but Christianity was by no means extinguished. (*l*) The remnants of the aboriginal tribes of *North America* betook themselves to the deeper shades of their primitive forests; and although some of them acknowledged the God of the whites, others replied to the solicitations of the missionaries, that they had previously lived happily under the protection of the Great Spirit, and that what they had witnessed in their white brethren had only made them doubt the expediency of any change.—About sixty-five millions of people are at present adherents of the Evangelical Church.

CHAP. VI.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH UNTIL 1853.

§ 467. *Re-establishment of the Roman Hierarchy. Cont. from* § 439.

With the restoration of the Bourbons, a party bound together by the most intimate relations, and ramified in a great variety of forms, became diffused in all parts of Southern Europe, and formed a secret connection until 1830 with the apostolical congregation as the nucleus of all their operations. The object of this party was to obliterate all vestiges of the Revolution, and under the name of the absolute monarchic system, once more to divide the world between the Priests and the Barons. Their watchword, that the altar cannot fall without the throne, and the terrible experience of the few past years was sufficient to draw toward them the hearts of the princes. The result was, that the state received an ecclesiastical, and the Church a political element. By this dangerous connection, the hierarchy obtained many unexpected concessions, but the Church was involved in all the changes of the political system, and its true power was much impaired. And yet the newly-awakened religious zeal which now took possession of the leading spirits of the age, sometimes the result of enthusiasm, and at other times of deliberate purpose, was beneficial to the cause of Catholicism, and raised up many a dilapidated and fallen pillar for its support. *Pius VII.* once more entered his capital (May 24th, 1814), which, having been reduced to a mere French provincial town, now received him with acclamations. (*a*) The Ecclesiastical States had their former limits assigned them by the Congress of Vienna, with the exception of a small district beyond the Po. The provinces beyond the Apennines were exposed to the rapacity of Austria, now the dominant power in Italy. The Diplomatists of Vienna smiled when Consalvi solemnly protested against the dismemberment of the country on the Po, the Austrian occupation of the castle of Ferrara, the refusal to surrender Avignon, and the secularization and dissolution of the German empire. (*b*) The nations heard with amazement that the pope had pronounced the Bible Society a pestilence (1817). (*c*) The bull Sollicitudo Omnium (Aug. 7th, 1814), in compliance with what it called the almost unanimous entreaty

l) *Ellis*, H. of Madag. Lond. 1838. 2 vols. (Ev. KZ. 1839. N. 15ss.) Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 25. *Feldner*, d. Ev. a. Madag. Königsb. 1845.

a) *Pacca*, Memorie. Orv. 1833. vol. V. Augsb. 1834. vol. V.

b) *Klüber*, Acten d. Wiener Congr. vol. IV. p. 325. VI. 441ss.

c) *Wald*, Decreta, quib. societt. bibl. a. P. R. damnantur. Reg. 1818.

of Christendom, restored the order of the Jesuits throughout the world. Nowhere, except in the Ecclesiastical States, however, was it able to regain possession of any portion of its former property; but it received from the former society an inheritance of suspicion and hatred, which its members sought to remove from the popular mind by a course of strict morality and manners. In Naples, Belgium, Ireland, and in most of the American States, they were tolerated; in Sardinia, they were richly endowed, and intrusted with the education of the youth; and in some of the cantons of Switzerland they erected edifices for instruction, which were resorted to by many children of the French and German nobility. Austria, after a protracted refusal, opened a few of her provinces to them (after 1836). They were excluded from Russia for their abuse of confidence (1820). (*d*) As they became, under General *Roothaan*, after 1829, more and more decidedly the prominent champions against all freedom both in Church and State, not indeed from any warmth of natural character, but by cold calculation and untiring diligence, their intrusion into the western states of Europe depended upon their uncertain victory over liberal institutions. (*e*) Every condition which they had desired in behalf of the new order of things in the Church, had been conceded to them by the Roman court, and by the governments of Turin (1814, 1817) and Naples (1818), since every limitation of the hierarchy was suspected in those countries as a democratic element. (*f*) Every ecclesiastical measure indicated that it was the design to bring all things back to the condition in which they were before the time of Clement XIV. In the civil administration, Consalvi endeavored to strike out a middle way between the hierarchical and liberal parties. A Motu-Proprio of July 6, 1816, confirmed the legal equality of all citizens, just as it had been introduced by the French when they abolished all municipal and provincial privileges. But when the French code had been abolished, nothing was substituted in its place; the prelates once more seized upon all the civil offices, the privileged classes were opposed to a re-establishment of the financial system, and even robbers collected annuities. It may therefore with propriety be said, that there was no security for the government but in the pious recollections of the people, and in the proper management of the confessional. (*g*) After experiencing such extreme vicissitudes of fortune, Pius VII. died (Aug. 21, 1823), his last days having been beclouded by the burning of St. Paul's church, and the threatened approach of a new revolution. (*h*) Although he was a theologian, his education was by no means extensive; he had no great confidence in his own abilities, displayed great powers of endurance, and his countenance was that of a saint, and an image of a noble soul.

d) *Vater*, Anbau. vol. II. p. 39ss. KHist. Archiv. 1823. P. 2. p. 22ss. *Westenrieder*, ü. d. Wiederh. d. Jes. 1818. *Cretineau-Joly*, Gesch. d. Gesellsch. J. from the French. Vienna 1845ss. 6 vols.—*H. Lutteroth*, la Russie et les Jesuites. Par. 1844. ü. v. Birch, Stuttg. 1846.

e) Das Innere d. Gesellsch. Jesu. Lps. 1845. Der Jes. O. u. s. Unverträglichk. m. d. deutschen Verh. Stuttg. 1846.

f) Orig. Docc. in Vater's Anbau. vol. I. p. 65ss. 141ss.

g) *Tournon*, Études statistiques sur Rome. Par. 1831. *L. Ranke*, Rom. 1815–23. (Hist. pol. Zeitschr. 1832. P. 4.)

h) *P. Baldassari*, Relazione delle aversita e patimenti del P. Pio VII. negli ultimi tre anni del suo pontif. ed. 2. Bolog. 1840.

§ 468. *The Popes before the Last.*

(*Kölle,*) Rom im J. 1823. Stuttg. 1834. *E. Münch.* Rom. Zustände u. Kirchenfragen d. neuesten Zeit. Stuttg. 1838. (*H. Reuchlin,*) Bilder u. Skizzen a. Rom. Stuttg. 1844.—*J. G. Kohl:* Rom unter den letzten drei Päpsten. u. d. zweite Ref. in Deutschl. Lps. 1846. 3 vols.—*Artaud de Montor,* Hist. du P. Leon XII. Par. 1843, revised by *Ch. Schmitt,* Schaffh. 1844.—du P. Pie VIII. Par. 1844. Aus d. Leben P. Greg. XVI. Vien. 1831. 4. *Bernh. Wagner,* P. Greg. XVI. Sulzb. 1846.

Leo XII. (della Genga, Sept. 28th. 1823–Feb. 10th, 1829), who belonged to the party opposed to Consalvi's liberal policy, endeavored to regulate the affairs of the Church beyond the Alps and the ocean, and to supply it with bishops distinguished for piety and science. He also improved the system of education in the Ecclesiastical States, canonized the Minorite Julianus, who had ordered fried birds to fly away, (*a*) and appointed the year of Jubilee to be a season of general expiation and grace, in which believers from all parts of the earth might come up to the metropolis of the world, to thank God for the victory which had been obtained over the great conspiracy of this century against all human and divine rights, and to pray for the extermination of heretics. (*b*) He had not been distinguished for his abstemiousness in Germany, where he had resided as a nuncio, but when he became pope he was extremely temperate. On his accession, he was received at Rome with great rejoicings, but at his death he was hated for his strictness and independence, not only by the officials of his court and the cardinals, but by the people. *Pius VIII.* (Castiglioni, March 31st, 1829–Nov. 30th, 1830), a favorite of his predecessor of the same name, a sickly, benevolent old man, and always afraid of the machinations of the philosophers, the Bible societies, and the Carbonari, (*c*) put forth his last and best energies to confer blessings on his city and the world. The longings of the Italians generally after national independence and a popular constitution, had become powerful especially in the Ecclesiastical States, quite as much in consequence of the decided opposition made to them, as of the weakness of the government. Even during the session of the conclave, an insurrection became formidable, and determined the vote in favor of Capellari von Belluno, the General of the Camaldolites, *Gregory XVI.* (Feb. 2, 1831–June 1, 1846), who had once celebrated the triumph of the holy see over the assaults of these innovators. (*d*) The insurrection, relying upon the aid of France, broke out in the Legations, extended beyond the Marquisate of Ancona, and finally reached Rome, where its object was to compel the pope to abdicate his temporal sovereignty. From this he was preserved by the interference of Austria. He however paid only an apparent attention to the admonition of the European powers, to conform his administration to the spirit of the age. The rebellion had been indeed suppressed, but was by no means radically exterminated, and hence it was soon awakened to new activity (Jan., 1832). The troops sent forth to quell it, being wholly composed of banditti and criminals, ravaged peaceable towns and sacred spots, until finally it became necessary to call in the Austrian military to rescue the papal government and its territory from

a) A. KZ. 1825. N. 70. *b*) *Ibid.* 1824. N. 88.
c) *Eisenschmid,* rom. Bullar. Lps. 1831. vol. II. p. 809ss.
Trionfo della Santa Sede. Rom. 1799. Ven. 1832, and oft. Augsb. 1833.

its own soldiery. To prevent Austria from obtaining complete sovereignty over Italy, the French fleet took possession of Ancona by a single blow (Feb. 23, 1832). The Roman court protested against this violation of national law, declared the city of Ancona under an interdict, and thus finally availed itself of the weak side which necessity offered. There was no denying that the deficit in the revenues was annually increasing. An attempt to introduce a new code of civil law was defeated by the opposition of the provinces. Ancona was given up by the French and Bologna by the Austrians simultaneously, Dec. 3d, 1838. The Legations were disturbed by an almost perpetual guerilla war during the years 1843–44. (*e*) The inhabitants of Rimini (Sept., 1845) demanded with arms in their hands, since every other form of petition and complaint was denied them, the very moderate concession of the legal forms of a civilized state. The Swiss regiments and a fanatical band of papal volunteers stifled this insurrection in blood, and a great part of the educated Roman youth sighed in prisons, or in the mere possession of life in foreign lands. The pastoral epistle of Gregory (Aug. 15, 1832) is full of expressions indicating that the author was conscious that the Roman Church stood on the brink of an abyss, and that it could be saved only by the firm union of all true believers in opposition to modern science and popular freedom, but that his unshaken reliance rested upon the protection of the Holy Virgin. (*f*) Gregory lived to witness, on the other side of the Alps, both defeats and triumphs, but he seemed always to understand with firm moderation what the papacy might according to circumstances demand or endure from others. The festival of the canonization of five saints (May 26th, 1839), was a celebration of victory and a season of excitement. (*g*) Gregory lived, according to his own convictions of duty, the abstemious life of a cloister, or at least under all the restraints of a monkish spirit, but he could not control the avarice of his subordinate courtiers; he had no confidence in his people, and therefore put himself under the counsels of a gloomy party; and he finally left his personal servants and his nepotes rich, the country impoverished, and the government distracted.

§ 469. *Pius IX.* (*June* 16, 1846) *and Italy.*

Pius IX. u. s. Reformen. Lps. 1847. *H. Stieglitz*, Erinn. an Rom. u. d. KStaat im ersten Jahr. sr. Verjüng. Lps. 1848. *Carei*, d. Papst als Staatsoberh. u. d. Demagogie, from the Ital. of *E. v. Moy*, Insb. 1849. *Fil. di Boni*, Pio nono. Torino. 1850. Die Gegenwart. Lps. 1849ss. vol. III. p. 149, 604ss. vol. VII. p. 45ss.

The election was for some time undecided between the Genoese, Lambruschini, who had been the real ruler during the last years of Gregory's reign, and Mastai Feretti (b. 1792), of Sinigaglia, once a resident in Chili, and when a prelate much interested in the establishment for the poor, and a father to all orphans. The influence of the Roman nobility to which he belonged, and the perilous condition of the ecclesiastical government, finally determined the choice of the conclave on the second evening, in favor of Feretti. *Pius IX.* was regarded by his intimate acquaintances as the friend of moderate progress,

e) A. Z. 1843. N. 280. *f*) A. KZ. 1832. N. 183s.
g) A. KZ. 1839. N. 101. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXVI. p. 91ss.

but his mind was raised to a consciousness of a divine vocation to be the reformer and deliverer of the Ecclesiastical States by the enthusiasm of the Roman people in his behalf, and the opposition he had to encounter. His popular manners won the hearts of the people even when his reforms appeared to them too tardy and incomplete. An amnesty for all who had been imprisoned or exiled for political offences was merely in accordance with what had now become established usage on the accession of a new pope, but he pronounced the word of grace with so much cordiality and good-natured confidence (July 17) that an act which brought such consolation to thousands of families filled all Italy with joy. (*a*) He commenced his retrenchments in his own household, allowed the press to indulge in a much greater liberty, strengthened the commissions previously appointed for digesting a code of laws and forms of judicial proceedings by the addition of approved men, granted permission for the construction of railroads, opened to the laity the path to the higher civil offices, decided upon a general taxation of all convents in the Ecclesiastical States, gave a liberal municipal constitution especially to the city of Rome, invited men from the provinces in whom the public had confidence, to his council of state, entered upon negotiations for the dismission of the Swiss troops, and took initiatory steps for a confederation of the Italian states. His kind intentions with respect to the Jewish quarters in the city were frustrated by the opposition of the Christian population. (*b*) A portion of the clergy sincerely ranged themselves on the side of the pope, his eloquent preacher, Ventura, proclaimed that genuine Catholic piety must necessarily become reconciled with political freedom, (*c*) and even the Jesuits declared themselves the friends of progress. But so numerous were the injuries committed, and threats received by those who lived upon abuses, and especially by those who had formerly sustained offices (la setta Gregoriana), and so complete was the change of position from that which the modern papacy had hitherto occupied with respect to the political parties, that an open and a secret opposition to this "devouring germ and chief of young Italy" was unavoidably called forth. (*d*) As there were two political powers on the opposite confines of the Ecclesiastical states threatening his government, because they were threatened by the spirit emanating from it, this opposition formed a coalition with them. To overcome this which was magnified by the popular imagination until it assumed the character of a murderous conspiracy, Pius ventured to place weapons in the hands of the citizens (guardia civica, July 5, 1847). (*e*) By this act he placed himself at the head of the Italian national movement, and was obliged earnestly to protest against the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, and he seemed actually to be, what the learned Abbot *Gioberti* had dreamed that the papacy might become, the head of an Italian confederacy of princes, for the unity, national independence, and civil liberty of Italy; and by reconciling faith with intellectual improvements, the peaceful umpire among the nations, holding up the cross as the standard of freedom. (*f*)

a) D. A. Z. 1846. N. 220. *b*) Ibid. 1847. N. 195.

c) Elogio funebre di Daniello O'Connell. Roma 1847.

d) D. A. Z. 1846. N. 297. 306. *e*) Ibid. 1847. N. 199. 258.

f) Primato morale e civile degli Italiani. Par. 1843. Delle condizioni presente e future d'Ital. Londra 1848. Comp. *J. F. Neigebaur* d. Papst u. s. Reich. Lps. 1847.

His position with respect to the Church was strictly Catholic. When he came before the public his appearance was thoroughly sacerdotal, and he made even the pulpit subservient to his designs. (*g*) His pastoral epistle (Nov. 9, 1846) was an echo of that of Gregory, only his complaints respecting the press and popular freedom were confined to those books which tempted men to sin, and to what he called communism. (*h*) His personal inquiries into the condition of convents and hospitals, his circulars to the generals of the orders (June 17, 1847), and the commissions appointed with reference to the convents, were intended to re-establish the canonical regulations, and to bring the monastic life to its former flourishing state, by enlisting it in pious offices and learned labors. (*i*) All the Italian states had caught the spirit proceeding from Rome, when the French revolution gave free scope to all the hopes and passions of the nations. In spite of the opposition of his conscience, the pope yielded to the importunities of his people by giving them a constitution, providing for two chambers, one chosen by himself, and the other by the people, but reserving for his inviolable authority all matters relating to the Catholic faith and to morals (March 14, 1848), (*k*) and by appointing for his minister a layman who had just returned from exile. Gioberti accused the Jesuits of being the authors of all the distress and disgrace to be found in Catholic nations. (*l*) They were generally driven from the streets by the people, and although the pope steadily refused again to abolish the order, he was obliged to witness their expulsion from the Ecclesiastical States. When Lombardy rose against the Austrian dominion, and Charles Albert, the sword of Italy, to gain the Lombard crown put himself at the head of the insurrection, Pius refused to take any part in the national war. In spite of his disapprobation, however, 12,000 modern crusaders (crociati) went forth to a holy war, in which they found neither wounds nor honor. The pope declared that the Father of Christendom should never participate in a war between brethren belonging to Catholic nations, and he allowed the Austrians to enter Bologna, and the people there to defend themselves as they could. Since then, the people who had so often sung hosannas before him, forsook him, and the republican party under *Mazzini*, which at that time aimed at an indivisible republic of all Italy, under the presidency of the pope, came into power. (*m*) In Lombardy national independence, and in Naples civil liberty, were overthrown by cannons ; in Rome a club (circolo popolare), and in the provinces unrestrained licentiousness, bore rule, when Count *Rossi*, once a professor in Bologna and a fugitive because he had hoped for the freedom of Italy, and afterwards an ambassador of Louis Philippe in Rome, undertook the ministry, and held the parties under his firm control. He was assassinated (Nov. 15, 1848) while ascending the steps conducting to the Chamber of Deputies, and on the next day the people demanded a democratic minis-

g) D. A. Z. 1847. N. 25. Comp. N. 140.

h) Die Erwartungen d. kath. Christenh. im 19. Jahrh. v. h. Stuhle. Zür. 1847.

i) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 67. 69. *k*) Ibid. 1848. N. 37.

l) Il Gesuita moderno. Cosanna. 1847. 8 vols.

m) La Giovine Italia. 1832. 33. De l'Italie dans ses rapports avec la liberté et la civilisation moderne. Lps. 1846. 2 vols.

try, a constituent national assembly for the Ecclesiastical States and for Italy, and a participation in the national war. The pope besieged and attacked with cannon in the Quirinal, finally yielded with a heavy heart, was guarded as a prisoner, and escaped into the Neapolitan territories (Nov. 25). A provisional government ordered that the constituent national assembly should be chosen by the popular voice, and although the pope at Gaeta excommunicated all who should take any part in the matter, the people elected their deputies, and the National Assembly on the night of Feb. 9, 1849, decreed that the temporal sovereignty of the pope was at an end, that the government of the Roman state should henceforth be a pure democracy, and that the Supreme Pontiff should receive full security for his independence in the exercise of his spiritual powers. All ecclesiastical possessions were declared the property of the nation (Feb. 13), to be distributed on perpetual leases. But the European powers offered their assistance to the holy father, the French Republic anticipated even Austria, a French army under the appellation of allies of the Roman republic, after an heroic defence by the people, entered the city of Rome (July 3), and an Austrian army took possession of the Legations. (*n*) A committee of cardinals by order of the pope undertook the government (July 15), and began the work of vengeance. The pope promised (Sept. 12) some municipal and provincial limitations to the absolute authority restored to the priests, but the amnesty which he proclaimed was so full of exceptions that it gave opportunity for all kinds of persecution. When Pius IX. finally returned to Rome (April 12, 1850) his heart was embittered, the patriotic ideals he had once formed were broken, and the people received him in gloomy silence. His sovereignty, under the able management of Cardinal *Antonelli*, his Secretary of State, is sustained entirely by French and Austrian garrisons. As an ecclesiastical prince his feelings may have been touched during his restoration, but he received from Tuscany a Concordat full of concessions to the ecclesiastical authorities, (*o*) he has issued jubilee indulgences, (*p*) he has encouraged the Catholic world in the hope that the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary to whose powerful protection he ascribes his deliverance, will soon be established, (*q*) and he has once more committed to the Jesuits the business of public education. (*r*) In *Piedmont* alone the Jesuits are excluded, not only by the people but by the king (March 3, 1848). Here, where Gioberti himself in difficult times stood at the head of the ministry, they could not be received, for the successor of Charles Albert, in harmony with the educated portion of the nation, adheres firmly to the free development of the state as their best consolation for misfortunes in the battle-field. (*s*) To carry out the article of the constitution which provides for the equality of all citizens before the law, and for the independence of the state upon the clergy, the laws proposed by *Siccardi*, the minister of justice, and accepted by the chambers, abolished the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the clergy in civil and criminal causes, and

n) *C. Rusconi*, la republica Romana del 1849. Tor. 1850.
o) A. KZ. 1851. N. 120. *p*) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 23. *q*) Ibid. 1849. N. 37. 1850. N. 47.
r) Ibid. 1850. N. 12.
s) *F. Crüger*, d. Konigr. Sardin. (Gegenw. 1853. vol. VIII. p. 524ss.)

their control over charitable establishments, abrogated the right of asylum, and gave some reason to expect that marriages by a civil act would be recognized as valid. (*t*) *Franzoni*, Archbishop of Turin, whose pastoral epistle complained of these laws as sacrilegious, was summoned before the civil court, and on his refusal to appear he was imprisoned and condemned to perpetual exile for resisting the law of the state, and for exciting others to rebellion against the civil authorities (Sept. 1850). (*u*) Pius IX. extolled his martyrdom, and protested against a legislation in conflict with legal concordats, and the subversion of the sacred rights of the Church. (*v*) The government replied that concordats were not international treaties between independent powers, but concessions made by the state to its own established Church, and therefore so far as related to its own department, might be revoked by a legislative act. As the Roman court persisted in its established policy of resisting in one country as a violation of the inalienable rights of the Church as long as any hope of success remained, what in another country had become law by the force of circumstances, the only point on which the two parties could come to any agreement was with respect to a diminution of the number of festivals. The masses of the people in different places were kept in an unhappy state of excitement against the government by the perpetual clamor of the clerical party under the direction of Franzoni from his place of exile, against the laws of Siccardi, against the civil marriages, under which all births were declared to be illegitimate, against the courts which took any action against priests, and which were immediately excommunicated, against lay professors in the university, against even clergymen who ventured to obey the government, and against the whole process by which they declared that the state was to be Protestantized and unchristianized. The king himself was threatened with excommunication, and the Church with a division. (*w*) The state, on the other hand, is continually holding forth its signals of freedom in a seductive manner, and whenever a revolution threatens Italy, to which *Gioberti* (d. 1852) has bequeathed the lessons and the hopes to be gathered from her not altogether undeserved misfortunes. (*x*)

§ 470. *The Gallican Church.*

1. The Charter with which *Louis XVIII.* entered the land of his fathers, recognized Catholicism as the religion of the state, but guarantied to every form of public worship the protection of the government. The priests who accompanied him, the martyrs of the Revolution, had become by long absence estranged from the people and the spirit of the age, and now, while they demanded the proper reward of their fidelity, they promised to secure the throne of their sovereign, and to regenerate their country. The youth who had grown up in the midst of the revolutionary heathenism stood in need of the gospel, the people longed for the blessings of the Church, even polite usage regarded all ridicule of religion as disreputable, and *De Lamartine*, at

t) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 33. *u*) D. A. Z. 1850. N. 226. 246.
v) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 39. 51. 94.
w) Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 41. 55. 103. Hist. pol. Bll. 1850. vol. XXVI. II. 6s.
x) Del rinnovamento civile d'Italia. Par. 1851. 2 vols.

that time still a knight devoted to royalty, succeeded by the pious sadness of his harmonies in becoming the favorite poet of the higher classes. (*a*) *De Lamennais* (b. 1781) defended the doctrine of the absolute necessity of an infallible Church as the objective manifestation of the divine reason in opposition to the frenzy of this individual reason of man, contrasted his own glowing feelings of love and hatred with the indifference which prevailed around him, and in his honesty did not conceal his position that he regarded the theocratic right of the papacy as superior to the foundation on which the monarchy rested. (*b*) Count *de Maistre* (d. 1821) proved that infallibility belonged as necessarily to the pope as sovereignty to the king. (*c*) But the clergy, instead of endeavoring to reconcile the discrepancies of the past with the present, seemed determined to render both more prominent. Religious enthusiasm once more beheld the cross of Constantine in the sky, and intolerance founded a kingdom of its own in the name of God. Priests of the mission traversed the land in great pomp, contending not only for the faith, but in opposition to every thing which France had purchased at such prodigious sacrifices. (*d*) The principles of freedom which formerly prevailed in the Gallican Church were now inveighed against as heresies. The apostolic congregation in connection with the heir-apparent and the illustrious daughter of misfortune, by persevering obstinacy, and in opposition to the inclinations of the prudent king, obtained a Concordat (1817) by which the Concordat of 1801 was revoked, and that of 1516 was substituted for it. So decidedly was public opinion expressed in opposition to this ghost of former times that no one ever ventured to lay a plan of the law before the Chamber of Deputies. (*e*) Without the consent of the Chambers, however, the government did as much for the clergy as was in its power. But no sooner had the Cathedral of Rheims witnessed once more a royal coronation, for which even the Holy Chrism was once more found (p. 166), than the hierarchy received from the chambers a pledge of its victory in the law against sacrilege (1825), which, in the true spirit of the middle ages, threatened with terrible punishments every injury done to the Established Church. (*f*) Once more, however, the government listened to the demands of the popular will expressed even in the House of Peers, and a royal ordinance (June 16th, 1828) closed the schools against the Jesuits who had intruded into them in the character of fathers of the faith. (*g*) But *Charles X.* allowed himself to be hurried into violent measures, for which he was obliged to atone by the loss of his throne (1830).

2. Instead of a king anointed and appointed by God, a citizen-king was now

a) Meditat. poet. Par. 1820. Harmonies poét. et rel. Par. 1830. 2 vols.

b) Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de la rel. Par. 1817s. ed. 4. 1822. 4 vols. Défense de l'Essai. Par. 1821. De la rel. dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique. Par. 1825. ed. 3. 1826. Des progrès de la rév. et de la guerre contre l'egl. Par. 1829.

c) Du Pape. Par. 1820.

d) Die Hier. u. ihre Bundesgen. in Fr. Aar. 1823. Coup-d'oeil sur la situation actuelle et les vrais intérêts de l'égl. fr. Par. 1825. *Caroré*, Rel. u. Phil. in Fr. Gött. 1826.

e) *De Pradt*, les quatre Conc. Par. 1818. vol. III. (Archiv. f. KGesch. vol. IV. p. 379ss.)

f) A. K. Z. 1825. N. 32. 44. *Du Loiret*, Hist. Abrégée du sacrilège. Par. 1825.

g) *Montlosier*, Mémoire à consulter sur un système rel. et pol. tendant à renverser la rel., la société et le trône. Par. 1826. With Vorw. by Paulus, Stuttg. 1826. A. K. Z. 1826. N. 139. 1827. N. 20.—1828. N. 104. 148. 174. 1829. N. 9. 11.

chosen by the people. The Jesuits and Trappists fled, the palace of the archbishop, and a few churches in Paris which had been used for political purposes, were stormed, the crosses together with the lilies were removed, the salaries of the prelates were diminished, and Catholicism lost the prerogative of being the religion of the state. (*h*) But an intimation from the pope (*i*) determined the clergy to offer their prayers for the new kingdom, although their minds were full of rancor toward it, and they were connected by many pious bonds with the family of the exiled king. *Louis Philippe* made as great concessions to the hierarchy as the origin of his own authority would allow, that a moral basis and a peaceable form might be given to his own dynasty. The Archbishop of Paris, *H. de Quelen* (d. 1839), an honorable priest and a father to the poor, (*k*) was yet willing to deny Christian burial to the honest *Gregoire*, who died immovably faithful to his ecclesiastical character (1831), (*l*) and the Bishop of Clermont refused the last consolations of the Church (1838) to the Count *Montlosier*, who had once heroically defended the cross of Christ, but had appealed to the laws in opposition to the Jesuits. (*m*) The recollections of all that is great in the past history of the French nation stand in striking opposition to the views of the Church, (*n*) and the abyss between Catholic and secular France is daily becoming more profound. *Lamennais*, consistently with his general opinion that ecclesiastical piety is to be valued above every thing else, perceived the compatibility of Catholicism with the sovereignty of the people, and demanded that the clergy should not only give up all their salaries but all interference in political matters, and so be once more poor and free. The Journal of the Future (l'Avenir, 1830s.) was powerful in France until it struck upon the rock of a contradiction between the freedom of the mind and the Roman infallibility. *Lacordaire*, the intelligent disciple of Lamennais, submitted himself to the pastoral epistle of Pope Gregory (§ 475), became a mendicant friar, (*o*) and was apparently willing to bring the sacrifice of obedience. But in his solitude his spirit became inflamed, and he sent forth to the world the words of a true believer. As Christianity had previously been abused to throw a sanctity around despotism, he here attempted to give the democratic side of the gospel and of the theocracy, that he might in anticipation of a mighty revolution, announce in prophetic and apocalyptic imagery the overthrow of the monarchy and the universal equality of the children of God. But even this revolutionary prophecy is pervaded by a spirit of profound and sincere piety. (*p*) As Lamennais in his visions of the dead had never mentioned the name of the

h) A. K. Z. 1831. N. 155. 1832. N. 37. 97. 167ss.

i) After *Rozet*, Chronique de Juillet: Minerva. 1833. Apr. p. 38ss.

k) Rheinw. Rep. 1841. vol. XXXIII. p. 93ss.

l) Chr. Antiromanus, d. sterb. Greg. u. d. verd. Erzb. Neust. 1831. *Krüger*, (p. 530) p. 378ss.

m) A. Z. 1838. N. 354. Append. N. 692. 839. N. 2.

n) Kunstblatt. 1837. N. 99. Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 67.

o) *Lacordaire*, Mémoire pour le rétablissement en France de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs. Par. 1838. Augsb. 1839.

p) Paroles d'un croyant. Par. 1833. (In the Brussels pirated impression, 1834. 12. also Bautain, d'Eckstein & Sainte-Beuve.) *Bautain*, Réponse d'un chrétien aux paroles d'un croyant. Strasb. 1834. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, Betracht ü. einige Schriften v. de la Menn. Jen. 1834. [Article in Hcgg's Chr. Instructor, in Eclectic Mag. for Oct. 1850. p. 260ss.]

pope, so in his rejection of the "Words of a Believer" (June 25, 1834), the pope never used the name of Lamennais, but as a sorrowing father spoke of the man whom France once esteemed as the last of the ecclesiastical fathers. But Lamennais found himself urged on to a position in which he saw the pontificate with its antiquated claims on the one side, and the human race with its ever fresh religious energies upon the other. (*q*) Instead of the Church he has put the universal reason of man, and instead of the propitiatory death at Golgotha, an oblation of the deity commensurate with the universe. (*r*) He has been declared by the civil courts guilty of attempts to excite hatred and contempt with respect to the royal government (1840), (*s*) but he has now been abandoned by free as well as by Catholic France. After an attempt to revive the sect of the Theophilanthropists by a decree which numbers the years from the time of the martyrdom of Socrates, the Abbé *Chatel* preached (Aug. 1830) in the spirit of an extravagant liberalism a French Catholic Church. In consequence of the strong dislike felt by the great body of the people for the Romish hierarchy, a few congregations were collected together with this view; but the modern, useless, political and negative character of this system made it soon dwindle away, and the doors of its advocates were finally closed by the police (1842). (*t*) In the spirit of the new monarchy, *Guizot*, an earnest Protestant literary man, once more established a plan of national education, in which a system of schools was carried out (1833), except that no one ventured to introduce into it the education of the clergy, nor to assert the universal obligation of attendance on the schools. He also proposed that France should become the protector of Catholicism in every part of the world, though without prejudice to the freedom of religion under it. The clergy demanded as the price of their reconciliation, the freedom of education, i. e., liberty to control it. The University, which had the general direction of this whole business, was described by them as the Moloch to whose antichristian instruction the youth of France were sacrificed. (*u*) When the two parties had measured their relative strength by a discussion in the Chamber upon instruction in the gymnasium (1844), they did not venture to come to a vote on the law relating to it. (*v*) A few bishops threatened to deprive some obnoxious institutions of the blessing and countenance of the Church. On the other hand, the old system of Jesuit morality which had been used for the instruction of the clergy, made up as it was of ambiguities

q) Affaires de Rome. Par. 1836. Le livre du peuple. Par. 1838. 12. Le pays et le gouvernement. Par. 1840.

r) Esquisse d'une Philosophie. Par. 1841. 3 vols. Par. & Lps. 1841. 3 vols.—Amschaspands et Darvands. Par. 1843. Les Evangiles. Par. 1846.

s) Brl. K. Z. 1841. N. 11.

t) Uri Deo. A. K. Z. 1829. N. 206.—Profession de foi de l'égl. cath. française. Par. 1831. Catéchisme à l'usage de l'égl. cath. fr. Par. 1837. *Reuchlin*, p. 293ss. *Holzapfel*, d. K. de Abbé Chatel. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1844. P. 3.)

u) Code Universitaire ou lois et règlemens de l'Université de France. Par. 1835. *Pfaff*, p. 72ss. 113. *Reuchlin*, p. 86ss. Brl. A. K. Z. 1843. N. 52.—*Desgarets*, le Monopole universitaire, destructeur de la rel. et des lois, ou la Charte et la liberté de l'enseignement. Lyon. 1843. *Védrine*, simple coup d'oeil sur les douleurs et les espérances de l'égl. aux prises avec les tyrans des consciences et les vices du XIX. Siècle. Lyon. 1843.

v) (*C. Reuss*) Rec. d. betr. Schrr. in d. Jen. L. Z. 1846. N. 36–40.

and obscenity, was again brought to public notice. *Michelet*, to whom all the dreams of the middle ages were quite familiar, and *Quinet*, who regarded every authorized creed as a direct promise on the part of all who profess it, sent forth from their Mount St. Genevieve to the whole French nation in opposition to the Jesuits who had now become more numerous than under the Restoration, full pictures of all that these fathers had done for the destruction of freedom, and of what other nations had become under their influence. (*w*) When Thiers called up in the Chamber of Deputies the laws still in existence against the Jesuits, they were enforced with the utmost possible mildness by the government, and through the mediation of the pope the General of the Jesuits was induced, apparently at least, to dissolve all the houses belonging to the order in France, and to recall from that country all who were not natives (July, 1845). (*x*) At this time, when the Church was not in the service of the court, and when *Affre*, Archbishop of Paris, demanded not ecclesiastical protection but liberty, the influence of the Church became very considerable, in behalf not only of the hierarchy but of general Christianity, in consequence of its works of practical piety and spiritual learning. (*y*) 3. In Feb. 1848, when France was surprised by the sudden introduction of the republic, the Church felt bound by no ties of gratitude to the dethroned royal family. One party beheld in that event a mere point of transition to a legitimate monarchy; the dispersed school of Lamennais hailed in the new watchword of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, which the state now proclaimed, nothing but the old principles of the Church; the aspiring lay-leader of the Catholic party discovered that the Catholic Church might be connected with any form of civil government from which it could expect ecclesiastical freedom, (*z*) and even the priests did not hesitate to bless the tree of liberty, and pray for the sovereign people. (*a*) The Constitution of the Republic promised freedom to every creed, protection for every form of public worship, and salaries to the ministers of every form of worship recognized by the government. (*b*) The law respecting instruction (May 15, 1850) gave the clergy so much influence in the supreme council for education, and so much freedom in the establishment of the schools, for the formation of which a great independent association, much lauded by the pope had been organized, that the Catholic party willingly accepted of it as an earnest of greater favors. (*c*) The Archbishop *Affre* fell in the performance of the duties of his vocation, at the barricades (June 28, 1848). *Chatel* celebrated Christmas by

w) Découvertes d'un bibliophile, ou lettres sur différents points de morale enseignés dans quelques séminaires. ed. 2. Strasb. 1843.—The organ of the clergy: *l'Univers*e, and that of the University: Journal des Débats, esp. for May—Nov. 1843. *De Lamartine*, l'état, l'église, et l'enseignement. Par. 1843. *L. A. Warnkönig*, d. K. Frankr. u. d. Unterrichtsfreih. Freib. 1845. Des Jésuites, par *Michelet* et *Quinet*. Par. 1843. in 5 ed. Uebers, by Stöber. Bas. 1843. [*Michelet*, Priests, Women, and Families, transl. by *Cocks*, Lond. 1843. The People, transl. by *Cocks*. Lond. 1849. *Quinet*, Ultramontanism. transl. by *Cocks*, Lond. 1845.]

x) Der Process Affenaer vor d. Pariser Assisen. Brl. 1845. *L. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Auflös. d. Jes. Congreg. in Frankr. Lps. 1846.

y) *Pflanz*, d. rel. u. kirchl. Leben in Fr. Stuttg. 1836. *Reuchlin*, (p. 608.)

z) *C. de Montalembert*, des intérêts catholiques au XIX Siècle. Par. 1852. in 3 ed.

a) Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 30. 62. 1849. N. 2. *b*) *Ibid.* 1848. N. 95.

c) *Ibid.* 1849. N. 61. 1850. N. 73. 1851. N. 35.

a Socialist banquet in honor of the sansculotte who was once born in a stable. When the dread of the red republic could be so turned as to favor the clergy on the ground that they were friends of social order, (*d*) the priests made use of it to secure millions of votes for the President and the Emperor by the grace of God and the will of the people. *Louis Napoleon* increased the salaries of the bishops, (*e*) richly endowed the chapter of St. Denys, restored the Pantheon to the service of St. Genevieve, (*f*) brought the Holy Father back to Rome, and would have been glad to be crowned by the papal hands. Without reference to the organic articles (p. 533) the emperor regards the Concordat of 1801 as having the force of law. The strict Catholic party are anxious to banish modern paganism by the substitution of the ecclesiastical fathers for the classics in the schools of learning, (*g*) they reject all philosophy of reason, and they advocate the government of the Church by the civil power, and the government of the Church by the pope. Sibour, the new Archbishop of Paris, took decided ground against this party, and the "Universe," through whose columns its influence was exerted, but an open controversy was avoided through the mediation of Pius IX. (*h*) Even under the reign of Napoleon I. who despised it, philosophy had desisted from the deification of the flesh, and by the influence first of Scotch and then of German metaphysicians, confidence was gained in the supremacy of the mind. But the literature of each of the three revolutions, whether it be regarded as a prophecy of the future, or a reflection of the past, has something terribly destructive and relaxing in its nature. It is not the cold scoffing of a self-complacent and satisfied spirit, but the offspring of a torn and lacerated heart. For this very reason it has much that is seductive to the present age, and even in its general corruption is not without some germs of life.

§ 471. *Spain. Portugal. South America.*

(*Pfeilschifter.*) Die kirchl. Zustände in Span. Würzb. 1842. Manuel razonado de hist. y legislation de la iglesia. Madr. 1845. 4. *Block*, l'Espagne en 1850. Madr. 1851.—*G. Baluffi*, l'America un tempo spagnuola sotto l'aspetto religioso sino al 1843. Ancona 1845. 3 vols. Uebers. v. F. M. M. 1848s. 3 vols.

1. When *Ferdinand VII.* tore up the constitution (1814), the clergy rallied around the throne, the Inquisition was re-established, and the Jesuits returned. The cause of the Church then represented by those who were called the Apostolicals, and that of liberty represented by the Liberals, appeared to be completely separated from each other. Hence, when the latter obtained the victory (1820–23), all hierarchical measures were entirely frustrated. (*a*) An army for the defence of the faith was then collected by the clergy, with a Trappist at its head, which, after the victory obtained by French intervention, produced a sanguinary reaction. As the Apostolic party had connected itself with Don *Carlos*, then recognized as the legitimate heir-apparent, Queen *Christina*, who desired to obtain the government for herself and her daugh-

d) *Carnot*, le ministère de l'instruction publique et des cultes. Par. 1848.
e) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 47. *f*) *Ibid.* 1853. N. 2. comp. 1851. N. 24.
g) *J. Gaume* le ver rongeur des sociétés modernes ou le paganisme dans l'éducation. Brux. 1851.
h) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 48. 1853. N. 31. 32.
a) A. KZ. 1822. N. 1. 9. 11. 16. 19. 28s. 53. 74.

ter by the abolition of the Salic law, was obliged (1830) to unite her interests with those of the Liberals. After the death of the king (1833) Don Carlos, who was powerful through the support of the clergy, by whom much had been sacrificed in his behalf, made a desperate effort to obtain possession of the throne. But some horrible events which then took place evinced that even the old veneration of the people for religion was now wavering. A number of convents in Madrid were destroyed (July 17, 1834) by a mob excited by reports of poisoning during the prevalence of the cholera, and no punishments were inflicted on the perpetrators. (*b*) A more general insurrection broke out in the summer of 1835, in which many convents and monks were consumed in the flames as auto-da-fes of the revolution, until finally it seemed necessary to abolish the convents to save the monks. (*c*) By a decree of July 25, 1835, nine hundred houses belonging to the several orders were closed, that by means of their wealth and the property of the Inquisition and of the Jesuits, which had previously been confiscated, the public debt might be liquidated. (*d*) The government accused the clergy of sowing dissensions among the people, and required that every candidate for future appointment in the Church should produce a certificate from the civil authorities vouching for his patriotism. (*e*) As the revolution rolled on and the necessities of the state became urgent, all the convents were confiscated (1836) and taken possession of by the government, and the sacred utensils were sold to cover the expenses of the civil war. (*f*) The Cortes abolished the tithes, and declared that all the property of the Church belonged to the Spanish nation (1837). (*g*) In the ruin of Don Carlos, which occurred principally in consequence of the demoralization of his court (1839), a portion of the clergy were inextricably implicated. Gregory XVI. had not recognized the queen, and had rejected the bishops appointed by the regency, but the act by which this was done was accompanied by an expression of desire that the existing relations of the country might not be disturbed. But when the nuncio, who then represented the pope, wished to guard the rights of the Church, *Espartero*, the victorious soldier who had driven away the queen-mother, ordered him to be transported beyond the borders of the country (Dec. 29, 1840). (*h*) The pope hereupon declared in an allocution dated March 1, 1841, that all those decrees of the Spanish government by which the Church had been despoiled of its property were null and void. (*i*) While Christina obtained for herself absolution in Rome, (*k*) the Spanish Regent treated every recognition of the papal allocution as a crime, wished to abolish all intercourse with Rome and all foreign jurisdiction in Spain, because the regent in Rome was disposed to sacrifice his secular to his ecclesiastical interests. (*l*) The Cortes determined upon a new organization of the clergy, by which the bishop's sees were much diminished, the sinecures were abolished, the property of the Church was sold, and moderate salaries to be paid from taxes which it was hard to collect were assigned to the clergy. (*m*) Nothing now remained for the pope but to call

b) AZ. 1834. N. 214. *c*) *Ibid.* 1835. N. 227. 237s.
d) Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 253s. *e*) A. Z. 1835. N. 348.
f) Acta hist. ecc. 1836. p. 51ss. 1837. p. 10. *g*) A. Z. 1837. N. 223. Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 18.
h) A. Z. 1841. N. 24ss. *i*) A. Z. 1841. N. 70s. *k*) A. Z. 1841. N. 89.
l) Brl. A. K. Z. 1842. N. 13. *m*) Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 43. 69.

upon the whole Church to pray for the distressed condition of the Church in Spain, with the promise that all who would comply should receive plenary absolution. (*n*) All priests who gave attention to these acts of the pope were deposed and banished by the regent. (*o*) But even the liberal prelates now began to withdraw from the country, the afflicted Church succeeded in inducing the nation to abandon Espartero, and Queen *Isabella II.*, not yet of age, was declared (1843) competent to govern. Her ministry soon perceived the necessity of reconciling the Church with the new legal system created by the revolution. The expelled priests were reinstated, and the papal rights in Spain were acknowledged. As the price of his recognition of the queen the pope demanded what was now shown to be an impossibility, the restoration of the property of the Church. But the sale of all that remained being about one fourth of the whole, was now suspended. Gregory conferred the canonical investiture upon six of the bishops appointed by government (1846), and Pius, in compliance with the wishes of France, rather hastily bestowed a dispensation upon the queen for her marriage with her cousin. After a long period of vacillation according to the political complexion of the frequently changing ministry, (*p*) a concordat was agreed upon (1851), by which, notwithstanding the bibles sent from England, (*q*) the Catholic religion, to the exclusion of every other form of worship, was recognized as the religion of Spain for all future time; the instruction of the young was committed to the supervision of the bishops, to whom a pledge was given that the government would co-operate in the suppression of injurious books; the country was divided into new dioceses, of which there were six less than before; all that remained of ecclesiastical or monastic property was restored; all new acquisitions by the Church were allowed; and to provide against any deficiency a support, moderate only when compared with their former wealth, was secured to the clergy from the sale of the Church property, and from the contributions in the different communes. (*r*) 2. It was not till the Cortes had threatened the wealth and privileges of the clergy (*s*) that the sanguinary reign of Dom Miguel (1829–33) was possible, and accordingly his principal support was derived from that body. Hence Dom Pedro could indulge in no hope of gaining the patrimonial kingdom for his daughter, except in the name of liberty. Through the exertions principally of the clergy the people were induced to take up arms against him, and hence, when Pedro obtained the victory, the age of Pombal returned to Portugal. The government declared all prelatic sees filled by appointment at Rome on Miguel's presentation vacant, and placed all the rights of ecclesiastical patronage in the hands of the government (Aug. 5, 1833). All ecclesiastical orders were dissolved (May 28, 1834), all monastic property was confiscated, and nothing but friars truly mendicant were left. (*t*) The tithes were also abolished, and when the pastors could not obtain the salaries assumed by the state treasury, they were

n) Of Feb. 22, 1842: Brl. K. Z. 1842. N. 22. *o*) Ibid. 1842. N. 31.

p) Ibid. 1844. N. 31. 38. D. A. Z. 1844. N. 238. 1845. N. 61. 323. 1846. N. 22. 1847. N. 21. 183. 285. 297.

q) *G. Borrow*, The Bible in Spain. New York. 1845. 8. Lond. ed. 3. 1843.

r) Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 44. 47. 87. *s*) A. K. Z. 1822. N. 49. 1823. N. 48.

t) A. Z. 1834. N. 173.

unfortunately directed for them to their congregations. (*u*) The pope threatened to place the king under the ban, and the exiled usurper was received by him as the lawful king. But the property of the convents found purchasers, and the dioceses were administered by the capitulary vicars. The dread which Gregory felt lest a complete separation should be produced, conspired with the conscientious scruples of Donna Maria herself to induce both parties to come to an agreement (1841) under mutual pledges. The golden rose was presented by the nuncio Capaccini to the queen, as a godfather's present, and a few bishops appointed by the government received canonical investiture from the pope (1843). (*v*) But the vast demands of Rome and the commotions of an unsettled constitutional government delayed the conclusion of a concordat. 3. As the idea of independence first awoke in Spanish America (1810) when the mother country was oppressed by a power which had no friendly connection with the Church, the clergy were generally partial to the cause of freedom, and remained in the unmolested possession of their wealth. In most of the republics religious toleration was proclaimed merely from respect to liberty and the English, but Catholicism still remained the religion of the state. In the mean time the privileges of the clergy necessarily came in conflict with the demands of liberalism. In *Chili* and *Peru* the number of holy days and convents was diminished, the Congress of *Central America* pronounced monastic vows of no force in the eye of the law (1830), the Congress of *Mexico* took into its own hands the right of patronage, banished those prelates who protested against their proceedings, and seized upon their revenues (1834). A powerful party, however, in the latter country, arose in opposition to every interference of the state with the privileges of the clergy. During the war with the United States of North America, when the necessities of the country were extreme, Congress resolved (Jan. 1847) that a portion of the ecclesiastical property (15 millions of dollars) should be sold for the deliverance of their native land. (*w*) The keys of the old Jesuit College in *Buenos Ayres* were presented, August 26th, 1836, to six priests belonging to the Society of Jesus. After a brief dream of freedom, *Paraguay* was tyrannically but patriarchally governed by *Dr. Francia* (1814–40) with as great a seclusion as was maintained by the former Jesuit government. This dictator broke the power of the clergy, converted all property belonging to the convents into state property, and declared cannons better safeguards than saints. (*x*) From respect to the crown of Spain, Pius VII. was deterred from recognizing the republics which had thrown off its authority, and accordingly he refused to bestow canonical investiture upon their bishops. Leo XII., as late as the year 1824, enjoined upon all American prelates to adhere to the

u) A. Z. 1838. Append. N. 447.

v) Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 51. 54. 60. 81. 1842. N. 58. 1843. N. 48.

w *P. v. Kolbe*, Gesch. d. Freiheitskampfes im span. u. port. A. Hann. 1832. *E. Mühlenpfordt*, Schilderung d. Rep. Mexico. Hann. 1844. 2 vols. Ev. K. Z. 1831. N. 25. A. Z. 1834. N. 205. D. A. Z. 1847. N. 75. 77.

x) *Rengger* & *Longchamp*, d. Rev. v. Parag. u. d. Dictatorialregierung d. Dr. Francia. Stuttg. 1827. *B. J. P.* & *W. P. Robertson*, Letters on Parag. Lond. 1838. 2 vols. [Francia's Reign of Terror. Lond. 1837. 8. *Carlyle's* Essays Crit. & Mis. p. 547. (For. Quar. Rev. 1843. & Eclec. Mag. 1843. Sept. p. 75.)]

legitimate government. But as there was danger that in this way the people would become completely alienated from the Holy See, the principle was finally recognized at Rome (1825) that in matters relating to the Church, negotiations should be conducted with any government actually in power, without thereby deciding any thing with respect to its legitimacy. When the pope refused to confirm the appointed Bishop of Rio Janeiro, he was reminded by the Regency of Brazil that he had mistaken the age in which he lived (1834). (*y*) In New Grenada the priests were made subject to the civil authorities (1845), tithes were abolished, the Jesuits were expelled (1849), all who forsook the convents were promised the assistance of the state, the congregations were required to choose their own pastors, and the Archbishop of Bogota was banished (1851). Pius IX. held a sorrowful allocution (Sept. 27, 1852) with reference to these proceedings, and in opposition to the wild liberty which every one in that country enjoyed, to publish through the press every wild abortion of the brain. (*z*) But the popular faith in South America clung to its connection with Rome.

§ 472. *Belgium and Holland.*

Sophronizon. 1826. P. 2. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1826. P. 1. Rom u. Belg. Neust. 1831. Le livre noir. Brux. 1837. 3 ed. übers. (by Bruns) m. Bemerkk. by Rheinwald. Altenb. 1838. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXIV. p. 76. 169. 276. XXV. p. 178ss. XXVI. p. 71ss. Hist. pol. Bll. vol. VII. p. 627. vol. VIII. p. 45. 210. 411. 501. 731. IX. p. 783ss. *H. Hugh.* Notices of the State of Rel. in Geneva and Belgium. Edinb. 1844. *Janius*, d. Jesuitismus in Belg. Lps. 1846.

1. Against a Protestant government which had affixed the effigy of the traitorous Bishop of Ghent to the public gallows, had closed the schools of the Jesuits, and had attempted to educate a liberal clergy by means of a philosophical school in the "College of the Pope" at Louvain, the apostolical party did not hesitate, although the Concordat of 1827 was formed according to its will, on the model of that of Napoleon, (*a*) to conclude an alliance with the revolution by which *Belgium* was to be separated from Holland (1830). Catholicism was thereby obliged to accede to liberal forms, and to a free toleration in matters of faith as well as of education. After the victory, however, these parties again separated, since the bishops held in their hands the fate of the lower clergy, by the power of arbitrarily deposing all who were sincerely inclined to connect themselves with the interests of liberty. As both parties were well aware that ultimate victory was to be decided by the education given to the next generation, the Liberals founded by their own contributions a university at Brussels, and the bishops a free Catholic university at Malines, which was afterwards removed to Louvain, and was solemnly opened in the College of the Pope, that the old Louvain might once more be restored. (*b*) By the law of 1842, the clergy were allowed to exercise much more than a religious influence upon popular education, but the State-Gymnasia were guarded (1851) against it, and were

y) Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 23. *z*) Ibid. 1850. N. 68. 1851. N. 48. 1852. N. 70.

a) A. KZ. 1827. N. 165. 1829. N. 109. 174ss.

b) A. Z. 1834. Suppl. N. 465ss. 1835. Suppl. N. 513. 515. Discussion de la loi sur l'enseignement supérieur de 27 Sept., 1835, et de la loi sur le jury d'examen du 8 Avril, 1844; précédée d'un aperçu hist. sur l'organ. universitaire en Belgique. Brux. 1844. 4.

therefore deprived by the Archbishop of Mechlin of the customary mass at All-Saints. The Bishop of Liege refused to grant absolution to the Liberals by withholding it from the Freemasons (1837), (*c*) and the ardent efforts made in behalf of missions aroused all the elements in the state in opposition to each other (1838). When the Catholic party, by means of the liberal law of elections, the effect of which was to give a controlling influence to the people from the country, had obtained for the most part a majority in the Chambers, the cities collected their strength, and from the altered position of the Chambers proceeded a liberal ministry (Aug. 1847), which pronounced the state entirely a secular (laique) institution. The Protestant king has hitherto understood how to govern the two parties with much prudence, by balancing their powers against each other. 2. In *Holland*, the Concordat of 1827 was never fully carried out, and the Roman Catholic population, amounting to more than a million, were called the Dutch Mission, and were under the administration of an apostolic vicar. (*d*) The Constitution of 1848 secured complete freedom of faith to every one, and equal protection to all religious societies in the kingdom. Accordingly, the government declared that nothing prevented a systematic arrangement of Catholic affairs under its supervision. But without reference to this supervision, Pius instituted a hierarchy for Holland and Brabant, consisting of four bishops under the Archbishop of Utrecht (March 4, 7, 1853), placed it under the conduct of the Propaganda, and solicited for it the alms of the faithful. The consequent storm of popular rage among the Protestants accomplished only the overthrow of the liberal ministry of Thorbecke. The Netherlandic government made known to the Roman Curia the unhappy impression produced upon it by the language of the allocution in which these proceedings were announced, and made some inquiries respecting the oath which the bishops had taken. Cardinal Antonelli promised to erase from the latter the offensive passage respecting the persecution of heretics. In the Hague, the opinion gained the day that protection was to be found in a well-guarded system of freedom, and after some very excited discussions in the Chambers, a law was passed, Sept. 10, declaring that all ecclesiastical societies were entirely free to arrange their own ecclesiastical affairs, and were merely bound to inform the government of their proceedings, and were subject to the approval of the civil authorities only as far as the co-operation of such authorities was necessary; that the royal consent should be required with respect to the place in which the business of the synods should be transacted, the place in which its supreme authority should reside, and the acceptance of an ecclesiastical office by a foreigner, but that this consent should generally be refused only when the public tranquillity required it; and that no ecclesiastical titles or offices should be allowed to conflict with the dignities or interests of the civil powers, or of the other religious societies. (*e*)

c) Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 22s. Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 7.

d) *O. Mejer*, Propaganda. vol. II. p. 80ss.

e) The orig. Docc.: Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 34. 36. A. KZ. 1853. N. 71s. 113s. 115. 121s. 193s.

§ 473. *Restoration of the German Church.*

Neueste Grundlagen d. teutschkath. Kirchenverf. in Actenst. Stuttg. 1821. Supplem. in Vater's Anhau. vol. II. p. 61ss. Orig. Doc. in *Münch.* Conc. vol. II. *Droste-Hülshoff*, KRecht. Munst. 1828. vol I. *O. Mejer*, Propaganda, vol. II. p. 385ss.

An ecclesiastical constitution for the whole of Germany was not perfected at the Congress of Vienna. (*a*) *Austria* had preserved her ecclesiastical condition untouched, and had just quietly modified the prominent points of the laws which Joseph II. had given to the Church. (*b*) The ecclesiastical relations of the small number of Catholics dispersed in various parts of *Saxony*, were arranged by the civil laws. These could easily be maintained in the Grand Duchy in spite of the complaints of the Vicar-General at Fulda (1823), and in the kingdom, notwithstanding the royal favor toward the Catholics there, the acceptance of an apostolic vicar, and the displeasure of the papal court (1827). (*c*) In other places, the legal doctrine prevailed that the ecclesiastical constitution was to be arranged by special treaty with Rome. The papal court avoided establishing a German national Church by negotiations with the German Confederacy. The first power which separated from the others was *Bavaria*, by which a Concordat was concluded in 1817, which, after much debate whether it was consistent with the constitution of the country, was introduced in 1821. Negotiations were entered into by *Prussia* with reference to the five millions of Catholics residing especially in the border provinces; and in the treaty which was concluded, the mere form of a Concordat was guarded against. (*d*) This example was followed by the kingdom of Hanover (1824). An association of the other states situated generally in the southern part of Germany, was formed, after many great schemes had been rejected, and the parties had become wearied with a series of negotiations continued through many years, and was called the *Ecclesiastical province of the Upper Rhine*, with five bishopries, and Freiburg as an archiepiscopal see (1827). When the princes made a condition with respect to the Roman enactments on this subject, reserving every thing which might seem to be demanded by their sovereign rights, the national peculiarities of the Church, and the equal rights of Protestants, Pius VIII. reminded the bishops concerned (1830), that when opposed by laws tending to destroy the souls of men, they should obey God rather than men. (*e*) These treaties are principally confined to the new limitations of the episcopal dioceses, to the boundaries of the provinces, to the endowment of the Church, and to the appointment of the higher ecclesiastical officers, which was to be divided between the sovereign and the pope. The various measures necessary for this division of the appointing power, was the principal subject of negotiation. That which

a) *Klüber*, Uebers. d. dipl. Verh. d. W. Congr. Abth. III. p. 458ss. u. Acten d. W. Congr. vol. I. P. 2. p. 28ss. vol. IV. p. 310ss.

b) *J. L. E. v. Barth-Barthenheim*, Oestr. geistl. Angelegenh. in polit. admin. Bezieh. Vien. 1841.

c) Actenstücke ü. d. Verh. d. kath. Glaubensgenossen im K. Sachsen. Dresd. 1831. *Droste-Hülshoff*, p. 417. 382ss. A. KZ. 1824. N. 139ss. 1825. N. 86.

d) *Klüber*, nst. Einricht. d. kath. Kirchenwes. in Preuss. Frkf. 1822. *A. Müller*, Pr. u. Baiern im Conc. m. Rom. Neust. 1824.

e) *Eisenschmid*, Bullarium. vol. II. p. 818ss. *Jg. Longner*, Darst. d. Rechtsverhältnisse d. Beschöfe in d. oberrh. Kirchenprov. Tüb. 1840.

could hardly have been expected at that time from Protestant princes, but which was nevertheless demanded in the principal article of the imperial deputation, was accomplished through the mediation of the pope, and the superior clergy were richly endowed with worldly property; but as the Church itself was not represented in these negotiations, no peculiar legal jurisdiction was secured for it. The manner in which *Wessenberg* was abused and dispossessed of his episcopal authority, proves that no degree of merit for services done for the Church can be sufficient to obtain pardon at Rome for a free and German spirit, (*f*) even when a quiet and genuine piety was not excluded from the episcopal sees. (*g*) The whole of Protestant Germany was looked upon as missionary ground. When an apostolic vicar was sent by the pope to the North, to take up his residence in Hamburg, preparatory to the erection of a bishopric of Hamburg, the governments concerned forbade all persons to hold any official intercourse with him (1839s.), and this vicariate was attached, as it had been at first, to a Westphalian bishopric. (*h*)

§ 474. *The Ecclesiastical Controversy in Prussian Germany.*

Laspeyres, Gesch. u. heutige Verf. d. kath. K. Preuss. Hal. 1840. vol. I.—Acta hist. ecc. 1836. p. 264ss. 1837. p. 379ss. Die kath. K. in d. preuss. Rheinprovinz u. d. Erzb. Clemens Aug. Frkf. 1838. (*Gieseler*) Ue. d. cöln. Angelegenh. v. Irenaeus. Lps. 1838. Die öffentl. Zustände im Grossherz. Posen. Hal. 1839. *K. Hase*, d. beiden Erzbisch. Lps. 1839. Personen u. Zustände a. d. kirchlich pol. Wirren in Pr. Lps. 1840. Lit. Summary: A. KZ. Lit. Bl. 1838. N. 106ss. 1839. N. 22ss. 1840. N. 30ss. 89. 113ss. 1841. N. 40s. [*K. R. Hagenbach*, KGesch. des 18. u. 19. Jahrh. Vorles. XV. vol. II.]

Frederic William III. had bestowed upon the clergy an ample amount of wealth, and he had established schools and built churches for them. But the dislike felt by the Catholic Church to its subjection to a Protestant state where it had once borne sway, was increased to new religious fervor as it recollected the state of things during the middle ages, and it found an open expression in Prussia when the ecclesiastical and civil laws came into collision on the subject of mixed marriages. The Catholics had been in the habit of applying to the case of Protestants the long-established usage condemning all marriages with heretics. But after the thirty years' war, the custom of mixed marriages had become established among the people. According to ordinary German usage, where no marriage compact determined the matter otherwise, the children were educated according to the faith of the parent with whom they corresponded in sex. A peculiar legislation, based on the principle of a certain legal equality, was gradually formed in the different states on this subject, with respect to which nothing was said by the Roman authorities. In Prussia, the common law was so changed, that where the unanimous wish of the parents was not opposed to it, the children were required to be educated in the Church of the father. By an order of the Cabinet issued in 1825, this requisition was extended to the province of the Rhine, and to Westphalia, by declaring that any obligations of betrothed

f) Denkschr. ü. d. Verfahren d. röm. Hofs. Carlsr. 1818. Wess. Angel. Lps. 1820. On the controversy, for and against: *Paulus*, beurth. Anzeige. Hdlb. 1818. and Hermes. 1819. Sect. 1. 1820. Sect. 2. Still later: A. KZ. 1827. N. 175. 1828. N. 10.

g) E. g. A. KZ. 1832. N. 115. *E. v. Schenk*, d. Bischöfe Sailer u. Wittmann. Ratisb. 1838. 12.

h) Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 48. *Mejer*, vol. II. p. 507ss.

persons to the contrary were not binding, and any requirements made as conditions of the marriage rite by the Church were unlawful. But the ceremony of marriage, without a promise that the children should be educated in the Catholic faith, had previously been performed frequently in Eastern, and rarely in Western Prussia. (*a*) In the latter country, therefore, the Catholic clergymen now generally refused to solemnize marriage unless such promises were voluntarily offered. At the same time, the Catholic bride had her scruples of conscience so excited, and was so much terrified by what she must meet at the confessional, that she was never satisfied with a Protestant ceremonial. When requested by the government in some way to accommodate this matter, the Western Prussian bishops addressed themselves to the pope, to know whether there was any way in which they could comply with the law of the state. Pius VIII., in an apostolical brief of March 25, 1830, pronounced all mixed marriages improper, but valid; he did not forbid the ecclesiastical benediction where securities were given for the Catholic education of all the children, but in all instances permitted the parties to enter the marriage relation in the presence of the pastor, without any ecclesiastical rites (praesentia passiva), though without ecclesiastical censures. (*b*) The government did not publish this brief, until, by a secret agreement, the bishops interested in the matter had granted what had been refused at Rome, viz., that as a general rule, marriage should be solemnized according to the forms of the Church, and that only in rare cases, easy to be evaded, the limitation of the passive assistance should be applied. (*c*) This agreement of 1834 was denied by the bishops in Rome, until a written confession of the dying Bishop of Treves brought the truth to the full knowledge of the pope (1836). *Clemens Droste*, the suffragan Bishop of *Vischering*, who had previously defended the unconditional freedom of the Church, was made Archbishop of Cologne (1836), after giving a promise that he would peaceably and sincerely conform to the agreement entered into with respect to the Brief of 1830. (*d*) With him, however, a party came into prominence, determined at all hazards to deliver the Church from what they called the yoke of the state. (*e*) When the archbishop came to know the contradiction which existed between the agreement of the bishops and the papal brief, he forbade his clergy to solemnize the marriage rites of the Church without a promise that the children should be educated in the Catholic faith. In vain he was reminded by the government of the promise he had made previous to his appointment. The offence he thus gave was much increased by his informal proceedings with respect to the Hermesians. In opposition to the doctrine of confidence in authority, which it was said could never rise above doubt, *Hermes* (1775–1831) had attempted to find proof of the doctrines of the Catholic Church in the absolute necessities of human reason, (*f*) and left behind him a school which extended itself from Bonn, and prevailed in all the institutions

a) *J. Rutschker*, d. gem. Ehen v. kath. Standp. Vien. (1837. 1838.) 1841.—*G. F. Jacobson*, ü. d. gem. Ehen in Deutschland, insb. in Pr. Lps. 1838. *Ch. F. v. Ammon*, d. gem. Ehen. Dresd. 2 ed. 1839.

b) Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 15ss. *c*) Ibid. 1837. p. 42ss. *d*) Ibid. 1836. p. 31ss.

e) Beitrage z. Kirchengesch. d. 19. Jahrh. in Deutschl. Augsb. 1835.

f) Einl. in d. chr. kath. Theol. Münst. vol. I. (1819.) 1831. vol. II. (1829.) 1834. Christkath. Dog-

for education on the Rhine. The opponents of this school obtained a hearing at Rome; and in consequence of a trial, the most responsible actor in which was afterwards found to be utterly unacquainted with the German language and literature. (*g*) the writings of the deceased Hermes were condemned in an apostolical brief of Sept. 26, 1835. As his system had not been explained with much precision, and a distinct deviation from the doctrines of the Church had not been proved, the Hermesians were not without hopes that they might convince the Holy Father of the orthodoxy of their instructor. Archbishop Droste impaired the influence of the theological faculty at Bonn, by forbidding the students at the confessional to hear lectures from the Hermesians. (*h*) In the negotiations of the government with the archbishop, an amicable understanding was obtained on this subject; but with respect to the mixed marriages, he adhered to the declaration that he could comply with the agreement of 1834 only so far as it was consistent with the Brief of 1830. He was therefore threatened with a suspension of his official duties, imprisoned Nov. 20, 1837, and finally brought to the fortress of Minden, on the ground set forth in a ministerial decree, that he had violated his promise, undermined the laws, and excited the minds of the people under the influence of two revolutionary parties. *Gregory XVI.*, as early as Dec. 10, protested against the violence thus committed against the Church, extolled the martyrdom of the archbishop, and rejected the illegal evasion of the Brief of 1830. (*i*) The Prussian ambassador declared that the measure against the archbishop was merely a temporary act of self-defence, and acknowledged the pope himself as a final judge in the case. (*k*) The pope, however, demanded that before any negotiations could be entered upon, the archbishop must be restored to his former position. Both parties then appealed to public opinion, by presenting to the world representations of the original grounds of the quarrel. (*l*) *Görres*, as a voluntary advocate of the archbishop, made an attack upon Protestantism, and the whole official body of the Prussian government. (*m*) The party on the other side regarded the controversy as a struggle between German liberty and Roman dominion. Every existing element of discontent was for the time involved in this religious contention. The sullen humor of the Catholic people on the Rhine and in Westphalia, was exhibited in individual acts of violence. The other West Prussian bishops announced their renunciation of the agreement; and although the government refused to receive it, the Cabinet declared that it never intended to compel a pastor, contrary to his conscience, to solemnize

matik. ed. by *Achterfeldt*, Münst. 1834. 2 vols.—*C. G. Niedner*, Philosophiae Hermesii explicatio et existimatio. Lps. 1838. *Perrone*, z. Gesch. d. Hermesianism. A. d. Ital. Ratisb. 1839.

g) Acta hist. ecc. 1836. p. 307ss. Perronius, Theologus Romanus vapulans. Col. 1840. *Elvenich*, d. Hermesianismus u. Perrone. Brl. 1844.

h) *Elvenich*, Acta Hermesiana. Gott. 1836. *Braun* et *Elvenich:* Meletemata theol. Lps. 1838. Acta Romana. Han. 1838. (by *Rehfues*) Die Wahrh. in d. Hermes'schen Sache. Darmst. 1837 *Zell*, Acta antiherm. Ratisb. 1839.

i) Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 5ss. *k*) Ibid. p. 575ss.

l) Darlegung d. Verfahrens d. Preuss. Regierung gegen d. Erzb. v. Köln. Brl. 1838. 4. Esposizione di fatto documentata su quanto ha preceduto e seguito la deportazione di Monsignor Droste. Roma, 1838. Ratisb. 1838.

m) Athanasius. Ratisb. 1838. 1. ed. in Jan., 4. ed. at Easter.

mixed marriages, or to forbid him to make discreet inquiries respecting the education of the children (1838). (*n*) *Dunin*, Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, had even in 1837 besought the government, in order to correct the abuses which had gained ground within his jurisdiction, that either the Brief of 1830 might be published in his diocese, or that he might be permitted to apply for a decision of the apostolic see. On being refused both requests, he secretly issued a pastoral epistle (Feb., 1838), in which he declared every priest suspended who should thereafter solemnize a mixed marriage without a security that the offspring should be Catholic. (*o*) The government deprived this order of all force, promised its protection to every priest who should be threatened on account of his non-observance of it, and arraigned the archbishop before the superior court for high treason and disobedience. (*p*) He denied the competence of the court, but complied with a citation to Berlin. After ineffectual negotiations, a judicial decision was here pronounced (April, 1839), which deposed him, and condemned him for disobedience to a six months' imprisonment in a fortress. The king, however, condescended to regard a letter of the archbishop as a request for pardon, and therefore suspended the sentence of deposition, and remitted the punishment of imprisonment, though on condition that he should not leave the city of Berlin. He immediately fled from the city to Posen (Oct., 1839), where he was seized, and brought to Colberg. All the churches in his diocese were hung in mourning. (*q*) *Frederic William IV.* found this complicated state of affairs still unsettled at his accession. All the Prussian bishops had adopted the views of the Roman court, except the Prince-bishop of Breslau, who was compelled, by the conflict between his convictions and the circumstances in which he was placed, to resign his pastoral staff (Aug., 1840). (*r*) The Archbishop Dunin (d. 1842) was allowed by the king to return to his diocese; and having exhorted his clergy to be lovers of peace, he gave orders, that as they were forbidden by law to require securities for the education of the children; in all mixed marriages they should abstain from every act which could be construed as an assent to them. (*s*) The king established a Catholic department in the ministry for public worship, renounced the *Placet* in matters of faith, and gave full liberty to the bishops to hold intercourse with the Roman see (Jan. 1, 1841). Negotiations were also opened with the papal court, in consequence of which, Archbishop Droste, with his own consent, on account of his ill health, was appointed coadjutor, with the right of being the successor, to John of *Geissel*, Bishop of Speyer. By an open royal letter, the archbishop was honorably released from his confinement, and from all imputations of a guilty participation in revolutionary movements. (*t*) He

n) A. Z. 1838. N. 70. Suppl. N. 87. Suppl.

o) A. Z. 1838. N. 88. Suppl.

p) A. Z. 1838. N. 268. Preuss. Staatsz. 1838. N. 362. A. Z. 1839. N. 35. Esposizione di diritto e di fatto con autentici documenti. Roma, 11 Apr., 1839. Ratisb. 1839. *Rintel*, Vertheidigung d. Erzb. Dunin. Würzb. 1839.

q) Brl. KZ. 1839. N. 88. 102.

r) A. Z. 1839. N. 20. A. KZ. 1841. N. 31. D. A. Z. 1845. N. 5.

s) Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 64. 69. 74, *F. Pohl*, M. v. Dunin. Marienb. 1843.

t) Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 14. 9. comp. 61. 1842. N. 3.

now declared that he only wished henceforth to spend his life in praying for his diocese (March 9, 1842), (*w*) and as an author, somewhat awkwardly but honestly defended the liberty of both sides, and the mutual friendship of Church and State (d. 1845). (*v*) The Hermesians had already given up their own cause; and when their two last advocates maintained at least that Hermes had not taught what the papal brief had imputed to him, on an application from the coadjutor, they were dismissed from their offices (1844). Even Pius IX. repelled their reference to his Circular (§ 475) as an act of insolence. (*w*) With regard to mixed marriages, the most rigid interpretation of the Brief of 1830 has been adopted as the rule of action, but the possibility of a ceremony performed by Protestants is conceded and acted upon. (*x*) In this controversy the Catholic Church has exhibited a powerful self-reliance. (*y*) which might proceed so far as to threaten once more a division of Germany. In other countries, where the circumstances were similar to those which existed in Prussia, the clergy were obliged to make use of the same influences. (*z*) In *Wurtemberg*, when the ministry proclaimed that all those priests should be displaced who refused to solemnize mixed marriages according to the law of 1806, which provided that both Churches should be placed on an equal footing, Bishop *Keller* of Rottenburg (d. 1846), an old and faithful servant of the government, was induced to present a proposition (Nov. 13, 1841) in the assembly of the states, in which the grievances of the different parties were set forth. This provided that the free exercise of those rights which the civil authorities, in direct opposition to the essential objects of the constitution of the Catholic Church, had exercised, should now be restored to the Church and its bishops. In both Chambers, though in different ways, the full rights of the government were acknowledged, and a confidence was expressed that it would remove every well-founded complaint. But an anonymous letter filled with threats was repelled with disgust even by the Catholic party.*

§ 475. *The German Church since* 1848.

From the revolution, the clergy obtained charters which were partially fulfilled even when the reaction took place, in consequence of their agreement with political parties hostile to each other. Although the expulsion of the Jesuits and their allies from Austria, and their exclusion from all German territories, had been resolved upon in the first glow of popular feeling,

w) Brl. KZ. 1842 N. 26.

v) Ueber den Frieden unter d. Kirche u. d. Staaten. Münst. 1843. 2 ed.

w) Bonner Zeitschr. 1845. P. 4. Actenstücke z. geh. Gesch. d. Hermesian. by *Elvenich*, Brsl. 1845. *Stupp*, die letzten Hermesianer. Siegen. 1844. Comp. Bruns, Rep. 1846. vol. VII. p. 209ss.—Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 72.

x) Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 37. 1842. N. 31.

y) *J. v. Görres*, K. u. Staat nach Ablauf d. Cölner Irrung. Weissenb. 1842.

z) Die kath. Zustände in Baden. Ratisb. 1841. On the other side: *Nebenius*, die kath. Zustände in Baden. Carlsr. 1842. Der Streit ü. gem. Ehen. u. d. KHoheitsrecht im G. Baden. Karlsr. 1847.

* A. KZ 1842. N. 98. 103. 114–116. 123–126. Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 6. 23. 30. 50. 55. *M. J. Mack*, Catholica, Mittheill. a. d. Gesch. d. kath. K. in Würt. Tüb. 1841. Briefe zweier Freunde ü. d. Motion d. B. v. Rott. Stuttg. 1842. 2 ed. Neueste Denksch. d. Würt. Staatsreg. an d. röm. Stuhl. Beleuchtet. Schaffh. 1844.

it was regarded as a permanent law of the German nation. Jesuit missions then traversed the country (after 1850), and penetrated districts densely populated by Protestants. (*a*) With the view of forming an imposing authority for determining political and social questions on Catholic principles, a popular society was commenced at Cologne, and named after Pius IX. (Aug., 1848). At the suggestion of the pope, and in consequence of the altered state of the times, though not without some resistance and occasional relapses, the political and democratic tendency of these *Pius-Unions* on the Rhine was given up, and their general object became the promotion of all Catholic interests. Branches of this organization were extended to a great distance, but they had no permanent place of meeting, and their annual assemblies itinerated from place to place. (*b*) But the General Assembly at Vienna (1853) found that the masses were not attracted toward them, and that the spectators at their meetings were always the same. (*c*) The German bishops, at a conference in *Würtzburg* (Nov., 1848), proclaimed that the Church, in living connection with its Holy Father, had not abandoned the work of regenerating their native land; that it accepted with confidence the assurance that all should have liberty of conscience; that it would now enter upon the full enjoyment of the independence which had so long been crippled; and that while it maintained its divine right to educate its members from the common to the high school, it would devote itself to the advancement of true progress by the elevation of science, the establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of the synodal system. (*d*) Accordingly, trusting to a sacred influence pervading the present age, and which no secular power could withstand, they put forth a series of demands upon the governments, that in spite of the existing law and the modern state, the ideal of the canon law which had never been renounced should now be realized. (*e*) In *Austria*, the ecclesiastical law of the Emperor Joseph was abandoned in the attempt to carry out the idea of the two Schwartzenbergs, according to which the mutually conflicting nationalities were to be held together under the house of Hapsburg by the interest of the episcopate, and all that was Catholic in German countries was to be rallied around the throne of his apostolic majesty. (*f*) The imperial patent of April 18, 1850, (*g*) dispensed with the requirement that all papal and episcopal edicts should have the consent of the state to their promulgation, made the clergy independent of the secular authorities and proportionally dependent upon the bishops, and abolished every thing which had impeded the exertion of the penal powers of the Church. The right of nominating the bishops was reserved by the emperor to himself, as one which had descended from his ancestors, and which he promised to exercise for the good of the Church, and with the counsel of the

a) *K. A. Leibbrand*, d. Miss. d. Jes. u. Redemptoristen in Deutschl. u. d. ev. Wahrh. Stuttg. 1851.

b) Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 64. 77. 1849. N. 41. 61s. *c*) D. A. Z. 1853. N. 251.

d) Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 92. 99. 101. A. KZ. 1848. N. 200s.

e) *O. Mejer*, d. dt. KFreih. u. d. künftige kath. Partei. Lps. 1848. *C. Knies*, d. kath. Hierarchie in d. dt. Staaten s. 1848. Hal. 1852.

f) Actenstücke, d. bischoff. Versamml. zu Wien betr. Wien, 1850. (by *Lonovics*) Der Josephismus u. d. kais. Verordn. v. 18. Apr. A. d. Ung. Wien, 1851.

g) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 34s.

bishops. The prospect of a more perfect regulation by a concordat was also held out. And yet such was the state of things during the wars in Hungary and Italy, that bishops were sometimes imprisoned, and priests were hung. In *Bavaria*, the national bishops demanded (*h*) the complete execution of the concordat for the adjustment of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, for on this they professed to think the welfare of Europe depended. For this purpose they asked for the recognition of certain rights as inalienable to the Church, the possession of which would have threatened to render the clergy not only independent, but superior to the civil power. In its reply, (*i*) the government refused to surrender its position, that the royal assent was indispensable to ecclesiastical edicts, to investitures of livings by bishops, and to missions by foreigners, and demanded that no change should be made in the administration of Church property, and that every member of the Church should have a right to appeal to the sovereign for protection against all abuses of ecclesiastical power. Only such decisions of the ecclesiastical courts as exercised no influence upon civil relations, were exempted from the necessity of having the royal confirmation; and with respect to the royal patronage of benefices, and to the school system, it was agreed that the opinions of the bishops should be consulted. The Catholic party thus found that the government had conceded only non-essential points, and had maintained a position which had been abandoned even in some Protestant states. After *Prussia* had proclaimed the independence of the Church (Dec. 5, 1848), the bishops, instead of complying with the invitation of the Minister to enter into some definite arrangement with the state, published a memorial (Aug., 1849), (*k*) in which they claimed, as the necessary result of the independence granted; that all Church property should be transferred to their hands; that the state should exert no influence in the appointment of ecclesiastical officers; that the complete direction of the education of the Catholic clergy, and of Catholic schools, should be committed to them; and that the sacrament of marriage should be allowed to be administered without any reference to the civil law. The Constitution (Jan. 31, 1850) left the principle of independence as it was, and allowed all persons freely to hold intercourse with ecclesiastical superiors, but subjected the promulgation of ecclesiastical edicts to the same restrictions as were imposed upon all other publications, and relinquished the investiture of ecclesiastical officers only so far as they did not depend upon patronage, or some special legal title. But since that time, the government has made a series of concessions, (*l*) some of which relate even to the oath of allegiance to the constitution. (*m*) The limitation of theological studies in foreign Jesuit institutions, and of the Jesuit missions, was again discussed (1852), and the mildest construction given of it which the language would allow. (*n*) A small Catholic party was formed in the Cham-

h) Denksch. der v. 1–20. Oct. 1850, zu Freysing versammelten Erzbischöfe u. Bisch. Bayerns. Munich, 1850. 4. *i*) Of April 8, 1850: Allg. Z. 1852. N. 118.

k) Printed in the Katholik. Mayence, Proceedings of the Chambers in Sept.: Brl. KZ. 1849. N. 84ss. 88. 89. 1850. N. 4.

l) *Hase*, ev. prot. K. d. dt. Reichs. p. 389ss. *Knies*, p. 138.

m) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 4. 33. 203. Der Conflict d. preuss. Reg. m. d. kath. Bisch. in Betr. d. Verfassungseides. Lps. 1850. *n*) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 63. 80s. 103.

bers, which did not scruple to connect itself with the Right or the Left, according to circumstances; and as the government were obliged to rule by a party, these were often strong enough to give the preponderance where they pleased. But a complete independence of the clergy was not effected, for a general dislike was felt to the establishment of an independent sacerdotal power, subject only to a foreign sovereign, whose decisions were formed by divine authority, and were regarded by the bishops as their rule of right, to which the heretical ruler of so many ancient ecclesiastical countries would be tolerable only as a matter of necessity, and by which a portion of the people would be so educated, that very soon a second Westphalian Peace would become indispensable. Even the complaints from Posen respecting the non-fulfilment of the conceded right to spiritual jurisdiction, the administration of Church property, and the Protestantizing and denationalizing the schools, (*o*) were not regarded. When *Arnoldi*, Bishop of Treves, required (March 12, 15, 1853) the pastors under his jurisdiction to allow of mixed marriages only when the non-Catholic party promised upon oath to have all the children to be educated in the Catholic faith, and even then to withhold the ecclesiastical benediction, (*p*) a general astonishment was expressed at this extravagant application of the papal enactment of 1830. The king proclaimed, that every officer of his army who contracted marriage under such dishonorable conditions, should be immediately dismissed from service. The general belief that an apostolical brief of such a tenor had been issued to all the Prussian bishops, was partially corrected at Treves; and it was shown that an attempt had been made to ascertain whether such a proceeding would be then tolerated in Prussia, by such a limitation imposed upon each bishop by the Propaganda at the renewal of his quinquennial faculties (p. 460). (*q*) In *Mecklenburg*-Schwerin, the return to orthodoxy which was favored by the higher classes, was in some instances carried too far; and a landed proprietor who had recently become a Catholic, employed a priest of Mayence as his domestic chaplain. This priest was conveyed, by order of the government (Sept., 1852), out of the country, on the ground that the stated employment of a priest was not implied in the privilege of domestic worship, and that the Catholic worship was tolerated merely by an arrangement with the sovereign (1788, 1809, 1811), under certain local restrictions. (*r*) A complaint with respect to this proceeding, founded upon the sixteenth article of the Act of Confederation, was sent back by the diet in accordance with the existing law, and by the Diet of the Confederation on the ground of incompetency. (*s*) The five bishops of the *Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine* (*t*) disclosed also to their respective governments what they regarded as essential to the ecclesiastical independence promised them, viz.: free inter-

o) Promemoria betr. d. Beeintracht. d. kath. K. im G. Posen. Pos. 1848. f.

p) Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 33. 36. 45.

q) D. A. Z. 1853. N. 161.—A. KZ. 1853. N. 134.

r) (*A. W. v. Schroeter.*) Die kath. Rel. Uebung in Meckl. Geschichtl. u. rechtlich. Jena. 1852. On the other hand: *J. T. B. v. Linde*, ü. d. rechtl. Gleichstell. d. chr. Rel. Parteien in d. dt. Bundesst. insb. in Meckl. Giess. 1852.

s) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 100. 1853. N. 50. D. A. Z. 1852. N. 444.

t) For them: *M. Lieber*, in Sachen d. oberrh. KProv. m. Actenst. Freib. 1853. *F. Riess*, kirch-

course with Rome; the validity of papal and episcopal edicts, without the concurrence of the states; the unrestrained administration of Church property; the necessity of the consent of the bishop to the instruction given in schools of all kinds; the establishment of seminaries under the care of the bishop; an alteration of the academical studies, and of the chapter, so as to make them conform to the principles of the canon law; a recognition of the episcopal right to examine their clergy, to the exclusion of an examination by the state; the investiture of all clerical officers by the bishop, as far as was consistent with a well-established right of patronage; the restoration of the episcopal right to control priestly functions and popular missions; and the unrestrained exercise of the power of punishing all members of the Church, without being subject to an appeal to the civil authorities. (*u*) The government of *Darmstadt* refrained from enforcing the institution of the candidate whom it preferred for the see of Mayence, and who had been elected by the chapter in the informal way sanctioned by a frequent Roman usage, (*v*) allowed a bishop to be invested (1849) who, it well knew, would be the leader of the opposition, and saw the very last student forsaking its own theological faculty at Giessen, in consequence of the constitutional freedom of studies proclaimed in the seminary he re-established at Mayence (1851.) (*w*) When the commissioners of the government assembled at Carlsruhe made them no reply, the bishops remarked that they would in any case act as if their demands had been complied with (Feb. 22); and when these demands were finally for the most part rejected (March 5, 1853), (*x*) they declared that they should obey God rather than man; and that, in accordance with the doctrine generally received in their Church, and the law founded upon it, they should oppose the regulations prescribed by the government, on the ground that their supreme ecclesiastical head had long since condemned them as anticatholic and illegal (April 12). (*y*) It was determined that an attempt, which should be an example for all other places, should be made in *Baden*, where the revolution had been most radical, and where the youth of the ruler presented the greatest hope. Herman of *Vicari*, Archbishop of Friburg, who, contrary to all precedent, had prohibited the funeral solemnities prescribed by the government for the late Grand Duke, on account of the course that prince had pursued toward the Church (1852), (*z*) by his own authority nominated a pastor for Constance and an ecclesiastical council, had the seminaries examined without a commissioner from government, and threatened to excommunicate the members of the supreme council of the Church, unless they would either act according to the episcopal memorial, or resign their offices. He was admonished by the ministry (Oct. 31, 1853) to revoke these

lich-pol. Blätter a. d. oberrh. KPr. Stuttg. 1853. Against: *S. B. Leu*, Warnung v. Neuer u. Uebertreibungen. Lnz. 1853. Bischöfl. Theorien u. posit. Recht. Stuttg. 1853.—*L. A. Warnkönig*, ü. d. Conflict d. Episcopats d. oberrh. KProv. Erl. 1853.

u) Memorial of March, 1851, in *Lieber*, p. 18ss. Abstract: Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 45.

v) *Leop. Schmid*, ü. d. jüngste Mainzer Bischofswahl. Giess. 2 ed. 1850. Comp. *Ibid.* Geist d. Catholicism. o. grundl. d. chr. Irenik. Giess. 1848. vol. I.

w) Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 45. *x*) Decree of the Baden Gov. in *Lieber*, p. 47ss.

y) Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 33. The reasons for the Act of June 18: Denksch. d. Episcopates d. oberrh. KPr. in Bezug a. d. Würt. Bad. Hess. u. Nass. Entschliessung v. 5. Marz. Freib. 1853.

z) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 38ss. 40. 59.

acts, which were opposed to the laws he had sworn to observe, and the ecclesiastical constitution which had been peacefully in force for half a century; but he replied, that he could no longer yield obedience to laws in conflict with the right of ecclesiastical self-government guarantied by international treaties, and which annihilated the order Christ had bestowed upon the Church. The government then appointed an officer (Nov. 7), whose indorsement was made indispensable to the validity of all archiepiscopal edicts; those clergymen who ventured to obey such edicts, regardless of this arrangement, were threatened with punishment by the police, and those who obeyed the government were assured of its protection. The archbishop dismissed the officer of the government with his excommunication (Nov. 10); published a haughty pastoral epistle (Nov. 11), in which he expressed a desire of martyrdom; openly challenged the ministry—though, as was proper under a constitutional government, only the ministry—to a war; protested against this ministerial interference, proceeding from Protestant views, with his holy office; uttered an excommunication, to be read from every pulpit, against each member of the supreme ecclesiastical council (Nov. 14); and gave orders that this matter should be explained to the people in the parish churches on four Sundays, on the basis of the episcopal memorial and the pastoral epistle. (*a*) The government did not venture to lay hands upon the aged archbishop, but the subordinate executors of his will were fined and imprisoned. These imprisonments, however, often involved the members of the congregations, and could not be carried out against the multitude. Contributions also flowed in from abroad, amply sufficient to make up for all fines, and for any retention of revenues. But the Catholic people could not be aroused by the fanatical pamphlets scattered among them, (*b*) to make any very imposing demonstration; the councils of the congregations, and even clergymen, prayed to be excused from the not very edifying four discourses, and the archbishop was obliged to depose a number of deacons. The pope, however, highly extolled his remarkable firmness against a government which was continually worrying the Church; (*c*) and almost all German, Belgian, and French bishops have expressed their joyful approbation of the archbishop's course, and joined with him in directing that solemn prayers should be offered up in their churches against the persecutors of the Church.

§ 476. *The Swiss.*

L. Snell, C. W. Glück, u. *A. Henne*, pragm. Erzähl. d. kirchl. Ereign. in d. kath. Schw. Mannh. 1850s. 2 vols.—Die röm. Curie u. d. kirchl. Wirren d. Schw. Offenb. 1841. Die Schweizer Jesuitenfrage in staats- u. volkerrechtl. Bedeut. (Schwegler, Jahrb. 1845. II. 3.) Gesch. d. Jesuitenkampfes in d. Schweiz. Zür. 1845.– Tüb. Quartalschr. 1835. P. 4. *F. Hurter*, d. Befeindung d. kath. K. in d. Schw. s. 1831. Schaffh. 1842s. 4 Abth.

According to ancient usage, the Swiss had a metropolitan connection, some with Besançon, and others with Mentz, and of course sympathized with these churches in their tendencies to freedom. The connection of the former portion in the western part of Switzerland with the Gallican Church, was

a) Orig. Docc.: D. A. Z. 1853. N. 258. 268. 273. 279. Append. 280. 303. A. KZ. 1853. N. 186ss.
b) "Katholiken, habt acht!"
c) Allocution of Dec. 19: D. A. Z. 1854. N. 5.

broken off by the revolution. The most important part of the confederacy belonged to the bishopric of *Constance*, and had received from that source not only an economical administration of their affairs, but protection against the claims of the nuncio at Lucerne. The people in this part were now enjoying much prosperity under the influence which Wessenburg exerted for the improvement of the people and the clergy. Hence, when a political reaction took place in 1814, the nuncio thought a favorable time had come for effecting a separation of Switzerland from Constance. Pleased with the promise of an independent national diocese, the Confederates applied for a division at Rome, and in violation of every canonical form, *Pius VII.* hastily rent asunder a connection which had existed for a thousand years. (*a*) As almost every canton was anxious to have the national bishopric within its bounds, and hopes were secretly encouraged in each, the administration of ecclesiastical affairs came into the hands of a vicar-general appointed by the pope, the Jesuits got the control of all education in Freiburg and in the Valais, and Switzerland became the headquarters of the hierarchy. *Keller* of Lucerne, who about this time swore that this party should never obtain the victory as long as he continued a magistrate, was soon after found dead in the waters of the Reuss (1816). After tedious intrigues, it was decided that a few small dioceses should in some instances be continued, and in others be newly formed (1828); and all of them, instead of being placed under an archbishop, were made directly dependent upon Rome. This victory soon became of but little importance, in consequence of the revolution of 1830. In the midst of many controversies between the lay and the clerical authorities, the cantons of the progressive party united at *Baden* (1834s.), to effect by common measures the establishment of a national archbishopric, or the formation of a German Metropolitan connection, a powerful supervision of the Church by the state, a free national education, and the appropriation of the aid of the convents to pious objects of general utility. (*b*) *Gregory XVI.* condemned these articles adopted by the conference as an attempt to subject the Church to the laity; (*c*) the nuncio withdrew from Lucerne, and took up his residence at Schwitz (Nov. 14, 1835), and Catholic associations excited the people against the new constitution of the state. But the Roman party found in the decided popular will which had been awakened by this agency among the Catholic or mixed cantons, a pious but rude sovereign, while in the overthrown aristocracy of the reformed cantons they found an important ally. The Catholic insurrection in Pruntrut (1835) was suppressed by Berne. The Catholic clergy in Glarus refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new constitution, except with a reservation in favor of their ecclesiastical obligations, which was finally allowed to them (1837). (*d*) St. Gall unanimously abolished the convent of Pfaefer (1838), the Catholic population merely insisting that the property of the convent belonged exclusively to their charitable institutions. (*e*) *Aargau* undertook the administration of the property of its convents; and when the convents protested against such a

a) Archiv. f. KG. vol. II. p. 651ss. *b*) Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 43ss.
c) Ibid. p. 3ss. *d*) Ibid. 1837. p. 125ss.
e) A. KZ. 1838. N. 45. A. Z. 1838. Suppl. N. 217. Brl. A. KZ. 1839. N. 101.

course as an injury to themselves, the government replied that this was apparently the first step for the abolition of convents which had been guaranteed in the treaty of the league (1837). (*f*) But an insurrection of the Catholic minority, in opposition to the constitution revised so as to make it conform to the views expressed in the articles of conference, was made use of as a reason for taking possession, by a decree of the great council (Jan. 20, 1841), of eight convents, especially of the wealthy monastery of Muri, which had been founded by the house of Hapsburg. It was alleged that these convents were used as places of rendezvous for those who were engaged in insurrection, and their revenues were now appropriated to objects connected with education and charity. (*g*) The complaint and petition for the re-establishment of the convents was under discussion for a long time in the diet with doubtful success, until more than twelve cantons declared themselves satisfied with the concessions made by Aargau for the establishment of three nunneries (Aug. 31, 1843). On the other hand, Lucerne, at the head of those cantons favorable to Rome, protested against them, on the ground that they were an infraction of the terms of the league. (*h*) For in Lucerne, at the revision of the constitution, the Romish party, under the influence of the robbery of the convents of Aargau, had obtained the ascendency (May 1, 1841), and the nuncio returned with great pomp (Jan. 22, 1843). Switzerland was now divided into two hostile parties, distinguished by their apparently external, though really internal affinities and antipathies of Jesuitism and Radicalism. In the *Valais*, the liberals were overthrown at Trent (May 1, 1844) in a sanguinary battle by the sacerdotal party, and the affairs of the canton were then directed according to the wishes of the victors. (*i*) In *Lucerne*, also, a majority of votes was obtained by means of the country people, in favor of a recall of the Jesuits, and intrusting the theological schools to their instruction. (*k*) The party which had previously held the supremacy, was now supported by the voluntary assistance of those Catholics who were of the same views, and by Protestants from all the cantons. This undisciplined host of volunteers, which attempted to wrest Lucerne from the possession of the Jesuits by a single blow, were entirely dispersed (Dec. 8, 1844, March 31, 1845) by the army of the original cantons, and all domestic opposition was overthrown. (*l*) In view of this victory, as well as of the dangers which threatened them, Lucerne immediately concluded a military alliance with the three original cantons, and with Valais, Freiburg, and Zug, for mutual protection against invasion or internal commotion, and the allies then demanded in a threatening manner the restoration of the convents of Aargau. (*m*) The liberal party demanded the general

f) Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 187ss.

g) Die Aufhebung d. Aarg. Kloster. Denkschr. an d. Eidgenöss. Stände. Aarau, 1841. 4. (Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXXIII. p. 170. 264ss.) Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 14.

h) Ibid. 1843. N. 103. A. Z. 1843. N. 173. 247. 297. 334.

i) Die Ereignisse im Wall. Transl. of the work: la contre-révol. en Valais, by *M. Barmann*, with Introd. by *L. Snell*, Zür. 1844. (a partisan publ.)

k) Brl. KZ. 1844. N. 93. 1846. N. 1.

l) D. A. Z. 1844. N. 352. Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 31. Das rothe Büchlein o. d. Freischaarenzug Bern. 1845. *m*) D. A. Z. 1846. N. 27.

expulsion of the Jesuits as indispensable to the tranquillity of the Confederacy, and after many negotiations, the diet declared (July 20, 1847) by a small majority that the separate alliance (Sonderbund) was inconsistent with the general confederation, and was therefore dissolved, and that the seven cantons should be held responsible for its continuance. (*n*) To this division into religious parties was added, on the one side, a struggle for a more efficient unity of the states, and on the other, for the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the separate cantons. Pius IX. still exhorted them to the cultivation of peace, (*o*) but he did not venture on the recall of the Jesuits as the measure most likely to reconcile all parties, but it appeared probable that a decision could be attained only by a civil and religious war. A superior army was called into the field by the diet, and the miraculous pennies purchased from the Jesuits to secure the immediate protection of the Virgin against the bullets of the enemy, (*p*) were found insufficient. The foreign aid was too scanty; Freiburg capitulated; the small affair near Gislicon (Nov. 23) became as important for the Protestants as that at Cappel once was for the opposite party, and all the cantons were obliged to renounce the Sonderbund, and submit to the diet. The Jesuits universally had fled, and from the property they left, the conquered cantons paid a part of their quota for the expenses of the war. (*q*) These events produced an important change in the administration, for in Lucerne, in consequence of a revolution in public sentiment, the party which had for years been trampled under foot now gained the ascendency, and in Freiburg, the faction which had long governed merely by the aid of foreign arms, was now obliged to defend itself against a series of revolutionary attempts. In 1848, Switzerland availed itself of the opportunity, when Austria and France had enough to do at home, to form itself into a confederacy. In the new constitution, was secured liberty of conscience for all the confessions recognized by the state, and equal rights for all citizens; the order of the Jesuits was excluded from the country, and every governmental guarantee for the monasteries was withdrawn. (*r*) The federal authorities, by a special law respecting mixed marriages (1850), have entirely divested them of ecclesiastical restrictions, have made the education of the children dependent upon the will of the father, and in every instance have permitted a Protestant clergyman to solemnize a marriage, when a Catholic priest has refused to do so. (*s*) In many cantons, monasteries have been either abolished, or condemned to die by a gradual process. Freiburg, in connection with the four cantons in its diocese (Lausanne), concluded a concordat containing the essential principles of the articles of the Conference of Baden. (*t*) The Bishop *Marilley* sent forth secret and public admonitions against the new constitution. When asked if he would unconditionally subject himself to it, and submit his public acts to the approbation of the government, he replied that he would prefer death to such a servitude. Chillon became once more the prison of an illustrious captive (Oct. 29, 1848), who,

n) D. A. Z. 1845. N. 37. 1847. N. 208. 252. 297. 299.
o) Ibid. 1847. N. 308. *p*) Ibid. 1847. N. 350.
q) Ibid. N. 344. *r*) Art. 44–48. 58.
s) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 83. but comp. 1851. N. 39. *t*) Ibid. 1848. N. 86.

however, soon exchanged his confinement for banishment. (*u*) The holy father wept with him, (*v*) appealed to the federal law with respect to freedom of conscience, to justify his attempt to secure the independence of his clergy, and protested against all aggressions since 1847 upon the rights of the Church. (*w*) For the sake of a general reconciliation, the Bishop of Basle recommended what had also been proposed in a popular society, that the remainder of the debt for the war of the Sonderbund should be paid by a voluntary offering. (*x*)

§ 477. *Ireland and England.*

Irische Zustände. (Rheinw. Rep. vol. XIII. p. 263ss. XIV, 68ss.) *F. H(orter)*, Irl. Zustand. (Tüb. Quartalsch. 1840. II. 4.) *E. F. Vogel*, pragm. Gesch. d. pol. u. rel. Verh. zw. Engl. u. Irl. Lps. 1842. *R. Murray*, Irel. and her Church. Lond. ed. 3. 1845. 3 vols.—*O. Mejer*, d. Propaganda in Engl. 1851.—*G. de Beaumont*, l'Irland sociale, politique et religieuse. Par. 1839. 2 vols. [Ireland, from the French of Beaumont by Taylor. Lond. 1840. 2 vols.]—*J. G. Kohl*. [Travels in Ireland, from the Germ. New York. 1844. 8. *F. v. Raumer*, Engl. in 1835. in Letters from the Germ. Lond. 1836. 8.]

The iniquity of the fathers had descended in the form of a curse of misery and hatred to the sons both of the spoilers and the spoiled. The importance of reconciling seven millions of its subjects to the state under which they lived, was fully acknowledged by the government. But the first attempt which it made to relieve them of their burdens, led to an insurrection in London (1780). Every mitigation of their lot was obliged to be carried through Parliament with the utmost difficulty, in opposition to the selfishness of the privileged classes, and the passions of the Protestant multitude. The Irish people were under the direction of *O'Connell* (1809–47), a demagogue, but one who aimed at what was indispensable. By the aid of the priests, he kept the people in a state of tremendous excitement, which he alone could restrain within the bounds of the law. The spirit of justice finally obtained the victory in the bosoms of the English nation, while the aristocracy were alarmed at the threatening state of despair in which they beheld the Irish people. Constrained by this necessity, *Wellington* was able and was obliged to accomplish what even Canning could not effect with all the magic of his eloquence in behalf of universal freedom. An act of Parliament, passed April 13th, 1829, presented a citizen's oath compatible with the Catholic faith, by taking which, every Catholic became eligible to a seat in Parliament, and with few exceptions to all offices in the state and parish. (*a*) But a people who lived as tenants in their own country, with a foreign hierarchy and aristocracy, and in terror of starvation every winter, could see only a distant hope in concessions like this. When they found the fulfilment of this hope still delayed, the whole nation entered into an open conspiracy (1831), the tithes were refused, and whoever dared to act contrary to the known will of the people, was secretly tried and executed. The expense of collecting the tithes was greater than they were worth. The government received extraordinary

u) *Snell*, vol. II. 2. p. 509ss. Der Terrorismus im K. Freib. (Hist. pol. Bll. 1853. vol. XXXI. p. 745ss.) *v*) Brl. KZ. 1849. N. 18.

w) Ibid. 1848. N. 86. 103. 1851. N. 23. *x*) Ibid. 1852. N. 20.

a) *Wyse*, Hist. of the late Cath. Assoc. Lond. 1829. 2 vols. *A. Theiner*, Samml. wicht. Actenst. z. Gesch. d. Emanc. d. Kath. in Engl. Mayence, 1835.

powers from Parliament (1833) for putting down these violent proceedings, and proposed to reform the Protestant Church of Ireland. The changes contemplated in this reform, were: the abolition of taxes for the erection of churches; the transfer of the tithes, with an abatement of their amount, from the tenant to the proprietor; the diminution of the number of the bishopries; a tax upon all livings according to their value, and the abrogation of all sinecures. (*b*) In the House of Lords, however, the inviolability of the property of the Church was resolutely maintained. The cause of freedom in general became identified with that of justice for Ireland. The liberal ministry was divided upon the proposition (May 27th, 1834) to apply the surplus of ecclesiastical property to objects of general utility in the state, under the direction of Parliament. (*c*) Even the Tory ministry under Sir Robert Peel acknowledged the necessity of a reform, but contended that it should be without depriving the Church of its property. The tithes were again collected at the point of the bayonet, and the only son of a widow was shot down (Dec., 1834). (*d*) The Peel ministry retired, and then Russell carried a proposition in the lower House (April 7th, 1835), (*e*) which required that all ecclesiastical property not really needed for the support of the established Church, should be applied to the education of the people. This principle of appropriation was rejected in the upper House as a robbery of the altar, and a commencement of the work of destroying the establishment. When the Irish Church Bill was returned to the lower House, it was so mutilated, that this body preferred to leave every thing in an alarming uncertainty to attempting any change then practicable (Aug., 1836). (*f*) Lord *Lyndhurst* wished to know nothing of justice in behalf of aliens in faith, in blood, and in manners. (*g*) The tithe bill was finally passed (Aug., 1838), without the clause for the appropriation of the surplus. It transferred the tithes in the form of a ground rent, with an abatement of 25 per cent., to the proprietor of the soil, and the previous arrears were to be paid from the treasury of the state. (*h*) Even O'Connell advocated this law, although it was merely an adjournment of the question respecting the existence of a Protestant Church supported by a Catholic people. To assist the people in the work of deliverance by their own exertions, the Dominican Father *Matthew* (since 1840) has excited a prodigious enthusiasm in favor of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, (*i*) and during the spring of 1843, O'Connell was able to collect around himself hundreds of thousands of people, at what he called his monster meetings. The object of these assemblies was to demand justice for Ireland, with threats that if this were denied them, the union of the legislature of the two countries should be legally dissolved, and the jurisdiction of the Anglo-Saxons should be thrown off (repeal). For language used on these occasions, he was sent to prison by the House of Lords, but Ireland was no less governed by him in his confinement than before. The ministry of Sir

b) A. KZ. 1833. N. 38. 48. A. Z. 1834. N. 220. 229.
c) A. Z. 1834. N. 155. *d*) A. Z. 1835. N. 4. Suppl. N. 9.
e) A. Z. 1835. N. 110s.
f) A. Z. 1835. N. 245. 1836. N. 223. A. KZ. 1836. N. 136. *g*) A. Z. 1836. Suppl. N. 377.
h) A. Z. 1838. N. 191. 199. 206. 208. 212. 232.
i) Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 4. 16. A. Z. 1843. Supplem. N. 143s.

Robert Peel introduced the Legacy Bill, which allowed the Catholic Church, with the exception of the monastic orders, to acquire property in its own name, (*k*) and carried through an act for bestowing a splendid endowment on the seminary at Maynooth, for the education of the Catholic clergy (1845). (*l*) A system of common schools supported by government, but carefully avoiding all distinction of churches, had been some time before (1834) established, and now four royal colleges were founded by Parliament (1847) for higher education, but no provision was made for religious instruction, each sect being left to secure its own foundation for that purpose by voluntary efforts. The opinions of the Irish episcopacy were divided respecting these schools, but the Archbishop of Tuam excited the prejudices of the pope against them on account of their destitution of religion, and they were rejected (1851). (*m*) Even the proposition of the government, after having abolished the last of the old penal laws against Catholic worship, (*n*) to grant a salary to their prelates, on condition that it should have a right to an influence in their election, was declined. Emigration to the New World since the last famine has entirely removed the surplus population from the country. The real estate of the great landholders, which had been brought to a public sale in consequence of enormous poor rates, came to a considerable extent into the hands of a Protestant middle class. A mission of a hundred preachers, belonging to different Protestant sects from London, in the summer of 1853, and preaching in the streets as in a heathen country, was the occasion of more offence than of edification to the people. (*o*) But some permanent missions have labored during the last ten years with no inconsiderable success, by scriptural instruction from house to house, by the distribution of tracts, and by schools in different sections of the country; although, in consequence of their supply of food and work to a hungry people, the converts were stigmatized as soup-eaters by the Catholic population, and many, whose consciences had not been carried, returned after a plentiful harvest, or when dying, to the Church of their fathers. (*p*) The hopes of the Catholics in *England* were much awakened in consequence of the ecclesiastical standing of some Puseyites who went over to them, and the popular basis supplied by immigrants from Ireland, for the number of these converts was for opposite reasons much exaggerated by Protestant and Catholic public journals. Relying upon such hopes, Pius IX. once more took possession, as it were, of this lost territory, by appointing, instead of the four apostolical vicariates which had previously governed the English Catholics, a complete episcopal hierarchy for all England (Sept. 29, 1850), under Cardinal *Wiseman*, the learned and ingenious defender of his Church, as the Archbishop of Westminster, (*q*) and contributions were invited for the erection of a splendid church of St. Peter in the very heart of London. (*r*) Parliament could not but yield to the indignation of the Protestant community produced by this

k) D. A. Z. 1845. N. 11. 14. *l*) A. KZ. 1845. N. 82.

m) A. D. Z. 1847. N. 309. Synod of Thurles: Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 80. 85.

n) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 23. *o*) A. KZ. 1853. N. 164.

p) Against one-sided Prot. accounts, but still not less one-sided itself: Hist. pol. Bll. 1853. vol. XXXII. H. 6. comp Ev. KZ. 1852 N. 92. Brl. KZ. 1853. N. 10.

q) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 90. *r*) Ibid. 1851. N. 55.

proceeding, (*s*) but it was difficult to devise any legal measure against the papal aggression which would not apply equally to Ireland. After a protracted contest, however, the matter was terminated by the adoption of Russell's proposition (1851), providing that all papal edicts, and all jurisdictions, rank or titles created by them in the United Kingdom, should be null and void; that every person who, without legal authority, accepted of any ecclesiastical title derived from the name of any place in the kingdom, should be fined one hundred pounds for every instance in which he should make use of it, and that complaints might be received from any private individual with respect to offences of this nature. (*t*) A serious difficulty, however, appears to have been discovered in the way of substantiating such a charge. (*u*)

§ 478. *Forms of Catholicism.*

The special friends of the Roman Curia and of the bishops have become more decidedly opposed to one another, under the name of *Ultramontanists* and *Liberals*. The former defend the infallibility of the pope, and the impossibility of improving the Church, by planting themselves on the ground of established usages, and of the necessity of an external universal authority. This *Romish* Catholicism was not long since popular among the lower classes in Spain, and was there embraced with all the earnestness and energy of the national character. But in consequence of the festivals of the inquisition, and the political parties of the day, it there assumed a gloomy and passionate character. It appeared in the most harmless form, until the revolution, in Italy, especially in the south, where even the personal ridicule heaped upon the hierarchy, and the more dangerous opposition of the commercial interests, were not generally prejudicial to the ecclesiastical system. The sensuous form of a system of saint-worship was there a matter of necessity. Illuminations, rockets, and the roar of cannons, form necessary parts of divine worship, and the miracles must annually be repeated at the joyful festivals. The Epistle of the Virgin Mary to the people of Messina must be read, (*a*) the domestic animals must be sprinkled with holy water under the direction of St. Anthony, (*b*) and the lambs from whose wool the pallium is woven, must receive a benediction at the altar of St. Agnes. Every thing is there connected with some joyous festival, and Mary's tears are regarded as at least equally efficacious in the work of atonement with the blood of Christ. The Church has not done much for the intellectual improvement and morals of the people, but it has kept up a certain kind of discipline, protected cheerful and pleasant customs, and never repressed the natural talents of this highly intellectual people. The clergy, with their officious but pleasant inefficiency, are only the culminating points of the popular life, and as long as they are undisturbed, they are kindly disposed. But in Germany and France, where this party, as a peculior section of Catholicism, has been made

s) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 92s. 94. 101s.

t) Ecclesiastical Titles Act: Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 55. *u*) Ibid. N. 70.

a) Deutsche Zeitschr. f. chr. Wiss. 1852. N. 49.

b) A. KZ. 1828. N. 192. The matter was pretty much as it is there related, although I saw nothing "blasphemous" in it.

to feel that the spirit of the times is fatal to its interests, it has come into conflict with every kind of intellectual freedom, and every where is abhorred by the friends of liberty. Hence the Ultramontanists look with horror upon all universities, the freedom of the press, philosophical studies, and the reading of the Scriptures, and they often intentionally encourage superstition, or at least mere excitements of the fancy. (*c*) In consequence of old traditions, much impaired however by modern intelligence, *Bavaria* became the principal home of this enthusiasm, and after 1838, its ministry fell completely under its sway. The mild earnestness of the dying Bishop Schwaebl, and of the king himself, was sometimes indeed aroused against the rigid Ultramontanism of this ministry, when its zeal against every thing of a Protestant nature did violence to their feelings, but it was not till 1847 that it was overthrown by a travelling danseuse. (*d*) The *Liberals* possessed much influence in consequence of the education which the clergy of Germany received at universities where Protestants and Catholics were taught together, the protection of the governments, and the total disinclination of the spirit of the age to all forms of mental slavery. They demanded that public worship should be conducted in the language of the people; that the Scriptures should be freely circulated; that instead of inculcating dependence upon mere outward forms, the education of the people should receive a spiritual tendency; and that national churches and synods might be so constituted, that the rights of the pope might remain merely honorary, or definitely determined by the constitution. Such views were sometimes expressed only in literary works, and sometimes through petitions and associations. From Silesia, they generally came connected with disclosures of all kinds of abuses, by the learned brothers *Theiner*, the theologian and the canonist. (*e*) The principal object against which almost every kind of disposition and plan was directed, was the *celibacy* of the clergy. Petitions for its abolition have been presented to the episcopal authorities by pastors in Silesia (1826), and associations have been formed against it in Southern Germany (1830). These efforts, however, have been sternly repelled by the bishops and by the government of Wurtemberg. (*f*) The chambers of Southern Germany (since 1824), to whom addresses on this subject were sent up, declared that they had no jurisdiction in the case; until finally the Chamber of Deputies in Baden recommended that the government (1831) should adopt suitable measures for the abolition of the law relating to celibacy. (*g*) In France, priests were married who had pre-

c) Miraculous Medals: *Ultanz*, d. rel. L. in Frankr. p. 222. On the other side: Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 314. S. Benedict's pence: D. A. Z. 1847. N. 129. comp. § 480.

d) *S. Sugenheim*, Baierns K.- u. Volks-Zustände, Giess. 1842. Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 22. 41. 47. 65. 1845. N. 82. D. A. Z. 1846. N. 18. A. KZ. 1847. N. 40.

e) *H. Amman*, Bestreb. d. Hochschule Freiburg im KRechte. Freib. 1832–6. 2 Beitr. (*Wessenberg*,) Die deutsche K. (Zür.) 1815. *Fetzer*, Deutschl. u. Rom. Frkf. 1830. *Kopp*, d. kath. K. im 19. Jhh. Mentz. 1830. *Mersy*, sind Reformen in d. kath. K. nothwendig? Beantw. v. d. Pastoralconfer. zu Offenburg. 1832. 2 ed. verm. durch Beleucht. des darauf erfolgten Erlasses des erzb. Ordinariats. Offenb. 1833. (*Ant. u Aug. Theiner*,) Die kath. K. Schles. Altenb. 1826. and often. comp Ant. *Theiner*, ref. Bestreb. in d. kath. K. Altenb. 1846. P. 2. p. 66ss.—*J. B. Hafen*, Möhler u. Wessenb. o. Strengkirchlichk. u. Liberalism. Ulm. 1842.

f) Erster Sieg des Lichtes u. d. Finsterniss. Han. 1826. Merkw. Umlaufschr. d. Fürstbisch. v. Bresl. Han. 1827. Ueber d. Bildung e. Vereins f. d. kirchl. Aufheb. d. Cölibatges. Ulm. 1831. A. KZ. 1831. N. 70. 124. 174. 198. *g*) A. KZ. 1828. N. 78. 103.—1831. N. 174s. 181. 188. 1832. N. 3. 147.

viously taken the vow. The French courts declared, that even the marriage of priests who had given up the duties of their office was invalid. (*h*) The Liberals, in some instances as Protestant Catholics, were the first who took part in Protestant literature and science. As Febronius had assailed and shaken the fundamental principles of ecclesiastical law, *Blau* also undermined the principles of ecclesiastical faith. (*i*) In place of the only saving Church, he wished to substitute the only saving religion found in every pious heart. (*k*) Others labored with honest intentions in behalf of Catholicism. Instead of the religion of the monks and the virtues of the saints, *Werkmeister* (d. 1823), who had acquired an education of an entirely Protestant character in the Benedictine convent, held up the religion of the gospel and the moral system which Gellert had taught. (*l*) *Hirscher* presented the simple faith of the Bible, in contrast with the scholastic system of the Church, but he submitted to the papal judgment upon his treatise for the reconciliation of the Catholic Church with the science of the present day. (*m*) *Hug* vied with the Protestant theologians in ingenious investigations with regard to the canon of the New Testament, (*n*) and *Scholz* turned attention once more to the manuscripts which had been recently obtained from Constantinople. (*o*) Occupying an intermediate position between the Romish and the Liberal form of Catholicism, inclining sometimes toward the first and sometimes toward the latter, according to the personal preferences, (*p*) the position, or the sincerity of the individual, an *Ideal* school began to make its appearance, which pointed out the religious ideas involved in the Catholic dogmas and usages, and endeavored to reconcile Catholicism with modern science and improvements. (*q*) It proceeded from France in the form of a poetic and artistic glorification of the Church (§ 444). German philosophy was, sometimes in the spirit of faith, and sometimes in the allegorical strain, incorporated with the Catholic doctrines. (*r*) *Görres* (b. 1776), who possessed powerful original talents, and united with them a poetical and philosophical temperament, attempted, without regard to historical truth, once more to conjure up the spirits of the middle ages. Wherever a thorough theological discipline was permitted, this Catholicism vindicated itself by showing what the Church had been to past ages, and what it always may be to the human mind. In Germany, this ten-

h) A. KZ. 1829. N. 13. 33. 183. 1833. N. 44. 65.

i) Kritische Gesch. d. kirchl. Unfehlbarkeit. Frkf. 1791.

k) (*Keller*,) Katholikon. Für alle unter jeder Form das Eine. 3 ed. Aarau. 1832.

l) An d. unbescheidenen Verehrer d. Heiligen, bes. Maria. Hanau. 1801. Predigten. Ulm. 1812ss. 3 vols.

m) Ue. d. Verh. d. Ev. zu d. theol. Scholastik. Tüb. 1823. Die kirchlichen Zustände d. Gegenw. Tub. 1849. 3 ed. Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 16.

n) Einl. in d. Schrr. d. N. T. Stuttg. u. Tüb. (1808–21.) 1826. 2 vols.

o) Gesch. d. Textes d. N. T. Lps. 1823. N. T. gr. Lps. 1830–5. 2 Th. 4.

p) *Tzschirner*, Briefe ü. Rel. u. Politik. Lps. 1828. *Kähler*, Beitr. z. d. Versuchen, den Kath. zu idealisiren. Kngsb. 1828. A. KZ. 1832. N. 155.

q) *P. B. Zimmer*, phil. Religionsl. Landsh. 1805. *G. M. Klein*, Darst. d. phil. Rel. u. Sittenl. Bamb. 1818. *F. Baader*, specul. Dogmat. Stuttg. 1828ss. 2 P. *F. A. Staudenmaier*, Encykl. d. theol. Wiss. Mentz. 1834. [*J. A. Moehler*, Symbolism, or Expos. of the Doct. Differences between Protestants and Catholics. Lond. 8vo.]

r) Page 56. & 111. Symbolik. Mayence. 1832. ed. 4. 1835. Tüb. Quartalsch. 1838. H. 3.

dency was represented by *Moehler* (1796–1838), who had been aroused by Schleiermacher, and at one time had been pervaded by enthusiasm in behalf of free investigation, but gradually he had been mastered by the majesty of his Church, and now infused a confiding spirit once more into the department of science. In France, since Lamennais has retired from the public scene, its principal representative has been *Bautain*, who learned to distrust his reason in the school of Kant, until he was prepared to surrender himself to the direction of the Scriptures and of ecclesiastical tradition, the infinite nature of whose principles was unfolded and evinced by their power in the human heart. In opposition to him, the Bishop of Strasburg defended simply scholastic reason (since 1834). (*s*) *Günther* wished to substitute for the heathenish philosophy of the scholastics and the ecclesiastical fathers, a Christian philosophy, whose mystical and profound spirit would play about its rational nature in the manner of Jacob Boehme, like an aurora borealis or an ignis fatuus, and might be regarded as the equal sister of the system of faith found in those established doctrines of the Church which always approach nearest to the truth. But this "Romish Court Philosophy" of Treves was forbidden by an order from Rome (1852), and was threatened by German denunciations from the same quarter. (*t*) The same disposition and views which originated and sustained an old orthodoxy in the Protestant Church, were here also favorable to the Roman Jesuitic Catholicism; and now when the hierarchy, with its extensive possessions, had lost also its splendid position, it received, instead of the distinguished worldly prelates it formerly possessed, and who often opposed the pope, were very independent, and were restrained only by their political position, a class of bishops whose personal characters were eminent, who were entirely dependent upon Rome, and who used the unbroken power of the episcopacy to educate a clergy of a similar spirit. The literary conflicts of these three parties were especially exhibited in the German periodicals, (*u*) since in countries where every Church was protected by law, the privileges of the Catholic Church were sufficiently upheld by a censorship of the press and deposition from office. Rome did not prove itself the seat of any very extraordinary theological learning, and wherever it allowed itself to be drawn into literary controversy, it interfered by means of rather rough weapons. (*v*) Still even the pope prohibited only the reading of certain books, and exhorted all to collect their energies against

s) *Bautain:* de l'enseignement de la phil. en France. Strasb. 1833. Phil. du Christianisme. Str. 1835.—Acta hist. ecc. 1835. p. 305ss. 1837. p. 68ss. *C. F. Jünge*, L. Baut. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. 1837. vol. VII. p. 2.) Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 85.

t) *A. Günther:* Vorschule z. spec. Th. Vien. (1828ss.) 1848. 2 vols. Der letzte Symboliker. Vien. 1834. and *Pabst;* Januskopfe. Vien. 1834. and *Veith*, Phil. Taschenb. Vien. 1849ss.—*Oischinger*, d. chr. Phil. vertheidigt. Munich. 1853. *F. J. Clemens*, d. spec. Th. Günthers. Colog. 1853. Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 61.

u) 1. Kirchenfreund by Benkert, Athanasia, d. Katholik by Weis. kath. Lit. Z. by Kerz, Luzerner KZ., Sion, hist. pol. Blätter, by Philipps, J. Görres, J. E. Jorg, deutsche (Kolner) Volkshalle. 2. Freim. Blatter ü. Theol. u. Kirchenth., by Pflanz, kan. Wächter by A. Müller, constit. K. Z. by Lerchenmüller, Stimmen a. d. kath. K. Deutschl. 3. Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift, Zeitsch. f. d. Erzb. Freiburg, K. Z. by Sengler, Jahrbb. f. Theol. u. Phil.

v) *Braun*, d. Lehren d. Hermesianismus gutgeheissen u. die entgegenstch. Ansichten verworfen v. d. Bischof v. Strassb. nebst e. Breve Greg. XVI. Bonn. 1835. *F. Baader*, ü. d. Emancip. d. Katholic. v. d. röm. Dictatur. Nürnb. 1839.

those who for selfish ends, but under the pretence of reform, had conspired against ecclesiastical and divine rights. (*w*) A few were wise enough to become reconciled in a proper manner; others did not return until they were obliged to do so as penitent forlorn children, and still others fell out entirely with the Church. (*x*) The Great Union of 127 Catholics at Dresden (1831) declared that the gospel, explained by the light of reason and of the age, was the only rule of their faith, and among their festivals they reckoned one for the Sun, but none for the resurrection of Christ. On the other hand, *Carové* insisted upon the literal acceptance of the ordinary doctrines, drove Catholicism back to its principle of an infallibility by which alone men could be saved, and then tormented himself and others by practical difficulties in the way of it. (*y*) The Abbé *Helsen* of Brussels, in the spirit of the Catholic apostolic Church, exhorted men to turn from the Roman Antichrist to Christ, but it was not long before he died, abandoned by all, and with no confidence even in himself (1842). (*z*)

§ 479. *German Catholicism.*

Edwin *Bauer*, Gesch. d. deutsch-kath. K. Meiss. 1845. *W. A. Lampadius*, d. deutsch-kath. Beweg. Lps. 1846.—Kath. KReform, Monatschr. ed. by *A. Maur. Müller*, Brl. s. 1845. Für freies rel. Leben. Materialien z. Gesch. u. Fortbild. d. chr. Gemeinden insb. d. freien kath. ed. by *T. Hofferichter* and *F. Kampe*, Brsl. s. 1848. Literary Gen. View: by Hase and Schwarz: Jen. A. L. Z. 1846. N. 131. 183. 221. 288. 299ss. 1847. N. 53ss. 1848. N. 137ss. [*Saml. Laing*, Notes on the Rise, &c. of the Germ. Cath. Chh. Lond. 1845. *Gervinus*, Mission of the Ger. Catholics, transl. from Germ. Lond. 1846. Dubl. Univ. Mag. (in Eclectic Mag. Jan. 1846.) Oct. 1845. art. on Germ. Cath. Chh.]

The Prussian ecclesiastical controversy was finally celebrated in the Cathedral of Treves (Aug., Oct., 1844), by the festival of the seamless coat of Christ (§ 200). More than a million of people went thither to adore this garment of our divine Lord; and when the grand niece of the Archbishop of Cologne had experienced a partial cure there, thousands made trial of its miraculous power, with a few instances of apparent success. (*a*) The rejoicings occasioned by this pilgrimage (*b*) were in some degree disturbed by a letter from Laurahütte against the idolatrous festival at Treves, and addressed to the resident bishop as the Tetzel of the nineteenth century. (*c*) The vigorous and bold tone, and the signature of a Catholic priest which this letter exhibited, made it a standard at which both friends and enemies directed their attention. The writer of it was John *Ronge* (b. 1813), a chaplain who had been suspended for disobedience, and excommunicated by the episcopal au-

w) Gegen Offenburg v. 4. Oct. 1833: A. KZ. 1834. N. 174.

x) Chr. Fuchs: Schweiz Republikaner, 1834. N. 78. (comp. Alois Fuchs ü. s. Suspensionsgesch. m. Actenstücken. Rappersw. 1833.) *Aug. Theiner*, Gesch. d. geistl. Bildungsanstalten. Mayence. 1835. A. KZ. 1835. N. 238. *C. A. v. Reichlin-Meldegg:* A. KZ. 1832. N. 59. *Fischer:* Brl. KZ. 1841. N. 15.

y) Die grosse Einh. d. 127 antiröm. Kath. Lps. 1831. A. KZ. 1832. N. 5. *J. W. Carové*, d. alleinsel. K. Frkf. 1826. Die letzten Dinge d. röm. Kath. Lps. 1832. Röm. Katholic. in d. Papststadt. Lps. 1851.

z) Ev. KZ. 1833. N. 101. Brl. KZ. 1843. N. 11.

a) *J. Marx*, d. Ausstell. d. h. Rocks. Treves. 1845. [John Ronge, or the Holy Coat of Treves. New York. 1845. 18.] *V. Hansen*, actenmäss. Darst. wunderb. Heilungen b. Ausst. d. h. Rocks. Treves. 1845.

b) *J. v. Görres*, d. Wallf. v. Trier. Regensb. 1845.

c) At first in the Sächsische Vaterlands Blätter, of Oct. 16, 1844.

thorities at Breslau. After these proceedings against him, he had published at Breslau some polemical writings against Romish abominations, and in favor of the establishment of a German national Church. His style was rather declamatory, but his sentiments had all the pathos of a decided conviction. (*d*) In Schneidemühl, a town belonging to Prussian Poland, the vicar John *Czerski* (b. 1813) had been suspended because he would not renounce a young Polish lady to whom he was attached. He however now gave notice (Aug. 22, 1844) that he would hold no further connection with the Roman court Church; and without renouncing his Catholic priesthood, he proceeded, with some members of his congregation who believed as he did, to establish what he called a Christian apostolic Catholic congregation. (*e*) On the plan of this congregation, many Catholics dissatisfied with their Church collected around Ronge at Breslau, as Christian Catholic congregations (March 9, 1845). (*f*) Persons of similar sentiments in nearly twenty of the towns of Northern Germany presented addresses of concurrence to Ronge, and united together as German Catholic congregations. They were agreed in their opposition to the Roman Church, against which the Reformation had protested from the very first, so far as to demand a free use of the Scriptures and an administration of the affairs of the Church by the congregation. But those congregations which were established by Czerski firmly adhered not only to the fundamental principles of old ecclesiastical orthodoxy, but to some institutions peculiarly Romish in their origin, while those which proceeded from Breslau were of a rationalist tendency. To give unity to this Church, without much previous concert, a council was held at Leipsic on Easter, 1845, at which deputies appeared from fifteen congregations, and provided especially for the liturgy to be used, and the general order of the societies. The papal hierarchy was unconditionally renounced, and the Holy Scriptures were recognized as the foundation of a faith which must be modified by the spirit of each successive age, and explained and comprehended by a reason pervaded by the general Christian idea. Nothing was retained of the second article of the modernized Apostles' Creed except a declaration of faith in Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and a special stress was laid upon works of love as the true evidence of faith. (*g*) Czerski consented to this triumph of the Breslau party, as the particulars of the creed were left to the free choice of each congregation; but at home he adopted a confession which embraced the doctrine of the divinity of Christ and the Apostles' Creed, and renounced the companions of the Leipsic confession as the worshippers of reason and the enemies of Christ. (*h*) During two tours which Ronge took as far as the borders of Switzerland, he founded many congregations. A few attacks were then made upon him, but generally he

d) An d. niedere kath. Geistlichk. Jena. 1845. An d. kath. Lehrer. Altenb. 1845. Rechtfertig. Lps. 1845. An meine Glaubensgenossen u. Mitbürger. Altenb. 1845.

e) Rechtfert. meines Abfalles v. d. rom. Hofkirche. Bromb. 1845. Offenes Glaubensbek. d. chr. ap. kath. K. zu Schneidem. Danz. 1845.

f) Die christkath. Gemeinde zu Breslau. Bresl. 3 ed. 1845.

g) Die erste allg. KVersamml. d. deutsch-kath. K. zu Leipsic, ed. by *R. Blum* and *F. Wigard*, Lps. 1845. [A day with Ronge. Dubl. Univ. Mag. (in Eclectic Mag. April. 1846.) Jan. 1846.]

h) *Czerski*, Sendschr. an alle chr. apost. kath. Gemeinden. Landsb. 1845.

was complimented along his journey with public dinners, as if he were a second Luther. (*i*) Czerski, whose believing tendencies found acknowledgment only in a much more limited sphere, and even there came sometimes unpleasantly in contact with some of Ronge's adherents, (*k*) was induced, at a conference assembled at Rawicz (Feb. 3, 1846), to acknowledge his other fellow-combatants as brethren. This he did notwithstanding his undeviating and cordial adherence to the standard of the unabridged apostolic Creed, on the ground that it might tend to confirm religion to recognize the common basis on which their faith rested, and with the hope that they might recognize each other again as brethren. (*l*) The congregations which acted on these views at a synod convened at Schneidemühl (July, 1846), adopted a simple biblical confession, with the concession that the old Apostles' Creed might be used in the churches and schools, although they acknowledge that it contains some historical matters of minor importance for the Christian heart. (*m*) In England, a short time after this, Czerski himself avowed that his views on this point had been radically changed, (*n*) but the only congregation which thoroughly represents his theological system, is one which has been collected at Berlin for the very purpose of a protest, and which has even gone beyond his exclusive position. (*o*) Ronge, on the other hand, anxious to ennoble Christianity, and exalt it to a complete religion of humanity, has shown himself inclined to unite with the free Protestant congregations (§ 467). (*p*) The proposal for such a union, however, was quietly laid aside, when it was made in the two ecclesiastical assemblies held in Berlin at Whitsuntide, 1847, representing a hundred and fifty-one congregations, and thoroughly adhering to the Leipsic resolutions. (*q*) German Catholicism has carried out its forms of public worship and its constitution in smaller synodal associations, (*r*) the former with Protestant simplicity, and the latter with a decided stress laid upon the rights of particular congregations, not only with respect to their own pastors, who are supported by voluntary contributions, but with regard to the powers of synods, and in some instances the women possessed an equal right with others to vote. A few clergymen with their adherents, who went over to the new association, were excommunicated by the bishops under whose jurisdiction they had lived, but generally the controversy was merely of a literary, though sometimes of a disgraceful character. (*s*) Ronge has proposed himself as a reformer even to the Protestant Church, where the chief point of his reformation consists in bringing Christ down to the brotherhood of human poverty and suffering. (*t*) A few licen-

i) Ronge's erste Rundreise. Brsl. 1845. (*Schumann,*) Ronge's Fahrten. Rudolst. 1846.

k) *J. H. F. Romberg*, d. Spalt. d. christ-kath. Vereins zu Bromberg. Bromb. 1845.

l) *Czerski*, zweites Sendschr. an alle christ-kath. Gemeinden. Bromb. 1846.

m) Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 63. 68.

n) Kath. KReform. Nov. 1846. p. 141. Ev. KZ. 1847. N. 38s.

o) Glaubensbek. der nach d. Protest. v. 15. Mai zu Berlin sich bildenden christkath. Gem. Brl. 1845.

p) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 3. 11. 15.

q) Die zweite christkath. KVersamml. zu Berlin. ed. by *R. Blum* and *F. Wigard*, Lps. 1847.

r) Grundzüge d. Glaubensl., d. Gottesd. u. d. Verf. genehm. v. d. Syn. zu Breslau. Brsl. 1845 Organ. Statut f. deutsch-kath. Gem. v. F. Wigard. Dresd. 1845.

s) Offenes Sendschr. der Witwe Anna Czerska an ihren Sohn, den suspend. Priester. Ratisb. 1845

t) *Ronge*, Neue u. doch alte Feinde. Dess. 1845. D. Wesen d. freien chr. K. Hamb. 1847.

tiates found an earlier field of labor in German Catholic congregations, and two Protestant congregations in the country found it convenient to connect themselves with the German Catholics on account of difficulties in their local circumstances. But the Protestant population has almost unanimously offered the new Church the joint use of their own churches, a considerable assistance in money, and the power of their daily press, with no wish to draw away its members, and at first with great expectations of national results. (*u*) So far as their relations to the state were concerned, the German Catholics claimed all the privileges which had been conceded to the Catholics, without modification. By prohibitions and expatriations, the governments of Austria and Bavaria nearly succeeded in entirely excluding the sect of Ronge from their territories. The smaller Protestant states allowed the Catholic dissenters to proceed without molestation. The governments of Hanover, Saxony, Baden, and Wurtemberg, opposed them; the two latter impaired their rights of citizenship, and in Hesse Cassel they were oppressed with still greater severity. In every country, however, their rights were sustained by the lower legislative chamber. (*v*) At first, Prussia declared that it would not then interfere in their favor, or in opposition to them; afterwards, the displeasure which it felt at the peculiar Christianity of the age was stronger than its pleasure in seeing the injury to the hierarchy, until finally the natural current of affairs brought it around once more to the policy of non-interference. (*w*) German Catholicism has prevailed almost exclusively among the middle classes of society, but the learned *Regenbrecht*, a professor of canon law at Breslau, gave in his adhesion to it when the congregation was formed in that city, and *Theiner*, at the frequent solicitation of different parties, contributed his established reputation to the new movement. (*x*) Both these men, however, have since been estranged and separated from all connection with any congregation, principally in consequence of the course which Ronge has pursued. (*y*) Near the end of the year 1846, it became evident that the leaders in this movement were beginning to sink in public estimation, and that their cause was deficient in religious energy. It could not therefore be concealed that the movement itself had come to a dangerous pause. The new Church then numbered about 60,000 members, nearly half of whom were in Silesia. Where the Catholic population was compact and unbroken, scarcely any inroad was made upon it; but the remnants and advanced posts of the Catholic Church in Protestant countries, which had been gained or maintained with difficulty for centuries, were either lost or much endangered, and serious apprehensions were entertained at Rome that another Reformation was about to proceed from Germany. March, 1848, brought complete freedom to

u) *Gervinus:* d. Mission d. D. Katholiken. Hdlb. 1845. [*Gervinus*, Mission of the Germ. Catholics. Lond. 1846. 12.] (*D. Schenkel*, d. prot. Geistlichk. u. d. D. Katholiken. Zür. 1846.) D. prot. Geistlichk. u. d. DKatholiken. Heidelb. 1846.

v) Die Sprecher f. d. DKath. in d. sächs. Ständevers. Lps. 1845. 2 P. *F. Hecker*, die staatsrechtl. Verh. d. DKathol. m. bes. Hinblick. a. Baden. Heidelb. 2 ed. 1845. *C. Friedrich*, Die deutschkath. Frage in Kurhessen. Lps. 1847.

w) Cab. Ordre v. 30 Apr., Minist. Verf. v. 17. Mai, Cab. Ordre v. 8. Juli, 1845. *L. Richter*, d. Staat u. d. DKatholiken. Lps. 1846.

x) Erkl. d. Prof. Regenbrecht an d. Bisth. Verweser ü. s. Ausscheiden a. d. röm. K. Brsl. 1845. *Anton Theiner*, d. ref. Bestrebungen in d. kath. K. Brsl. 1845s. 2 P. *y*) Brl. KZ. 1847. N. 15.

the new Church: in Saxony it was recognized as a civil corporation; (*z*) the most rigid Catholic countries were thrown open to it; in Vienna and Munich it was received with a curious interest; in Austria it was tolerated, and in Bavaria it was recognized, though the Archbishop of Freysingen would not allow German Catholicism to be properly either Catholic or German. It was, however, soon found that the religious element within and beyond the congregations became less and less prominent. Ronge, as a deputy of the democratic unions, published a manifesto, in which he denounced the election of an irresponsible imperial officer as an act of treason to the people; and Dowiat perhaps did injustice to the excitements of his youthful fancy, when he declared that he had looked upon the religious movement as only the means of a social agitation, but that he now regarded such a mask as needless. The authorities of the Silesian congregations were anxious to guard against the power of mere brute force, but they wished also to sanctify democracy, and make socialism a religion. (*a*) Probably no complete congregations, but some individual preachers who had some Hegelian views, hoped to find on the ruins of the Catholic and Protestant churches their new religion of humanity, a true theocracy in democracy, and God himself in the congregation. (*b*) The German Catholics, and those attached to the free congregations, naturally felt a sympathy with each other, and had therefore associated together to a considerable extent, (*c*) before the proposition for their union had been discussed in the third German Catholic council, and a free-congregational diet at Leipsic-Coethen (May, 1850). Some hesitation was felt by the German Catholics on account of the freedom from all forms which characterized the free congregations; and the free congregations were not altogether pleased with the want of freedom which prevailed among the German Catholics, but they were finally united in the presence of the police of both cities, so as to constitute a religious association of free congregations for mutual assistance in their religious efforts, but on the basis of a complete independence of each congregation. These were to have an executive committee, to be chosen by a triennial assembly of deputies, but to have no power except to express its opinions, and to make proposals to the congregations. (*d*) Most of the congregations which had originated in the Catholic Church refused to agree to a union of even this loose character. (*e*) They could not therefore escape the fate of the free congregations (p. 584). The peculiar turn which events took in Catholic countries was such as to render this result inevitable. In Austria, after a long delay, the government refused (Jan., 1850) to recognize the Free Christian congregation at Vienna, on the ground that the negative character of its confession gave no sstisfactory evidence that it was called for merely by the religious wants of the people. (*f*) When all women and minors had been excluded from the German-Catholic

z) Law of Nov. 2, 1848: Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 96.

a) Of Sept. 15, 1849: in *Kampe*, (nt. *b*.) p. 316ss.

b) *F. F. Kampe*, d. Wesen d. DKath. m. bes. Rücks. a. s. Verh. z. Politik. Tüb. 1850.

c) A. D. Z. 1847. N. 311.

d) *Th. Hofferichter*, d. Union d. freien Gemeinden d. Kath. u. Prot. Lps. 1850. Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 46. 48.

e) Ibid. 1850. N. 68. 85. 1851. N. 16. *f*) Ibid. 1850. N. 20. 45. 1851. N. 5. 103.

congregations of Bavaria, they were dissolved as political associations (Nov., 1851). (*g*) But even in Protestant countries, the dread of the evils of religious liberty, or a desire to please the hierarchy, generally led to their suppression. In Prussia, where the constitution rendered any measure to produce their general abolition impossible, individual congregations were dispersed, and their preachers were expelled from the country by the police, and contributions from the common fund, even where they had been granted for a series of previous years, were withheld, because the government professed to have discovered that they were political rather than religious associations, aiming at the subversion of civil and social order. (*h*) In Hamburg, the concession which had once been made them, was revoked on account of their departure from the confession of faith adopted at Leipsic. (*i*) Internal dissensions, the return of their ministers to former connections, and a want of worldly means, or a want of liberality in the use of what they possessed, have hastened their gradual decline.

§ 480. *Mystics and Wonder-Workers.*

A circle of young persons was at one time assembled around Bishop *Sailer* (1751–1832), whose Christianity was confined to the simple doctrine of salvation, and whose religion consisted wholly of certain fervent exercises of feeling. They therefore had no very high regard for ecclesiastical forms; they earnestly commended the works of Fenelon and Lavater, and were much attached to the Pietists of Wurtemberg. As they were persecuted by the Romanist, and despised by the Liberal party, some of them became dissatisfied with the Church itself (1796ss.) When *Poeschl*, a pastor settled near Linz, was compelled to leave his congregation, every other minister was rejected by the people, and on Good Friday, 1817, a young girl was actually killed, that she might thereby follow the example of Christ, in dying for her brethren and sisters. Sailer humbled himself before the hierarchy, and renounced mysticism, but even as a bishop he never ceased to make efforts to extend the kingdom of love. (*a*) The wonderful prodigies in which some believed were the result either of harmless and sickly excitements, or of a settled purpose. *Emmerich* (1774–1824), a sister belonging to the Convent of Agnetenberg, within which all her desires were bounded, gave herself completely up to the contemplation of the sufferings of Jesus, from whose hands she had selected the crown of thorns which she bore upon her body, just as St. Francis had borne the five wounds of our Lord; and frequently, when those days recurred on which Christ's passion was celebrated, the wound was opened. (*b*) That which appears to have been effected here by an active and plastic imagination, in other instances was evidently the result of deception, with or without the knowledge of the subjects of them. (*c*)

g) Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 99. *h*) Ibid. N. 14. 33. 1852. N. 14.

i) Ibid. 1853. N. 17.

a) *J. M. Sailer*, samtl. Werke. Sulzb. 1830–35. 26 vols. *Salat*, ü. Myst. m. hist. Aufschlüssen ü. Myst. in Baiern. Sulzb. 1822. Comp. § 474. nt. *g*.

b) (*C. v. Brentano.*) Das bittre Leiden unsers Herrn. Nach den Betrr. d. sel. A. C. Emm. nebst d. Lebensumständen dieser Begnadigten. Sulzb. 1833. 6 ed. 1842. *Tholuck*, verm. Schrr. vol. I. p. 111ss. vol. II. p. 477s.—Volksheilige zu Kaltern: A. KZ. 1833. N. 175. Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 99.

c) Brl. KZ. 1849. N. 73. 1840. N. 62. 67.

The miraculous cures accomplished by Prince *Hohenlohe* (about 1820, d. 1849), then a canon at Bamberg, were, it is true, much extolled among the common people, but they had too little importance and character to make much way against the police and the prosaic spirit of the present age. In Rome, the conversion of a wealthy Jew was effected by an appearance of the Virgin Mary (1842). (*d*) She also made her appearance in other places. In Rimini, thousands of pilgrims were convinced, to their great edification, that the Mother of mercy moved the eyes of her image there up and down, and even some partisans of Mazzini were converted from their errors by the sight. (*e*)

§ 481. *Orders.*

Napoleon remarked, that the holy zeal of the Sisters of Charity led them to bestow a much better and cheaper attendance upon the hospitals, than the rewards which he could offer to mercenaries. He therefore collected their scattered numbers into a general chapter, over which the mother of the emperor presided (1807), provided them with a rule, and supplied them with all needed assistance. The predilection which the pious sisters exhibited for the conversion of Protestant patients, prevented their introduction in some instances into the German hospitals. (*a*) But more especially in France, where a convent for nuns had become an habitual want, they were renewed in various forms. (*b*) When the last monk of St. Maurus died a member of the Institute of France, a few friends of Lamennais, under the protection of the Bishop of Mons, purchased the old abbey of Solesme (1833), that they might revive within its tranquil seclusion the devout learning of the congregation of St. Maurus. (*c*) A congregation was established at Rome for the purpose of rescuing the orders which had been despoiled of their property, and in some of the concordats a number of convents were promised; but the pious wishes of the several governments were generally thwarted, when an attempt was made to restore the property which belonged to them. In Bavaria alone more was accomplished than had been promised in the concordat. (*d*) The various orders of knights had for a long time entirely lost all importance with respect to the Church. The *Knights of St. John* ceased to possess any power when Malta passed from their hands (1798), and in the treaty of Paris (1814) was recognized as a fortress for the protection of English commerce. (*e*) The *German Masters* (Teutonic Knights) also lost all their political importance in consequence of the loss of Mergentheim at the peace of Vienna (1810); and although their application for its re-establishment was seconded by the general voice of all Europe, their appeal to the European

d) Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 67. 1843. N. 46. *e*) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 48. 51ss. 69s.

a) (*C. v. Brentano,*) Die barmh. Schw. Cobl. 1831. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XVIII. p. 236ss. *C. Buss,* d. O. d. barmh. Schw. Schaffh. 2 ed. 1847.

b) *Reuchlin,* Christenth. in Frankr. p. 226ss.

c) A. KZ. 1833. N. 145. Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 5. Spicilegium Solesmense, cur. *J. B. Pitra,* Par. 1852. vol. I.

d) Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 354. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 15.

e) *Vic. de Villeneuve-Bargemont,* Monumens des Grands-Maitres de l'ordre de S. Jean. Par. 1829. 2 vols. [*L. de Boisgelin,* Anc. and Mod. Malta, and H. of the Knights of St. John. Lond. 1804. 3 vols. 4.]

Congress for the restoration of their possessions was disregarded. (*f*) These orders are now kept up, and in some places are re-established, especially in Austria and Italy, merely for the decorations and pensions which the nobility derive from them. (*g*) Such Knights of St. John are to be found since 1812 in Prussia, but no longer as a Catholic institution. They have been obliged to return (1852) to the care of the sick, in accordance with the original design of the order, but they are allowed to do this by the payment of money for that object. (*h*) An order of Templars attracted some notice in Paris since the commencement of the eighteenth century, as a secret lodge, but since 1831 it has publicly claimed to be the original Christian Church. (*i*) According to them, an original revelation was conveyed and cultivated in the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, from which it was derived by Moses, was renewed and re-established by Jesus, and was transmitted to John as the head of the Church, and to his successors, among whom are the Grand Masters of the Temple. This revelation was a religion of reason, and proclaimed that God consisted of three Powers, viz., Existence, Act, and Consciousness, and that the world was distinct from God, but uncreated and divine. A gospel of St. John accommodated to this view is in the possession of the order, which possibly had its origin in the fourteenth century. (*k*) The order, however, has nothing in common with Catholicism but a hierarchy to which the most imposing titles are given. It knew also how to give the most enlightened interpretation of the vows of the old Templars, (*l*) and announced that it would at some future period overthrow the Roman Church. For a while the Parisians were much amused by the splendid costumes which the male and female members of the order exhibited in their processions.

§ 482. *Spread of Christianity.*

As the Catholic nations of Europe were distracted by the revolutions of that period, they lost their colonies, and were obliged to curtail but not entirely to abandon their missions. When the Church began to recover its strength, the desire to promote missions to the heathen revived. The Society of the Faith at *Lyons*, which became more influential than even the Propaganda, grew up from a very humble origin (after 1820) by means of trifling weekly contributions from a small circle of persons who read the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, until the annual income it expended for missions amounted to millions. (*a*) The first object of the missionaries for the establishment of the external Church continued to be the baptism of the heathen. *China* was adhered to with the utmost tenacity, even when all

f) A. KZ. 1822. N. 66. *g*) Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 13.

h) Ibid. 1853. N. 2. 8. D. A. Z. 1853. N. 130.

i) (Manuel des Chevaliers de l'ordre du Temple. éd. 3. Par. 1825. 12.) Leviticon. Par. 1831. Église chrét. primitive. Lettre pastorale de M. l'evêque de Nancy. (*L'Hôte.*) Nancy. 1832.—*Carové*, d. Messianismus, d. neuen Templer. Lps. 1834. *J. P.*, Recherches hist. sur les Templiers. Par. 1835.

k) *Münter*, Notitia cod. graeci Ev. Jo. variatum continentis. Hafn. 1828. *Thilo*, cod. apocr. vol. I. p. 819ss.

l) Brl. KZ. 1839. N. 88.

a) The receipts for 1845 were 3,575,775 francs. Annales de la propagation de la foi. 1834ss. publ. also in the Germ., Engl., Flemish, Ital., Spanish, Portug., and Dutch languages. A. KZ. 1843. N. 100. Berl. KZ. 1847. N. 52.

reason for hope with respect to it seemed extinct. Once more the Church began to enlarge its territories there, when a map of the country, which the missionaries intended to send to Rome, was intercepted. This produced a renewal of the persecution (1806). Bishop *Dufresne* was beheaded (1815). A martyrdom quite unfavorable to enthusiasm was inflicted by means of the bamboo and the gangue. The missionaries were subsequently persecuted or tolerated, according to the caprice of the government. The crime punished was not so much a profession of Christianity, as a connection with foreigners. At last, however, the victories of the English gave protection even to the Catholic Church. The priests are generally natives, some of whom are educated in the seminaries of the country, and others at a branch of the Propaganda at Naples. About one in two thousand of the population of Central China have been baptized. (*b*) From the *East Indies*, where frequently the conversions consisted principally of mere changes back and forth between the Catholic and Protestant missionaries, the candid *Dubois* returned to Europe (1823) with the conviction that life was uselessly spent in labors to convert the people, and that there was no ground for hope that the gospel would ever overcome the prejudices of the Hindoos. (*c*) The King of *Cochin China*, where Christians, under the French Bishop Adran had attained considerable political importance, extolled the wisdom of the Emperor of Japan, who had got rid of the European doctrines, and accordingly, in particular instances, he oppressed them after 1831. By a decree of Jan. 6, 1833, a general persecution, modified indeed by the local authorities, raged especially against the priests until 1842. The memory of the martyrs in this persecution was celebrated at Rome by the pope. (*d*) The Abbé *Schoeffler*, at the head of a mission to the interior, died like Cyprian in 1851. Under the free toleration enjoyed in North America, the Catholic Church has acquired considerable strength principally by immigrations from Europe, but also by its judicious management of its internal affairs. (*e*) The *Algonquins* and *Iroquois* made (1831) a present of a piece of wampum and some moccasins of their own work to the holy Father, who had sent to his children of the wilderness the man in the black coat, by whom they had been instructed and induced to acknowledge the unknown God, and to live in peace with one another. (*f*) A French diocese has been formed (1838) in Algiers, and an arm of St. Augustine was solemnly brought back to Hippo (1842). (*g*) In the islands of the South Sea, a missionary bishop has attempted to gather the harvest where others had sown the seed (§ 473).—The Catholic Church numbers about a hundred and fifty millions of adherents, organized into seven hundred and sixty-three bishoprics. (*h*)

b) Gesch. d. kath. Miss. in China. Vien. 1845ss. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXVIII. p. 281ss. XXX. 183ss. D. A. Z. 1845. N. 224.

c) *Dubois*, Letters on the State of Christ. in India. Lond. 1823. ü. v. Hoffmann, Neust. 1824 Comp. KHist. Archiv. 1824. P. 3. [Dubois was answered by Hough, Townley, and others. See p. 472, nt. *a*.]

d) A. Z. 1835. Suppl. N. 103. 1843. N. 143. Brl. KZ. 1839. N. 78. A. KZ. 1840. N. 90. 203.

e) *Vogt*, d. kath. K. in d. Verein. Staaten. (Tüb. Quartalschr. 1841. P. 1.)

f) A. KZ. 1832. N. 50.

g) Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXIII. p. 78s. A. KZ. 1839. N. 63. 1843. N. 2.

h) *Charles of St. Aloys*, d. kath. K. in ihrer gegenw. Ausbr. a. d. Erde. Ratisb. 1845. *Girol. Petri*, Gerarchia della s. Chiesa catt. apost. Romana. Lps. 1851.

CHAP. VII.—THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.

§ 483. *Catholic and Protestant Influences.*

Greek and Armenian congregations composed of exiles or of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits in Catholic countries, were obliged to purchase public protection by an acknowledgment of the papal primacy, and of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father. In return for this the pope conceded to them the usages of their country, together with the cup for the laity, and the marriage of their priests. Among the Armenians the *Mechitharists* were confirmed by Clement XI. as Benedictines (1712), and after the fall of Modon (s. 1717), in imitation of their founder *Mechithar* (Comforter, 1676–1749), they founded a monastery at St. Lazarus among the lagoons of Venice, which was designed to be a medium of literary intercourse between their native country and Europe. A branch of it was established at Vienna, which has confined its pious literary views to Germany. (*a*) In *Transylvania* the Wallachians were induced by the Jesuits to enter the Union (s. 1697), but a holy monk who came over the mountains (1744) filled the people with horror at this alliance. (*b*) As soon as the liberty for which the *Hungarian* Protestants had contended (§ 470), was conceded also to the United Greeks, the result was likely to threaten their union with the Roman Church. When the American missionaries opened schools (since 1831) among the *Armenians* in Constantinople and Trebizond, and distributed bibles among the people, many have been opposed to all worship of creatures, and to some other portions of the Armenian forms of service, and have finally been excommunicated (1846). Separate congregations were therefore indispensable, and when formed they experienced the most bitter persecutions, in consequence of an order from the patriarch requiring that all persons should withhold from them the ordinary intercourse of social and commercial life. But, in consequence of the intercessions of others in their behalf, and the favor of the Turks toward a form of worship dispensing with images and pictures, they have gradually attained a tranquil state. (*c*) The American missionaries have likewise succeeded in confirming (since 1833) in the knowledge of the Scriptures those remnants of the Nestorians which still exist in the mountains of Kurdistan, and which had become mere petrifactions of the Church of the fifth century, and so far as they had not become subject to the pope, established them as the Protestants of the East. (*d*) In many other countries where the Oriental Church prevails, schools have been established and the Scriptures have been distributed by Protestant mis-

a) (Kiuver) Vita dell' Abate Mechitar. Ven. 1810. Compendiose notizie sulla congregazione dei Mechitaristi. Ven. (1819.) 1825. *Windischmann* d. J. in d. Tüb. Quartalschr. 1835. P. 1. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXVIII. p. 162ss. XXX, 157ss.

b) Acta hist. ecc. vol. X. p. 110ss.

c) Brl. KZ. 1846. N 35. 77. 1847. N. 36. 42. 65. A. KZ. 1847. N. 136s.

d) *A. Grant*, The Nestorians, or The Lost Tribes, New York & Lond. 1841. 12mo. (On the other hand: *E. Robinson*, [in Bibl. Rep. for 1841.] Review of Grant's Nestor. New York. 1841.) [*G. P. Badger*, Nestorians and their rituals, &c. Lond. 1851. 2 vols. 8.] Bruns. Rep. 1845. vol. I. p. 185ss. II, 90ss. III, 84ss. 1846. vol. V. pp. 107, 198, 292ss. VI, 86ss.

sionaries, until the Oriental Christians have themselves begun to test the doctrines of their Church by the Word of God, and complaints have been made that the authority of the Church has been impaired. (*e*)

§ 484. *Russia. Cont. from* § 418.

King, The rites of the Greek Church in Russia. Lond. 1722. 4. Rig. 1773. 4. (Acta hist. ecc. nostri temp. vol. I p. 1. 187ss.) *Hupel*, kirchl. Statist. v. Russ. (Nord. Misc. Riga. 1786. Sect. 11ss.) *Bellermann*, Abr. d. Russ. K. Erf. 1788. *A. de Stourdza*, Considérations sur la doctrine et l'esprit de l'egl. orthod. Weim. 1816. ü. by *Kotzebue*, Lps. 1817. *Pinkerton*, Russia. Lond. 1833. (Ev. KZ. 1834. N. 71ss.) Briefe ü. d Gottesd. d. morg. K. a. d. Russ. (by Murawieff) by *E. v. Muralt*, Lps. 1838. with Erklar. Anhang als Lexidion d. morg. K. by Ibid. Lps. 1838. [*A. Nic. Murawieff*, Hist. of the Church of Russia, transl. (from the Russian. Petersb. 1838.) by *Blackmore*, Oxf. 1842.] Die Staatsk Russl. im J. 1839. by a priest of the Oratory. Schaffh. 1844. Die Bedeut. d. russ. K. für d. gegenw. (Deutsche Viertelj. Schr. 1842. N. 19.) *Klose*, Russl. kirchl. Statist. (Reuter, Rep. 1850. H. 1.) *Hefele*, d. russ. K. (Tüb. Quartalsch. 1853. H. 3.) *A. v. Haxthausen*, Studien ü. d. innern Zust. Russl. Han. 1847. 2 vols. [*De Custine* (Marquis), The Empire of the Czar, or, Obss. on the Soc. Pol. & Rel. state and Prospects of R., from the French. 3 vols. 8. Lond. 1847. *R. W. Blackmore*, Doct. of the Russ. Church, transl. from the Slavono-Russ. Originals. Aberdeen. 1845. 8.]

The orthodox emperor was now the natural protector of the orthodox Oriental Church, with a power in both hemispheres such as no successor of Constantine ever possessed. After the death of the patriarch, Hadrian (1702), Peter the Great allowed his see to remain vacant until the people had become accustomed to see its duties performed by a college of prelates, which, under the name of the Holy Synod, was declared to be the supreme authority in the Church (1721). (*a*) This synod is dependent upon the emperor, but the dignity of the clergy and the peculiarities of the ecclesiastical polity are determined by the national character. But Catharine first took possession of all the property of the Church, and then settled upon nearly all ecclesiastical offices and institutions a permanent but very moderate revenue. On the other hand the convents were relieved of the charge of invalids, and seminaries were established for education. The clergy are in the habit of filling their ranks from their own families very much as if they were a spiritual caste. Sermons were at one time prohibited, so that no new doctrines might be propagated among the people, but many primitive and symbolical usages have been tenaciously preserved in the affections of the people. The ecclesiastical language is the old Sclavonic. Many persons were dissatisfied on account of the innovations made in the liturgy by the patriarch, *Nicon*, and withdrew from the Established Church (1666). By those from whom they thus separated they were denominated *Roskolniki*, but by themselves they were called *Staroverzi*. They conscientiously adhere to all the institutions of their ancestors, abominate the fashions and articles of luxury which have been introduced in modern times, and do not recognize the Czar as the consecrated head of the Church. Many new sects have sprung from them, and in consequence of the persecutions they have endured, many of them have become the victims of a gloomy fanatical spirit. The *Duchoborzi* believe in no ecclesiastical connection except that which exists between kindred minds, but they are friends of the strictest morality. Others have adopted a mode

e) Hist. pol. Bll. 1853. vol. XXX. H. 5.
a) KHist. Archiv. 1823. vol. I. sect. 4. p. 87ss.

of worship intermediate between the extremes of abominable lust on the one hand, and of eunuchism on the other. (*b*) While endeavoring to elevate the intellectual character of his people, Alexander did much to improve the condition of the National Church. On all lands belonging to the crown village-schools were established, the seminaries were improved, and the priests were exempted from the punishment of the knout. The national struggle against Napoleon subsequently became a war for religion. In mature life the peculiar fortunes and plans of the emperor inclined him (since 1812) to a melancholy style of piety. (*c*) When the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in London, at the emperor's request a general auxiliary was established at Petersburg (since 1813), and under the supervision of the Holy Synod an edition of the New Testament was published in the Russian language (1821), and was afterwards gradually sent forth in almost every dialect of every nation in the empire. With simple confidence the Bible was placed by the people among their sacred pictures, but an ecclesiastical opposition was excited against it throughout the nation, which was strengthened by observing certain erroneous applications of passages of the Scriptures made by the people. The emperor was therefore finally induced to abolish the Bible Society in Russia (1826). (*d*) And yet the imperial government felt constrained to do something for the conversion of his heathen and Mohammedan subjects in three distinct quarters of the world. Ecclesiastical institutions were established for the education of missionaries, and inducements were held out to those who might become converts to Christianity. Under *Nicolas* a plan has been formed and generally favored by the people (since 1825), according to which the whole Russian nationality is to be civilized by efforts from within itself, and all the tribes subject to its government are to become one in language and in creed. By the conquest of a portion of the Persian territories (1828) Russia obtained possession of a great part of Armenia, including the convent of Echmiadzin, the principal seat of the Catholicus of the Armenian Church, by whom alone the bishops and the holy oil could be consecrated. Measures were however taken by the Armenian Church to prevent its incorporation with the Russian. (*e*) Peter I. gave freedom of worship to both Catholics and Protestants, but this indulgence was confined to those foreigners who resided in the country, and were needed in the public service. When Catharine II. acquired possession of the Polish Russian provinces, a part of the population became members of the United Greek Church (p. 482), and another part united with the Russian. But even those who were deeply imbued with the Roman element finally yielded to the prevalent inclination, and

b) *Strahl*, Sectenw. d. russ. K. (KHist. Archiv. 1824. Sect. 4. p. 26ss. 1825. Sect. 1. p. 42ss.) *Lenz*, de Duchoborzis. Dorp. 1829. P. I. (Jen. L. Z. N. 166s.) Ev. KZ. 1828. N. 52ss. 1835. N. 10ss. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXII. p. 270ss.

c) Especially *Pinkerton:* H. L. E. Notiz ü. Alex. Jena. 1828. [Lond. Weekly Rev. for May, 1829. (in Littell's Rel. Mag. vol. III. p. 502ss. Philad. 1829.) *Schnitzler*, Secr. H. of the Court & Gov. of Russia under Alex. & Nicolas. Lond. 1847. 2 vols. 8.]

d) Esp. *Pinkerton:* A. KZ. 1822. N. 70. 1840. N. 40. 110ss.

e) *Vater*, Anhan. vol. II. p. 111ss. KHist. Arch. 1823. P. I. Kurze hist. Darst. d. gegenw. Zust. d. arm. Volks. Petersb. 1821. *Smith & Dwight*, Researches in Arm. Bost. 1833. 2 vols. *Tholuck*, lit. Anz. 1832. N. 17. [*M. Chamich*, H. of Armenia, transl. & cont. to the present time by *J. Avdall*, Calcutta. 1827. 2 vols. 8.]

after much preparation, the higher clergy of Lithuania and White Russia at the Synod of Polotsk (Feb. 12, 1839) declared that their people were anxious to return to the ancient mother Church. By order of the emperor the Holy Synod received them, together with their congregations, as those who had been separated by violence and were now reunited by love. (*f*) Gregory XVI., after having condemned the Polish insurrection (1831) and having succeeded in persuading Gutkoroski, Bishop of Podlachien, (*g*) who had been imprisoned for his fidelity to the Russian Church, to abandon it (1840), now beheld the schools in Poland closed against all ecclesiastical influence, the confiscated property of the Church given to a Greek nobility, the real estate which had belonged to the hierarchy taken possession of by the state, all intercourse between the bishops and Rome prohibited, and the Catholic principle with respect to mixed marriages turned against the Catholic Church. Nothing was now left him but to lift up his lamentations over the distressed condition of the Church, and the loss of two millions of Catholics, and to expose to the world the means by which this had been accomplished. (*h*) Macrena Mieszlawska, the late Abbess of the Basilian convent at Minsk, appeared at Rome with a shocking account of these means, but there were enough who knew how to render it doubtful whether she was a martyr or an impostor. (*i*) But the pope and the emperor had occasion to enter into an agreement (1847s.), according to which a new diocese of Cherson has been formed, whose bishops are to be chosen by the emperor, but canonically instituted by the pope; whose consistorials and teachers of seminaries are to be appointed by the bishops, but with a reference to the pleasure of the government. These bishops had also the management of the spiritual affairs of their diocese in canonical dependence upon the holy see. Other matters respecting which they could not then agree were left, in hope of some future arrangement. (*k*) A constitution has been given (1833) to the Lutheran Church by the emperor, which is well fitted to preserve order and exclude all innovation. (*l*) Protestantism, although secured in the interior of the empire by long established concessions, and in the German provinces on the Baltic sea by treaties, must nevertheless lose ground with each generation on account of the many laws and civil proceedings in favor of the Established Church. (*m*) In the year 1845 when the Letts and Esthonians were reduced to extreme distress, a rumor became current among them that those who would pass over to the orthodox faith should obtain possession of the landed property of their

f) Ue. d. Wiederverein, d. Uniaten m. d. rechtgläub. K. (from the Nordischen Biene) ü. v. A. v. Oldekop. Stuttg. 1840. A. Z. 1839. Suppl. N. 328ss. 1840. N. 151.

g) A. Z. 1840. N. 157. 169. 171. A. KZ. 1840. N. 86.

h) Allocution of Nov. 22: A. Z. 1839. N. 337. of July 23: Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 65. Esposizione corredata di documenti sulle incessanti cure della stessa Santità sua a riparo dei gravi mali, da cui è afflitta la rel. cattolica negli imperiali e reali dominii di Russia e di Polonia. Rom. 1842. f. Einsied. 1842.—(*A. Theiner*) Die neust. Zust. d. kath. K. beider Ritus in Polen u. Russl. s. Kathar. II. Augsb. 1841. 2 vols. (*Sausen*) Der Czar u. der Nachfolger d. h. Petrus. Mayence. 1843. Bruns; Rep. 1845. vol. I. p. 179ss. II, 273ss.

i) D. A. Z. 1846. N. 36. Suppl. 57. 70. 118s.

k) Alloc. of July 3, 1848: Brl. KZ. 1848. N. 62. A. Z. 1848. N. 203. Suppl.

l) Ev. KZ. 1834. N. 5ss. *Rühr*, Pr. Bibl. 1834. P. 4. p. 557ss.

m) Comp. A. Z. 1840. Suppl. N. 153s. 168s.

German landlords, and some fanciful hopes were held up to them connected with the Grand Duke Michael (according to Daniel XI, 39. XII, 1). Fifteen thousand peasants were accordingly confirmed, and churches were built by the government for these new converts in all parts of the country. (*n*) German princesses, when they became connected with the family of the Czar, were obliged to convince themselves that the Evangelical Church was in error. (*o*)

§ 485. *Greece and Turkey.*

Neander, Progr. d. Bibelges. Brl. 1830. *Kist*, de Eccl. graeca, div. providentiae teste. Lugd. 1831. *Hartley*, Researches in Greece. Lond. 1831. (Ev. KZ. 1832. N. 12ss.) *F. Fenger*, om det Nygraeske Folk og Sprog. Kjöbenh. 1832. (Ev. KZ. 1832. N. 37s.) *F. Thiersch*, Essai sur l'état actuel de la Grèce. 1833. 2 vols. *G. L. v. Maurer*, d. griech. Volk in öffentl. kirchl. u. privatr. Bezieh. Heidlb. 1835. 2 vols. *J. Wenger*, Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. gegenw. Geistes u. Zust. d. gr. K. in Gr. u. d. Türkei. Brl. 1839. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XV. p. 183ss. XVII. 185. 255ss. XVIII. 177ss. XXVII. 172. 276ss. (According to Brandis. Lps. 1842. vol. III.) XXXVIII. p. 187. 269ss. L'égl. orthod. d'Orient. Athen. 1853.— *W. Klose*, d. Christen in d. Türkei (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1850. II. 2.) [*S. G. Howe*, Hist. Sketch of the Gr. Rev. New York. 1828. 8. *T. Gordon*, H. of the Gr. Rev. &c. Lond. 1842. 2 ed. 2 vols. 8.]

In the spring of 1821, when the Greek people awoke from their long slumber, the bishops pronounced their blessings upon the insurrection. The execution of the aged patriarch, *Gregory*, on Easter Sunday, before the gates of his own palace, tore asunder the last link which connected a down-trodden people with their tyrants. It is true that a policy quite foreign to all Christian sympathies prevented an earlier termination of their sanguinary and tedious troubles, and allowed Greece to receive boundaries which nature never intended for it; but it soon entered unavoidably into the magic circle of European improvement, and with all the energy of an independent nation endowed with noble capacities were produced the first shoots of an ecclesiastical literature. (*a*) In the zeal of the people for liberal views, the civil and judicial authority of the episcopal court was speedily broken down. (*b*) As it was impossible that the Church should continue dependent upon a patriarch appointed by the sultan, an assembly of bishops at Syra (Aug. 1833) was directed by the government to declare, that the orthodox Church of Greece acknowledged no head but Jesus Christ, that the administration of the Church belonged to the king, and was to be carried on under the direction of the sacred canons by a Synod of Bishops permanently appointed, but annually renewed by him. (*c*) By this measure on the part of a Catholic government, and by the abolition of the inferior convents, to obtain an ecclesiastical and school fund (1834), the feelings of the nation in behalf of its Church were wounded. The first exhibition of its displeasure with respect to the new improvements was made against the schools and books of the English and American missions. (*d*) The conspiracy of the orthodox Hetairia

n) A. Z. 1845. N. 218s. Brl. KZ. 1845. N. 89. 100s. 1846. N. 4. 1847. N. 67. 1849. N. 97. 99.

o) E. g. Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXXIII. p. 86ss.

a) *Rizo Neroulos*, Cours de littérature grecque moderne, publ. par J. Humbert, Gen. 1827. Wiederanfänge d. theol. Lit. in Griechenl. (Stud. u. Krit. 1841. P. 1.) Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, ed. *G. A. Rallis* et *M. Bollis*, Athen. 1852. 2 vols. *b*) *Geib*, (p. 357.) p. 113ss.

c) A. KZ. 1833. N. 191.

d) A. Z. 1837. Suppl. N. 184. A. KZ. 1837. N. 32. D. A. Z. 1845. Suppl. N. 862. The chief organ, ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ σάλπιγξ, edited by the monk Germanos.

was designed to destroy every thing of a foreign nature which had been forced upon the nation, and to place the Church (1839) under the jurisdiction of the patriarch Gregory VI. (*e*) This prelate published a challenge against Luther, prohibited the circulation of translations of the Scriptures, (*f*) and forbade the nuptial benediction upon mixed marriages in the Ionian Islands. For these proceedings he was, at the request of the English ambassador, deposed (1840). (*g*) The revolution of 1843, professing to act in the name of national freedom, threw away all the supports of German education and improvement. The Constitution of 1844 recognized the orthodox Oriental Church as established by law, required that the successor to the throne should be a member of that Church, and while it gave free toleration to other forms of worship, it forbade efforts to proselyte in their favor. The ecclesiastical statute of 1845 gave to the Synod a position much less dependent upon the government. (*h*) It was recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople through the mediation of Russia (1850), on the condition that its holy oil should always be obtained from the mother Church, but it was itself to be chosen by the clergy, and the Bishop of Attica was to be its perpetual president. (*i*) The city of Athens, then the principal town, was dedicated to another Virgin, (*k*) but there is a prophecy current among the people that at some future day the cross will be fixed upon the Church of St. Sophia. A tranquil existence has finally been secured to the Christians under the dominion of the sultan, in consequence of his enfeebled condition, the European reforms which he has introduced, and the dependence of his empire upon Christian powers. By the Hattisherif of Gülhane (1839) a promise was given that the life, honor, and property of all should be secure, and that Moslem and Rayah should be equal in the eye of the law, (*l*) but the government is sometimes unable to prevent individual instances of abuse from the corruption of the inferior authorities, and the fanaticism of the people. (*m*) It is, however, the power under which all the different parties of the Oriental Church, and the Franks under their respective consuls, find a residence, with no power to injure but only to hate each other. The position of the porte even with respect to the holy places, for the keys of which Russia, in behalf of the newly acquired rights of the Greek Church, and France, in behalf of the long established rights of the Latin Church, contended with each other, is only that of a mediator. (*n*) But when Russia claimed to be the permanent protector of the orthodox Christians who constitute a large majority of the population of European Turkey, it has, relying upon the aid of Christian powers, indignantly repelled the demand as a virtual requirement that it should resign its sovereignty, and the Czar has therefore proclaimed against it a holy war (1853).

e) A. Z. 1840. N. 27. 30. *f*) Acta hist. ecc. 1837. p. 881ss. *g*) A. KZ. 1840. N. 86.
h) A. D. Z. 1845. N. 198. *i*) Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 36. *k*) A. KZ. 1822. N. 48.
l) Beitrr. z. e. Gesch. d. neusten Reformen d. osm. Reiches. In Verbind. m. Kamis Efendi. ed. by Petermann. Brl. 1842.
m) (*C. Paczek,*) Die Christen in Bosnien. Vienna. 1853.
n) Brl. KZ. 1850. N. 94. 1851. N. 32. 1852. N. 93. 1853. N. 44. comp. 47.

CHAP. VIII.—COMMON DETAILS AND MUTUAL RELATIONS.

§ 486. *Catholicism and Protestantism.*

In Germany and in France where the Catholic and Protestant churches stand side by side in the enjoyment of equal rights, and where the national character has no decisive inclination for either, there must naturally be an intellectual conflict between them, frequent attempts at accommodation, and mutual aggressions of a proselyting spirit. In the polemical writings of Protestants, Catholicism is represented as a system of priestcraft, or at best as an antiquated form which could have had no existence except when the mind of man was in a state of pupilage. The Catholics call the Reformation the second fall of man, and revive the old but now especially obnoxious reproach that the Reformation must necessarily end with a revolution. On the other hand, the advocate of Protestantism shows that whatever is true in this assertion threatens no danger to any legal form of civil government, but only to Catholicism, and that as far as it is untrue facts show that the home of revolutions is in Catholic countries. (*a*) This subject was discussed with more calmness by literary men among Protestants, since, instead of contemplating it simply as a polemical matter, they investigated the respective creeds, taking a purely historical view of the different systems of faith, and regarding them as points of development for the Christian spirit. The learning of a Church which regards all beyond itself as only a falsehood, and under condemnation, could never entertain such a train of thought except in appearance only. (*b*) Besides, that was often attacked which no one ever defended, on the one side unchangeable Lutheranism, and on the other an infallible papacy. The controversy was also much embittered by the exaggerated ecclesiasticism which prevailed in both parties. Even a Judas-literature became connected with the controversy between the two churches. (*c*) To such as had become dissatisfied with the creeds of both sides it seemed easy to become reconciled. Such was the origin (1797) of a party, *Christo sacrum*, in the French Reformed Church at Delft, the object of which was to form a common ground on which all might unite, by setting forth a few general doctrines relating to the divinity of the Scriptures, and redemption by Christ, without requiring any to renounce the Churches in which they had been respectively born. It went indeed so far as to assemble after its public recognition (1802) a few members of different churches in their house of worship, but it was universally rejected by all churches, and never became any thing but a very inferior sect. (*d*) The *Freemasons' Lodges* originated among the Societies of architects of the middle ages, and even in the new spiritualized form which their craft received from England, where it was extensively propagated (1717), it kept aloof from all the contentions of the dif-

a) *Tzschirner*, Prot. u. Kath. a. d. Standp. d. Politik. Lps. 1822. 4 ed. 1824.

b) *Moehler*, (p. 655.) On the other hand: Baur, Nitzsch, Marheineke.

c) Der Protestantismus in s. Selbstauflösung. Schaffh. (1843.) 1846. 2 vols. comp. Brl. KZ. 1846. N. 93.

d) Archiv f. KGesch. vol. I. sect. 2. p. 170ss. sect. 3. p. 155ss. KHist. Arch. 1823. sect. 1. p. 72ss. *Fliedner*, Collectenreise. vol. II. p. 574ss.

ferent churches, and professed in a region far above them to construct the temple of Humanity. For this very reason it was condemned (p. 634) in various papal decrees (1738, 1751, 1829,) which were, however, enforced only in Southern Europe. (*e*) The Evangelical Church Journal also condemned them, and received an answer through an act of the royal family (Nov. 5, 1853). (*f*) The Rationalists on account of their Pelagian tendency, and the Pietists on account of their rigid ecclesiasticism, were accused of an approximation to Catholicism. A few regarded every kind of union as impracticable except by the absorption of one party into the other; (*g*) some believed in a higher development of the present ecclesiastical system, in which the distinctions between the two parties were to be forgotten; while many looked upon these distinctions as salutary in their influence, and indispensable to the completeness of the Christian spirit. (*h*) Persons were frequently induced to pass from one Church to the other by the prospect of some personal advantage, or under the influence of false views. Such instances were tolerated especially in the Catholic Church, on account of their relation to future generations. Others were governed by considerations altogether foreign to Christianity. Such was *Winkelmann* (d. 1768), who thought that the great object of his life, which could be pursued only at Rome, was well worth a mass; especially as he, with all his recollections of pious youthful impressions, was neither a Catholic nor a Protestant, but a contemporary of Pericles. (*i*) But some were really anxious to correct by their own free act what they honestly believed to be the false position in which the accident of birth had placed them. The primary occasion for most of the conversions to Catholicism was that exalted state of artistic or poetic feeling which, when it became depressed, fell into pietism, but which found in the Catholic Church a pleasant and splendid form of life, or at least found deliverance from a state of mere irony, and a position in the earnestness of reality. Another cause was, a natural disposition which was annoyed by the perpetual conflicts and commotions which prevailed in the Protestant Church, and sought peace in a sensuous nearness to the divine, and in an external and infallible authority. It was to this disposition that the faithful *Voss*, who mistook its more profound motive, opposed in a violent manner his Dutch common sense. (*k*) There was also an historical and political spirit, imposed upon by the mediaeval splendor and perfect constitution of the Catholic Church, which might not only be mistaken, but stimulated to further misapprehensions, and so finally conducted to a path which terminated at Rome and Vienna. (*l*) A few aristocrats hoped

e) *Krause*, d. drei ältesten Kunst-Urk. d. F. M. Brüdersch. Drsd. (1810.) 1819. *F. W. Lindner*, Mac Benac. Lps. 1818. Sarsena, Gesch. d. F. M. Ord. Bamb. 1820. 5 ed. Lps. 1835.—M. Bull, Rom. vol. XVIII. p. 212ss. Hist. pol. Bl. vol. VIII. p. 65ss.

f) D. A. Z. 1854. N. 23.

g) (*J. A. Stark.*) Theoduls Gastmahl o. ü. Vereinig. d. Religionssocietäten. Frkf. 1809. 7 ed. 1828.

h) *Planck*, Worte d. Friedens an d. kath. K. gegen ihre Vereinig. m. d. prot. Gött. 1809. Vom Streite d. Kirchen, an den christl. Adel deutscher Nation. Lps. 1827.

i) Brl. Monatschr. vol. XII. p. 56ss. *Goethe*, Winkelm. u. s. Jahrhundert. *Krech*, Erinn. an W. Brl. 1835. 4.

k) Wie ward Fritz Stolberg ein Unfreier? (Sophronizon. 1819. vol. III.) Bestätigung d. Stolb. Umtriebe. Stuttg. 1820.—*A. Nicolovius*, Fr. Leop. G. zu Stolb. Mayence. 1846.

l) *F. Hurter*, d. Antistes H. u. sogen. Amtsbrüder. Schaffh. 1840. *Zehnder*. Ant. H. u. s. verun-

they could get rid of the revolution by forsaking the Reformation. Hackneyed authors, who before knew nothing of religion, found in the Catholic ritual that which interested and satisfied their excited religious wants. (*m*) Sacerdotal Puseyism, and even zealous Lutheranism, estranged as it is from the present Protestant Church, have sometimes conducted their lost sons back to the holy father. (*n*) On the other hand, there were two ways by which a Catholic might be conducted to the Protestant Church. The first was the same feeling which at one time moved the Reformers, a painful sense of sin which found no relief in the works and penances of the Church, and finally betook itself to a simple faith in the Scriptures alone. The other was a development of the spirit of religious independence, which, when it could no longer find complete truth in the doctrines which it had been taught, felt compelled to break loose from an infallible Church. The former path conducted to the old, and the latter to the more recent form of Protestantism. The latter was therefore followed by individuals of a speculative turn of mind, or such as thought themselves to be so, while the former was entered upon as in the time of the Reformation by whole congregations, pervaded at once by the same feeling. In some cases, however, where the feelings of such congregations had not become clearly defined, and the ecclesiastical authorities treated them with mildness, they could sometimes be reconciled with the old Church. (*o*) From the nature of the feelings thus defined we should of course expect to meet with persons of more distinguished reputation among the converts to Catholicism. (*p*) For it was necessary to the pacification of those consciences which were inclined to Catholicism that the precise form should be complied with, and that the person should be a member of the only Church in which salvation could be expected, while the Protestant spirit generally felt that it was every where in the spiritual Church, it would naturally hope to exert a more powerful influence in behalf of truth in its original sphere of life, and it would dread the severe shock occasioned by a change of ecclesiastical relations. Hence generally only such priests as apprehended some overwhelming act of oppression from their ecclesiastical superiors, effected an escape by connecting themselves with the Protestant Church.

glimpften Amtsbr. Sch. 1840.—*Schenkel*, Zerwürfen in Schaffh. u. Hurter's Uebertritt. Bas. 1841. *Hurter*, Geburt u. Wiedergeb. Schaffh. (1845.) 1847. 2 vols.

m) Ida Gräfin *Hahn-Hahn*, von Babylon nach Jerus. Mayence. 1851. [From Babylon to Jerusalem from the Germ. of Countess Ida v. Hahn-Hahn. New York. 1852.] *F. v. Florencourt*, meine Bekehr. z. chr. Lehre u. K. Paderb. 1852.

n) Lütkemüller, unsre Zust. v. Tode z. Auferst. Lps. 1852. Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 86.

o) Geschichtl. Darst. d. Bekehrung d. Fürsten v. Salm-Salm. from the Fr. (Par. 1826.) Jen. 1826.—*Gossner*, Martin Boos. Lps. 1826. [Life & Persecutions of M. B. transl. by Bridges. Lond. 1828. Lond. Chr. Obs. Jan. 1828. (in Littell's Rel. Mag. vol. I. p. 289ss.)] *Henhofer*, cur. Glaubensbek. Heilbr. (1823.) 1824. *Tzschirner*, Rückkehr. kath. Christen in Baden z. ev. Christenth. Lps. 1823. 4. ed. 1824.—Bericht u. Karlshuld by *Pilchtner* vor d. Sammlung ev. Predigten. Barmen. 1837.—*Helferich*, christl. Glaubensb. Friedb. 1835. On the other side: Urkundl. Darst. d. piet. Umtriebe d. vormal. Pfar. Helf. Mayence. 1835.—*J. J. Maurette*, d. Papst u. d. Ev. from the Fr. Heilbr. 1844. 3 ed. 1846. *E. Bruitte*, m. Abschiedswort an Rom. from the Fr. Schleiz. 1844.

p) *F. W. P. v. Ammon*, Gallerie d. merkw. Personen, welche v. d. ev. z. kath. K. übergetreten. Erl. 1838. *J. Hoeninghaus*, chronol. Verzeichniss d. denkw. Bekehr. v. Protest. z. kath. K. Aschaff. 1837. *Nitzsch*, ü. d. Ursachen d. sich mehr. Uebertritte z. rom. K. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. W. 1851. N. 29.)

§ 487. *The Fine Arts. Cont. from* § 378, 390.

Art has generally risen superior to all distinctions of creeds, although the populace of Strasbourg would not tolerate a bust of Luther on the monument of Guttenberg, (*a*) and even some painters have supposed that they could do better justice to the saints when they adored them. Rome became once more the home of the arts of design, when, from the time of Clement XIV., a beautiful temple was opened for the remnants of the old Olympic world, with such an enthusiasm for the arts that it did not shrink from even a sacrilege upon the sarcophagus of the Scipios and of St. Helena. Thorwaldsen was directed by Consalvi to erect a lofty monument on the tomb of the Holy Father Pius VII. in St. Peter's Church. (*b*) When the more recent popular life had been developed, the Church could no longer give existence to the art from its own materials, but it was obliged to be a mere participator in it. By a profound study of the monuments of heathen antiquity, *Winkelmann* rescued the taste for the arts from degenerating into a trifling mannerism. What he could only express in words *Thorwaldsen* embodied in brass and marble. Grecian power and beauty, it is true, were found reproduced in living freshness in his studio, but as an expression of the eternal beauty of nature they were exalted to their most significant form when employed in the utterance of Christian ideas. Gods and heroes were therefore to be seen there by the side of our Lord and the apostles. (*c*) At a still earlier period *Dannecker* gave a sublime representation of Christ in the character of the world's teacher; his John is a son of thunder reflecting upon the mystery of the Trinity; and finally he is himself exhibited, when an old man, contemplating the smile of a Christian angel of death. (*d*) After some literary attempts to discover the general basis of all art in piety, (*e*) an association of German painters was formed at Rome (s. 1810), which endeavored to revive the art in the Christian feelings and ecclesiastical forms of the middle ages. There is a kind of spectral life in the exaggerated productions of this *Romantic School*. But the great masters of it have each in his own way revived the splendors not only of the middle ages but of antiquity. Thus Overbeck has presented a delicate pious fervor, and Cornelius, cheerfulness and sublimity. These were followed by Henry Hess, who added beauty to the old ecclesiastical style; Kaulbach, who has painted the minds and general thoughts of men; and Lessing, who has exhibited Protestantism in the persons of its forerunners. A German Union for religious art in the Evangelical Church (1851) evinces an inclination to pay a long standing debt of Protestantism. (*f*) In connection with this interest in the middle ages the art of painting on glass has been once more discovered. The Cathedral at Milan was completed by Napoleon. Louis of Bavaria restored the old splendor of the cathedrals of

a) A. KZ. 1840. N. 128. 1842. N. 204s.

b) Noticed indeed in A. KZ. of 1830. N. 27. but not erected until 1831.

c) *Thiele*, Thorwaldsen's Leben u. Werke. Lps. 1832s. 2 vols. f.

d) *J. J. Hess*, ü. Danneckers Christus. Zür. 1826. *C. Grüneisen* u. *Th. Wagner*, Dann. Werke. Hamb. (1842.) 4.

e) *W. H. Wackenroder*, Herzensergiessungen e. kunstliebenden Klosterbr. ed. by Tieck. Brl. 1797.

f) Brl. KZ. 1852. N. 20. 24. 32.

his kingdom, and had all the different forms of the ecclesiastical styles of former times represented in the churches of his capital. Frederic William III. had the Cathedral of Cologne once more repaired (since 1824), and Frederic William IV. laid the foundation stone for its completion (Sept. 4th, 1842), that it might be a work of brotherly love for all Germans. (*g*) Isaac's Church of Petersburg raised its cupolas and granite pillars more proudly than any other church of Greco-Roman architecture. The three great masters of instrumental music at Vienna have contributed none of their peculiarities nor their highest efforts to the Church. *Haydn's* Creation, great as it is, is nevertheless only a great opera, in which the Lord God with his angels are represented. (*h*) *Mozart* did not compose his Requiem until he was dying, (*i*) and *Beethoven*, in his own exalted sphere, felt that he was a priest of God, but not in an ecclesiastical sense, and his Christ on the Mount of Olives and his Second Mass were indeed a Creation, but they never reached their seventh day. *Felix Mendelssohn*, who had been educated in the rigid school of Sebastian Bach, and amid the glories of Handel's art, has given a harmonious expression to the direct Word of God, combining profound devotional earnestness with cheerful artistic beauty, especially in the lyrical strains of his Psalms, and in the more dramatic works Paul and Elijah. Like Raphael, however, he was taken away from earth (1847) before he had realized in *his* language the complete ideal of his Christ. While the friends of art in Protestant Germany, though generally without reference to the Church, labored to promote an understanding and love of the old ecclesiastical muse, (*k*) the Italian churches resounded with the most frivolous opera melodies. The papal chapel alone preserved the old serious style, though much of the skilful performance of former days was lost. When the mode of singing hymns in quartettes, which, in some Reformed churches, and particularly in Switzerland, was an inheritance from their ancestors, was first introduced by an association in Stuttgard, and recommended by the Synod of Wurtemberg (1823), many voices were raised against it on the ground that such a style of singing was too artistic for a congregation. (*l*) Liturgical forms of divine service were brought into use first at Berlin, and afterwards in other places, in which the old Catholic as well as Protestant masters of Church music were revived. (*m*)

§ 488. *Emancipation and Conversion of the Jews.*

Riesser, der Jude. Altona. 1832ss. *G. W. Böhmer*, Gleichstellung der Juden. Gött. 1833. *Jost*, neuere Gesch. d. Israel. 1815-45. Brl. 1846. 2 vols.

Since Moses Mendelssohn (d. 1786) and Lessing gave to each other the hand of fellowship the Jews have participated with much eagerness and suc-

g) Brl. KZ. 1842. N. 73. 1848. N. 69. 1849. N. 80.

[*h*) *L. A. C. Bombet*, Life of Haydn, in Letters. Prov. 1820. 12.

i) *E. Holmes*, Life & Corr. of Mozart. New York. 1845. 12.]

k) (*Thibaut*,) Ueber Reinheit in d. Tonkunst. Heidlb. (1825. 1826.) 1851.

l) *Kocher*, d. Tonk. in d. K. Stuttg. 1823. A. KZ. 1823. N. 7. 105. 1825. N. 45.—1824. N. 122. 1825. N. 28. 60. 1826. N. 32.

m) Ev. KZ. 1844. N. 518. 1845. N. 15. 105. 1851. N. 48.

cess in the improvements of modern times. (*a*) A rational tendency has thus been formed which exhibits a purely biblical literature, and withdraws the mind entirely from the Talmudic institutes. In its struggles against the old Rabbinism it has founded a new Temple with a simple form of public worship in the language of the people. Some attempts to accomplish a still more extensive reform were made, and it was found that in doing so either the Mosaic system without circumcision (to which, however, Christian governments compelled the Jews to adhere) might be made consistent with an unlimited progress in improvements (Frankfort, 1840), or their national distinctions might be abandoned, and they could still adhere to the religious character peculiar to Judaism (Berlin, 1846). (*b*) The educated Jews on the west of the Vistula have generally given up their religious national peculiarities, and are not prevented by their adherence to Moses from believing also in Christ. They stand therefore, with respect to Christianity, precisely where Moses Mendelssohn stood. It was natural that persons in this condition should begin to demand a complete equality of civil rights. The watchword—civil and religious freedom for all the world! gained a powerful party in favor of such an *emancipation*. *Napoleon* called a meeting of the great Sanhedrim (1806), (*c*) and completed the work of Jewish emancipation. His enactments on this subject have continued in force until the present time in Holland and Belgium. In North America their complete equality follows from the essential nature of the Constitution. Even in German countries the civil condition of the Jews has been much improved in various ways since the time of *Joseph II.*, but their complete equality with other citizens has never been conceded except for a brief period while the French were masters of the country. Against such an equality it has been urged by a party which on other subjects has shown a liberal spirit, that the Jews are still in every sense foreigners, and therefore entitled to hospitality but not to the rights of citizens, and that the governments of the country were founded upon Christian principles, which, if not endangered would at least be denied by the proposed concession. (*d*) The assemblies of deputies, as far as they were not influenced by the fear of the Jewish spirit of speculation, were inclined to concede to them their full rights of citizenship. The Prussian law of 1847, although it commenced with the principle of equal duties and equal rights, made many exceptions in consistency with what were supposed to be the demands of a Christian state, and concluded with a special provision for the separate existence of a foreign nation in exclusive Jewish communities. (*e*)

a) *J. Heinemann*, M. Mendelss. Lps. 1831. *Steinheim*, M. M. u. s. Schule. Hamb. 1840. *B. Auerbach*, d. Judenth. u. d. neueste Lit. Stuttg. 1836. [*M. Samuels*, Mem. of M. M. & Corresp. with Lavater. Lond. 1827. 2 ed. 8.]

b) *H. A. Francolm*, d. rationale Judenth. Brsl. 1840. Nethiboth Olam. Vergleich zw. d. modernen Judenth. u. d. Rel. Mosis u. d. Proph. (from the Engl.) Frkf. 1839.—*A. Fränkel*, d. mod. Judenth.; d. Frankf. Ref. u. d. neue Zeit. Reutl. 1844.—D. A. Z. 1846. N. 41.

c) Procès verbal des séances de l'assemblée des deputés franç. professant la rel. juive. Par. 1806. Revue des deux mondes. 1852. Sept. 15.

d) *Paulus*, die jüd. Nationalabsondrung. Heidlb. 1831. On the other side: *Krug*, Henoticon. Entw. e. Religionsgesetzes f. christl. Staaten. Lps. 1836.

e) D. A. Z. 1847. N. 161. 219. *M. Veit*, d. Entwurf e. Verordn. f. d. Verh. d. Juden in Preussen. Lps. 1847. *Stahl*, d. christl. Staat u. sein Verh. z. Deismus u. Judenth. Brl. 1847.

The National Assembly in St. Paul's Church, over which on one occasion a Jew presided, granted by an almost unanimous vote full rights of citizenship to the Jews; (*f*) but the execution of this enactment has been almost universally prevented in the German States by Christians belonging to the educated and the ignorant classes. (*g*) In England, Parliament has removed the civil disabilities of the Jews (since 1829), but the oath of adherence to the Christian faith required of all members of Parliament has prevented their admission there. And yet the city of London has repeatedly chosen a Rothschild for its representative (since 1847). The Lower House has more than once adopted Russell's proposal to change the form of this oath, but the Lords have hitherto rejected it, on the ground that the admission of a Jew would be an insult to the Son of God, and the commencement of an atheistic government. (*h*) While the rationalist party took no special interest in the work of converting rationalist Jews, (*i*) the pietists entered upon it with peculiar zeal. Societies of the *Friends of Israel* were formed for this purpose in England (1808), in America, and in some of the German cities. (*k*) The result of these efforts proves that aside from those Jews who live in countries not professedly Christian, and those who are already seeking salvation, and therefore need instruction or protection, more may be expected from the power of Christian improvements in Europe, under the influence of which the Jews reside, than from any direct attempts at conversion, against which they have such prejudices. The inhabitants of the Ghetto in Rome were compelled once more in 1823 to listen every Sabbath to a sermon for their conversion. (*l*) In the East the legend of the middle ages with respect to the fanatical use of Christian blood was now revived, and used to justify every kind of cruelty and horrible outrage against the Jews (1840). (*m*)

§ 489. *Abolition of Slavery.*

E. Biot, de l'abolition de l'esclavage ancien en Occident. Par. 1840. *Th. F. Buxton*, d. afrik Sclavenhandel u. s. Abhülfe from the Engl. by Julius. Lps. 1841. [The African Slave Trade and its abettors. Lond. 1841. 8.]

The Church has always endeavored to mitigate the evils of slavery (p. 138), and as soon as it possessed the power, to restrain them by legal enactments. But it was not until some time in the middle ages that the last remnants of European slavery were abolished by law. After Europe had for three centuries gathered up the riches of America by means of the newly introduced slavery of the African (p. 338), the great principles of universal liberty combined with those of the gospel in demanding the emancipation of the negro. "A party of the Saints," as they were called in derision, which had sprung

f) Stenograph. Bericht. 1848. vol. III. p. 1754ss.

g) A. KZ. 1851. N. 119. Brl. KZ. 1851. N. 83.

h) A. Z. 1834. N. 184. 1836. N. 381. (Jewish Disabilities Bill.) D. A. Z. 1847. N. 362. 1849. N. 167.

i) (*Friedländer*) Sendschr. an Tellern von einigen Hausvätern jüd. Rel. Brl. 1799. comp. Tholuck, verm. Schrr. vol. II. p. 126.

k) Rheinw. Rep. vol. XXIII. p. 84, 186ss. vol. XXV. p. 82, 274ss. vol. XXVIII. p. 273ss. Die Freunde Isr. Nachrichten v. d. Ausbr. d. Reiches G. Bas. 1841. 3 P. *Gaussen*, d. Verkünd d. Ev. unter d. Juden. from the French. Hamb. 1844.

l) A. KZ. 1823. N. 41. *m*) A. Z. 1840. N. 140s. & others.

from the Methodistic movement, contended for a long time almost hopelessly in Parliament against the existence and the necessity of slavery in the colonies. Their speeches awakened hopes among the slaves, which, in some instances led to insurrections. During one of these, among the negroes of Demarara, the passions of the people became so inflamed that a missionary whose name was Smith was condemned, and died in confinement (1824) before the king's pardon arrived from England. When the tumults among the slaves of Jamaica had been quelled, the chapels of the Baptists and Methodists on the island were demolished, and the lives of their preachers were in peril because they had preached that all the children of God were free. (*a*) The abolition of the African slave trade by political treaties (1830) was found to be entirely inadequate to effect the object at which it aimed, as long as slavery itself enjoyed the protection of the laws. (*b*) After years of preparation in various ways, the English nation made an offering of a hundred and twenty millions of dollars to indemnify the masters, that after a certain time of preparation by instruction the slaves might be introduced to the privileges of citizens, and that all of them might be declared free in the colonies of England after the 1st of August, 1834. As the slaves had become Christianized by such means and by previous efforts, their emancipation was found to be practicable and safe. (*c*) An Order was established by the Abbess Javohey for the purchase of negroes in the French colonies with a view to educate them, and thus prepare them for civil freedom, and its efforts have been attended (s. 1833) with some degree of success. (*d*) A society for the extinction of slavery was formed at Paris (1835). The constitution of the Republic of 1848 abolished all slavery on French territory, and the National Assembly of 1849 decreed that all losses of the owners of slaves in consequence of emancipation should be compensated from the public treasury. Denmark declared that all children of slaves born after the passage of the act of manumission should be free, and fixed upon a certain year (1847) as the definite limit beyond which all slavery was to cease throughout its colonies. (*e*) In the Southern portion of the United States the material interests which would be seriously injured by the abolition of slavery, came into violent collision with the enthusiasm which demanded that all who had been redeemed by the blood of Christ should, at all hazards, be set at liberty. The sovereign people began (1835) to hang those clergymen who preached against slavery, and the negroes who listened to them, in accordance with their own forms of justice (Lynch's law.) (*f*) Gregory XVI. having reviewed the decrees of his predecessors, condemned the trade in negroes as utterly inconsistent with Christianity (1839); (*g*) but instead of being diminished, its horrors became more dreadful.

a) A. KZ. 1824. N. 93. Ev. KZ. 1832. N. 93. *b*) A. Z. 1835. N. 142.
c) Abschaffung d. Sklav. in d. Colonien. (Ausland. 1834. N. 358ss.)
d) A. Z. 1835. Suppl. N. 149s. *e*) D. A. Z. 1847. N. 252.
f) A. Z. 1835. N. 244. *g*) A. KZ. 1840. N. 19.

§ 490. *St. Simonism and Socialism.*

As civil liberty triumphantly advanced, and taught men that they had an equal right to the natural productions of the soil, and as at the same time industry became freed from its trammels, and, by the progress which it caused in the natural sciences, produced reciprocal advantages, the wealth of the world accumulated in the possession of the few, and threw the masses of society, on the other hand, into a state of the most hopeless want. (*a*) Under these circumstances, the idea arose with great power, especially in the minds of many in France and England, either by a social revolution to introduce a community and a just distribution of goods (Communism), or by an organization of labor into free associations for trade and subsistence, to assist those portions of society which have been oppressed, in obtaining a proper share of the enjoyments and improvements which are now exclusively in the possession of a few (Socialism). (*b*) Christianity was found compatible with such efforts, and even countenanced them to some extent, by the aid of such facts in its primitive period as the compassion of Jesus for the poor, his indignation against the wealthy, one attempt at a community of goods, and in the history of its orders and sects having much to say of a voluntary surrender of wealth, and a community of goods in a variety of forms. (*c*) But as Christianity was interwoven with all the existing relations of society, and Pantheism had now made the idea of renouncing the pleasures of this life intolerable, by destroying all hope of another world, Communism has, in the person of its first leaders, who fell under the guillotine of a merely political revolution in France, (*d*) for the most part renounced all connection with Christianity. (*e*) But as the unavoidable necessity of some kind of religion was perceived, the idea was adopted of making it the basis of the new order of things. Accordingly, in France, Count *St. Simon* gave to his plan for improving the condition of laborers by elevating industry to the highest possible privileges, the name of a religion—a new Christianity. (*f*) When he died, in consequence of an attempt at suicide (May 19, 1825), a *single* disciple, Olinde Rodrigues, stood by his death-bed. The new worldly gospel which had been introduced in the midst of the liberty and the excitements immediately following the revolution of July, was proclaimed by sermons, missions, and polemical treatises sent forth from Paris. It declared that Catholicism was in its dotage, that Protestantism was a mere negation, that Christ

a) The Claims of Labor. Lond. 1845. *Engels*, d. Lage d. arbeit classe in Engl. Lps. 1845.

b) *L. Stein*, d. Social u. Commun. d. heutigen Frankr. Lps. 1843. (*Bluntschli.*) Die Communisten in d. Schweiz nach d. b. Weitling vorgefund. Papieren. Commissionsbericht. Zür. 1843.

c) *C. B. Hundeshagen*, d. Commun. u. d. ascetische Socialreform im Laufe d. christl. Jahrhh. (Stud. u. Krit. 1845. H. 3s.) *J. P. Romang*, d. Bedeut. d. Comm. a. d. Gesichtsp. d. Christenth. u. d. sittl. Cultur. Zür. 1847.—*Proudhon*, d. Sonntagsfeier. a. d. Fr. Ratisb. 1850.

d) *F. N. Babœuf*, le tribun du peuple. Par. (1795.) *F. Buonarotti*, la conspiration de Babœuf. Brux. 1828.

e) (P. 554s.) Comp. Generalbericht an d. Staatsr. v. Neuchatel ü. d. geh. deutsche Propaganda. Zür. 1846. Ev. KZ. 1846. N. 98.

f) Introd. aux travaux scientifiques du 19. S. Par. 1807. 2 vols. 4. Reorganisation de la societe Europ. Par. 1814. Catéchisme des industriels. Par. 1824. Le nouveau christianisme. Par. 1825. (Œuvres p. O. Rodrigues. Par. 1832. 2 vols. Extracts in Buchholz neuer Monatschr. vol. 2ıs. 3ıs.)

had provided only for the spiritual portion of our nature, and that St. Simon was about to reinvest the flesh in its rights. Simonism became, on the one hand, a deification of the world, and on the other, a consecration of industry as a series of operations upon the divinity itself. Its general law was, that after the law of inheritance had been abolished, every individual should receive from the common stock in proportion to his capacity, and every capacity according to its works. This principle was to be carried out under the direction of a hierarchy, whose arbitrary power was concealed under tirades about love and self-sacrifice. (*g*) Even noble minds were sometimes captivated by the unsparing manner in which the evils of the present state of society were laid bare, by the substitution of merit for the accident of birth, and the reinvestiture of the disinherited son of European society in the rights of a man. The boldest language which this spirit of the age ventured to use, was that in which an exclusive attention to material interests was dignified with the name of religion. But when *Enfantin*, one of the leaders of this party, a stately and energetic but narrow-minded man, in his character of the highest revelation of the Deity, bestowed his principal attentions upon women, and, as their Messiah, made woman free by destroying the restraints of marriage, and aiming to attain privileges like those of Mohammed, a schism was produced (Nov., 1831), and Rodrigues proclaimed that Simonism had apostatized from St. Simon. The saloon of the Simonists was closed by order of the government, and they were themselves arraigned before the legal tribunals for propagating principles dangerous to morality. Their condemnation (Aug., 1832) was a convenient kind of martyrdom, and the supreme Father Enfantin still continued the object of a confiding veneration to all true believers. (*h*) But the public prominence which their hierarchy and morality had attained, destroyed all public confidence, and their monastic seclusion, their costume, and their phraseology became a matter of general ridicule. (*i*) *Robert Owen* (b. 1772), a benevolent manufacturer of England, became convinced, by observing the poverty and unhappiness of those around him, that man had been conducted by the present system of civilization to the very verge of an abyss. After vainly attempting to regenerate human society on his own possessions in England (since 1800) and in North America (1828), he turned his attention, by means of lectures, tracts, and missionaries, to the neglected portion of the English nation. He contended, that instead of standing in the way of one another, men should cooperate and enjoy the fruit of their common toil; that instead of the present system of unnatural marriages, there should be a free choice of kindred spirits; and that instead of families, there should be congregations. So far as our knowledge at present extends, we have no certainty that the existence

g) Doctrine de St. Sim. Par. 1828. ed. 3. 1831. vol. I. Communion générale de la famille de St. S. Par. 1831. *J. Le Chevalier*, rel. St. Simonienne. Enseignement central. Par. 1831. (Zeitschr. f. hist. Th. vol. I. Part 2.) Association Universelle. Par. 1831.

h) *Le Chevalier*, sur la division. Par. 1832. Procès des St. S. Par. 1832.

i) *Carové*, d. St. Sim. u. d. neuere franz. Phil. Lps. 1831. *Bretschneider*, d. St. S. u. d. Christenth. Lps. 1832. *M. Veit*, St. Simon u. d. St. Simonisten. Lps. 1834. *Matter*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1832. P. 1. *Kapff*, in d. Tüb. Zeitsch. 1832. P. 2.

of man is protracted beyond the present life, and hence every religion which leads the mind beyond this world is a delusion. Men are responsible to no superior being; but should they be placed from childhood in right circumstances, without the perverting influence of poverty and ignorance, they would be animated by a spirit of kindness toward every living thing, which would render any division of property entirely unnecessary. (*k*) This scheme of Socialism found great favor (since 1836) among those who were engaged in manufactures. Simonism had been utterly ruined by the laughter of the French people, and it was perfectly safe for the government to confide the rectification of Owen's theories to the sound sense of the English people. But the dangerous spirit of Communism is still undermining the foundations of European civilization, and has not yet been allayed by the higher authority of the State, nor by the benevolent power of Christianity. (*l*)

§ 491. *The Holy Alliance.*

Krug, la sainte All. o. Denkmal d. h. Bundes. Lps. 1816. (Gesamm. Schrr. vol. III.) Archiv d. h. Bundes. Munich. 1818. Notiz ü. Alex. Jena. 1828. p. 29ss. *Eylert*, Friedr. Wilh. III. vol. II. Abth. 2. p. 248ss.—*F. F. Fleck*, d. Krieg u. d. Ewige Friede. Lps. 1849.

Under the influence of the Emperor *Alexander*, then consoling himself for his lost ideals, and seeking religious instruction in the society of Madame de Krudener (p. 595), (*a*) the princes of Europe, with the exception of the King of England, the Pope, and the Sultan, organized a Holy Alliance (1815), that the members of it might become a great Christian family, in which, regardless of the various ecclesiastical divisions, the law of Christian love might be made the supreme law of nations. The statesmen of Europe smiled at the strange language; the Holy Alliance in its actual operation, soon turned out to be very much like other holy leagues of former times, and it finally dwindled imperceptibly away (since 1830). Monarchs belonging to the three Churches of Christendom in 1840, even conquered the Holy Land for the Turks. And yet this ideal thus involuntarily recognized, or in the commotions of an extraordinary period rapidly vanishing, is an everlasting truth, and a prophecy of a future reality. For the accomplishment of what Henry IV. and Elizabeth once had in view, (*b*) and respecting which many philosophers have dreamed, an annual Congress of the friends of peace has been formed (since 1843), under the influence of an American association of Quakers (since 1815). The advocates of this movement declare, that the welfare of Europe is sacrificed to sustain the expense of an armed peace establishment; that the principles of Christianity utterly forbid war; and that all the disputes which arise between different governments, may be

k) Ev. KZ. 1839. N. 43. A. KZ. 1840. N. 31. 50. Brl. KZ. 1840. N. 22. Rheinw. Rep. 1841. vol. XXXII. p. 179ss. 242ss. [*R. D. Owen*, Book of the New Mor. World. N. York. 1844. New View of Society. N. York. 1825. 12. Debate with Campbell. Cinc. 1830.]

l) P. 591. *Hirscher* (p. 654.) *A. Vinet*, d. Social in s. Princip. from the Fr. by Hofmeister, with Vorw. by *A. Neander*, Brl. 1849. *H. Merz*, Armuth u. Christenth. Stuttg. 1849. *H. Arnim-Blumberg*, d. höhern Stände wie sie sein sollten u. wie sie sind. Brl. 1851.

a) *C. H. Eynard*, Vie de Me. de Krudener. Par. 1849. 2 vols.

b) *G. G. Gervinus*, Einl. in d. Gesch. d. 19. Jahrh. Lps. 1853. p. 194s. [Introd. to the Hist. of the 19th Cent., from the Germ. of Gervinus. Lond. 1853. 12. p. 75.]

brought to an amicable termination by the decisions of arbitrators. (*c*) The declamations of this Congress, and Elihu's pipe of peace, have been made the subject of general derision, for even Christ has brought a sword into our world; but the gospel, attended by an advancing civilization, holds up this Peace of God, this holy alliance of the nations, as the great ideal which it perpetually strives to attain.

c) A. KZ. 1850. N. 121. [*E. Burritt*, Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad, with Life, by Mary Howitt. Boston. 1853 12. *T. C. Upham*, Manual of Peace. N. York. 1836. 8. *C. Sumner*, The Grandeur of Nations. Boston. 1847. (Orat. and Addresses. Bost. 1850. 12.) *J. Dymond*, Accordance of War with Chr. Philad. 1836. 12.]

APPENDIX.

[Some of the first pages of this translation were stereotyped before the seventh German edition was announced in this country. The following is nearly all the additional matter in the course of those pages, and *all* which seemed of importance.]

P. 7, the author says of Matthias Flacius and Caesar Baronius, that they "were agreed in acknowledging the authority of the primitive Church and its dogmas, and in regarding the history of the Church as a conflict between Christ and Satan; but according to Baronius, Christ, though sometimes slumbering in his little vessel, has conducted it safely through every storm; while, according to Flacius, Antichrist has set up his seat of power in the midst of the Church itself."

Add to the last sentence of § 11: "The necessities of modern times have been provided for especially by the graceful work of *Berault Bercastel*, (*a*) by the compilation of *Henrion*, (*b*) and by *Rohrbacher*, (*c*) whose labors display a considerable sympathy with the researches of German scholars."

Near the middle of p. 10, Neander is said to have given to the pietistic school before represented by Milner, "a scientific character, by uniformly referring to the original authorities, by entering heartily into the peculiarities and earnestly developing the doctrines of past times, and by giving prominence to long-neglected representations of the Christian life, as they were variously exhibited in particular individuals of uncommon talents. He displays a confidence in Christianity as a divine leaven, which must gradually pervade all human affairs; and though affectionately attached to the Church as the fellowship of the saints, he is tolerant toward all who oppose it on merely doctrinal grounds, and he clothes his descriptions with an ample and devotional, but unassuming, simple, and natural oriental drapery. (*d*) In the same spirit, *Jacobi* has commenced a Text-Book, in which general principles

a) Hist. de l'église. Par. 1778-91. 24 vols. With Contin. by *Pelier de Lacroix*, *Robiano*, etc.

b) New ed. Hist. eccl. depuis la creation jusqu'au pontificat de Pie IX., publiée par *Migne*, Par. 1852. vol. I. (To be completed in 25 vols.)

c) Hist. Universelle de l'égl. Par. 1842-48. 29 vols.

d) The 6th vol. of Neander's Hist. of the Chr. Rel. until 1517, was left in a fragmentary state, and has been ed. by *K. F. T. Schneider*, 2 ed. 1-4 vol. 1842-47. [and has been transl. by *Torrey*, N. Y. 1854.]--*Hagenbach*, Neand. Verdienste um d. KGesch. (Stud. u. Krit. 1851. H. 3.) *Jacobi*, z. Erinn. an Neand. (Deutsche Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1841. N. 20ss.)

are presented in an abstract classification of events, and in isolated characters, and *Schaff* a more extended work, in which he endeavors to give the German Church in America the results of German theology." (*a*)

P. 10, "the later editions" of *Guericke's* Church History are said to have "gradually become a careful collection of interesting characteristic traits of the piety of our forefathers. The revival of the spirit of the various conflicting creeds of former times, has necessarily had some influence upon ecclesiastical history. *Lindner* has attempted to show that the position of the Lutheran Church is correct, by showing that the law of spiritual life is not progress, which he regards as a purely mechanical and an unscientific idea, but development, and has collected an abundant store of materials, with not much criticism or exactness, but with considerable moral judgment and pious benevolence. Kurtz's School-Book has finally become a learned manual, in which the language and the descriptions are vigorous, and almost popular; the Lutheran is set forth, with as much criticism as the circumstances allowed, as the only true ecclesiastical system of doctrines; and the co-operation or resistance of men is exhibited in a scheme of salvation founded on the merits of the incarnate Redeemer on the cross, and under the fostering care of the Holy Spirit advancing to universal dominion. Notwithstanding the exclusive ecclesiasticism of the two last-named writers, both founded their division into periods on the national elements of the Graeco-Roman and the Germanic civilization, and Kurtz went so far as to separate many things which for the time at least belonged together. (*b*) *Niedner*, on the other hand, investigating and philosophizing with perfect freedom, though with obvious inequality in his execution, and in a style which is rather dry and scholastic, but with a strictly logical connection, has collected a great abundance of particular views. He was followed by *Fricke*, with great designs and much labor attempting to compose a Text-Book, in which Church History was to be delivered from those petty details which are so painful and even fatal to many minds, and addressing himself to his work with youthful ardor, but in a peculiar and frequently distorted style, and in an unnatural order of logical development." (*c*)

At the close of § 12, *Gfrörer* is said to have "pointed out the immense importance of the mediaeval Church for the German states."

Add to the close of § 22: "And yet the necessity of supernatural aid, and with this a confidence in its reality, had been vividly felt even in more fortunate times. The unconscious longings of the Roman people were expressed by their poets in hopes full of anxious forebodings, and by their historians in gloomy presentiments. (*d*) Among the oriental nations, a hope

a) *J. L. Jacobi*, LB. d. KGesch. Brl. 1850. 1 vol. till 590. *Phil. Schaff*, Gesch. d. chr. K. Von ihrer Gründ. b. a. d. Gegenw. Mercersb. 1851. 1 vol. Apost. Zeit. (Intended to be in 9 vols.) [Hist. of the Apost. Church, from the Germ. of P. Schaff, by *E. D. Yeomans*, N. York. 1853.]

b) *Bruno Lindner*, LB. d. chr. KGesch. m. bes. Berücks. d. dogm. Entw. Lps. 1848–52 2 Abth. & 3 Abth. 1. H. (till 1648.) *J. H. Kurtz*, (LB d. KGesch. Mietau. 1849. 1850.) HB. d allg. KGesch. (as 3. ed.) Miet. 1853. 1 vol. (Intended to be in 2 vols. in 4 Abth.)

c) *C. W. Niedner*, Gesch. d. chr. K. LB. Lps. 1846. *P. G. A. Fricke*, LB. d. KGesch. Lps. 1850. 1 vol. (till 768.)

d) *Virgil*, Eclog. IV, 4–10.—*D. W. Böttticher*, proph. Stimmen a. Rom. o. das Christl. in Tacitus. Hamb. 1840. 2 vols.

then extensively prevailed that salvation would come from the East, and proceed in every direction from Judea, where the fulfilment was already approaching. This expectation, though known to the Roman court, was regarded as trivial, and of no political importance." (*a*)

Add after *Philo*, p. 21, line 5th from the bottom: "a weak thinker, but with an exalted moral and a profound religious spirit."

Near the middle of p. 25, Stephen is said to have been "probably a Hellenist, whose ardor had rendered him prominent in the controversy. Such a controversy, however, shows that he had broken through the ordinary barriers of the Christianity of that period, and portended the doom which then threatened the unbelieving Jews. But the angelic aspect he exhibited in view of death could not save him," &c.

The first sentence of § 31 continues: "and from the synoptic gospels we have reason to conclude that there were some churches on the shores of the sea of Galilee."

In the sentence closing with "(64)" p. 29: "Paul did *not* survive the persecution under Nero."

After "sinfulness," on line 10th, p. 30: "Paul had been brought involuntarily and with violence to Christ; and in the profound consciousness of the utter nothingness of all creatures before God, he believed that man's destiny was arranged by an immutable decree, and it was in this way that he solved the mystery of a temporary rejection of God's people, until the Gentiles shall have entered the divine kingdom."

Before "Paul," near the close of § 33: "Yet the new man is necessarily produced by faith, through which the believer dies and rises again with Christ."

P. 31, on line 4th, instead of "Rome," read: "the Roman Church, which, according to the epistle to the Romans, was founded neither by Peter nor by Paul."

On the first line of p. 33: Paul "held up to those in Corinth (1 Cor. 15), who protested against the resurrection, not on the ground of the old Hebrew and Sadducean, in opposition to the Pharisaic arguments, but on that of inferences from Grecian literature (Acts 17, 32), the simple fact that Christ had actually risen from the dead; and he showed from his Pharisaic position, that an opposite opinion would, if consistently carried out, lead to the sensual life of an Epicurean." After the close of the section, it is said that the simple gospel "naturally developed itself in his mind, until in contrast with those various orders of spirits, he placed the Redeemer as the Son of God, who had not only lived before, but had actually created the world." (*b*)

On p. 34, line 8th, the conflict beyond which John appears in his later writings to have lived, is defined to be that between Christianity and "Judaism, and which seemed to him as the great crisis of the conflict between light and darkness in the world, already in the past."

a) *Tacit.* Hist. V, 13. *Suet.* Vesp. c. 4. According to *Josephi* Bell. Jud. VI, 5. 4.

b) Col. 1, 13–17. is only the most pointed expression of the development proceeding by means of the epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians. For their Pauline origin: *Reuss*, Gesch. d. H. Schriften. vol. I. p. 101ss. 119ss. Against it: *Baur*, Paul. p. 417ss.

§ 39 is rewritten: "The writings which have come down to us from the apostolic Church, originated not in a love of authorship, but from the religious exigencies of the times. They were circulars in which Paul continued after death to communicate with the congregations he had established, recollections of the earthly life of Jesus, and prophetic glimpses of the end of the world, for the consolation of those who were to live in the approaching troubles of the Church. An inclination toward the popular language of the Greeks naturally followed when Christianity passed beyond the limits of the Judaism of Palestine, though an oriental coloring and a profounder religious meaning was necessarily imparted to many of its words and phrases. Among the epistles by an unknown hand, is that which was addressed to the *Hebrews*. Its style of thought is that which prevailed in the Alexandrian school, and was adapted to Jewish Christians; the allegorical mode of explaining the Scriptures is used to show that the whole temple service which then existed in its glory, was an unsatisfactory, shadowy form, whose rites needed to be continually repeated, and had now attained their true reality in Christ, the everlasting High Priest, and the perpetual sacrifice for sin; and saving faith is shown to be a confidence in things unseen, and a development of the divine trust exhibited in the Old Testament. (*a*) A sudden rupture from the living spirit of former writings is immediately perceptible when we enter upon the productions of the apostolic Epigonoi, who lived until near the middle of the second century, and were honored by the Church as Apostolic Fathers. A doctrinal treatise, ascribed to *Barnabas* by the Alexandrian doctors of the third century, has a considerable resemblance to the epistle to the Hebrews, though its historical views appear to have had no dependence upon the canonical gospels (Life of Jesus, § 122, nt. *e*). When referring, however, to the ruins of the temple, the author seems to have regarded Judaism not only as then rejected by God, but as already broken when Moses, in anger at the idolatrous people, dashed in pieces the tables of the law. He appears also to have looked upon the whole popular practice of the ceremonial law as founded upon a misunderstanding of the divine intention, according to which it was merely a prophetic image, whose particular parts are referred with a playful fancy to Christ as a new lawgiver, and whose true interpretation constituted a complete gnosis. (*b*) The epistle of *Clement* was written in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth (80–90), for the purpose of effecting, through the influence of former friendship, a reconciliation between the several parties which had broken out in the latter, and we find that it was read as a sacred book in the Corinthian Church in the second century. (*c*) It contains no reference to the Jewish law, introduces many notions then current among the Greeks, and enforces the doctrine of salvation through faith and good works. (*d*) The *Shepherd* also had its origin in

a) After the Introdd. to the Commentaries (esp. of D. Schulz, Bleek, Tholuck): *T. A. Seuffarth*, de Ep. ad H. indole peculiari. Lps. 1821. *Hase*, ü. d. Empfänger d. Br. an d. H. (Winer's u. Engelh. Journ. 1823. vol. II. II. 3.) *Baumgarten-Crusius* de orig. Ep. ad H. Jen. 1829. *W. J. Rink*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1839. H. 4.

b) Comp. *Hefele* in d. Tüb. Quartalsch. 1839. H. 1.

c) Dionys. of Corinth. in *Eus.* H. ecc. IV, 23. 6. *Iren.* III, 3.

d) *Ritschl*, p. 282ss. against *Schwegler*, vol. II. p. 125ss. Comp. *C. E. Francke*, d. Lehre d. Clem.

the Roman Church. (*a*) After the middle of the second century, it was regarded in many congregations as a sacred writing, and from its many primitive but offensive references, we conclude that it may belong to the close of the first century, though *Hermas*, the brother of Pius I., Bishop of Rome (142–157), was the first who collected these inspired dreams, visions of angels, and parables together, and gave them his primitive name (Rom. 16, 14). (*b*) It consists principally of admonitions to a strictly moral life, and recognizes on this very account the rights of those who had fallen away, but had penitently returned after baptism. In the allegorical form in which the Church is there presented, Christianity appears almost exclusively as a faith in one God, and a renunciation of the world, and Christian Judaism as a trust in the meritoriousness of works, and as a mere theological form."

After the first sentence on p. 39: "But the seven stars of the angels of the churches of Asia Minor, do not designate the overseers of those congregations, but in the style of the inspired prophets, the genii by whom the distinct character of each church is supposed to be represented, like the national spirits mentioned in Daniel (ch. 10), and hence they are sometimes addressed as personal beings, and sometimes as identical with their respective churches." (*c*)

The second sentence on the same page is continued thus: "and were ordained by the imposition of the hands either of the whole congregation, or of the distinguished teachers belonging to it." (*d*)

After the second sentence on p. 40: "All were full of the expectation of something supernatural, and they therefore put confidence in what claimed to be manifestations of divine power, although no one felt that he could advance any claims upon it for personal aid. Every natural talent according to its peculiar nature," &c.

Before "Fastings," middle of p. 40: "even the women took occasion to lay aside those marks of propriety which were then generally observed." (*e*)

Before "All hope," near the close of § 43, the previous sentence continues: "the gospel had already shown how it could quietly exalt society above the utmost limits of the ancient world. (*f*) And yet some admonitions to be obedient for conscience' sake to those who were actually in authority, were not altogether superfluous for the new royal priesthood, (*g*) which had no conception of the labor and patience needful before its true historical development would be attained. It is true that," &c.

(Zeitsch. f. luth. Th. 1841. II. 3.) An epistle claiming to be the 2d of Clement was found with the 1st in the Codex Alex., but is a doubtful fragment of a generally devotional character.

a) *Iren.* IV, 3. *Schwegler*, vol. II. p. 328ss. *Ritschl*, p. 297ss. *Lücke*, Einl. in d. Off. d. Joh. p. 337ss. (as belonging to the first half of the 2d cent.)

b) Fragm. de canone in *Murat*, Antiqq. Ital. vol. III. p 853. It may after all have been intended only for a Montanistic object. (*Tertul.* de pud. c. 2: ille apocryphus Pastor moechorum.) Comp. *Thiersch*, d. K. im Ap. Zeita. p. 251ss.

c) *Rev.* 1, 20. 2, 1. 8. 12. 18. 3, 1. 7. Neither with *Gabler*, (l. c. p. 14ss.) Agents, and at the same time personifications of the Churches, nor with *Rothe* (p. 423s.), ordinary bishops, but which existed originally in the plan of the apostles, nor with *Thiersch* (K. in Ap. Zeita. p. 278ss.), superior pastors, a kind of bishops. Comp. *De Wette*, Offenb. Jo. p. 41s. *d*) *Acts* 6, 6. 13, 3.

e) 1 *Cor.* 11, 1–15.

f) Ep. ad *Philemon*. *Gal.* 3, 28. *g*) *Rom.* 13, 1–7. 1 *Pet.* 2, 13–16.

In the first sentence of § 44: "The devotional exercises of the Christian assemblies, like those of the Jewish synagogues, consisted, in addition to an attendance in the church at Jerusalem upon the temple service, generally of prayers, singing of psalms and even of the first strains of the Christian hymns, (*a*) the reading of the proper sections of the Old Testament, and discourses founded upon these." It is also said, that "Apostolic epistles were sometimes exchanged between different congregations (Col. 4, 15s.)," and that "in Greek congregations, baptism was sometimes administered to those who stood as proxies for the dead. (*b*)"

On p. 45, after what is said of Sept. Severus: "but the process of trial by torture, to induce the accused to deny their faith, which had been authorized by Trajan, and after the time of Marcus Aurelius had been practised with increased severity, was strictly enforced by the courts, at least in Africa. (*c*)" After what is said of Alex. Severus: "and yet, in the code of laws which Ulpian collected for the use of the proconsuls, were included the penal enactments against the Christians. (*d*)"

On p. 56, after the first word at the top: "Thus the story of the massacre of the Theban Legion in a narrow pass of the Vallais (287), was, according to its earliest traditional form, merely that of the martyrdom of *Mauritius*, with seventy soldiers, in the East; and the more extended form of it which has since been propagated in the West, was made known near the middle of the fifth century, at the same time with the coming to St. Maurice of the sanctuary of this martyr-legion, with which the local services of the different places became connected in the cities of the Lower Rhine. (*e*)"

On p. 57, respecting the Ap. Constitutions: "The 7th and 8th books were independent collections, entirely revised with respect to their language in the fourth century, and supplied with some later ecclesiastical usages, but not in a sense specially favorable to the Arians. As a complete collection, they have never attained the authority of law, and they have been put together variously in the different national churches of the Roman empire. In its primitive form, it was especially the compilation of the church of Alexandria. (*f*)"

On p. 58, "Choir-leaders (ψαλται) (*g*)" are mentioned among the semi-clergy, and it is added: "Widows and deaconesses were also appointed for the service of the church; the latter as virgins, but yet distinguished from the former. (*h*)"

a) *Col.* 3, 16. *Eph.* 5, 19. Comp. *Plinii* Ep. X, 96.

b) 1 *Cor.* 15, 29.

c) *Tertul.* Apol. c. 2.

d) Domitius Ulp. de officio proconsulis, libro VII. According to *Lactant.* Instt. V, 11.

e) *Theodoret.* (about 427.) Graecar. affectt. curat. disp. 8. (Opp. vol. IV. p. 923.)—Vita S. Romani after 460, &c. For a solution of the story: *Rettberg*, KGesch. Deutschl. vol. I. p. 94ss. *A. J. Binterim*, Kalendarium Ecc. Coloniensis S. IX. ad illustr. Hist. Ursulae et sociarum virgg. Col. 1824. 4. *G. Hagen's* Reim-chronik der Stadt Cölln, ed. by *Groote*, Col. 1834. Comp. Rheinwald's Rep. 1835. vol. IX. p. 201ss. *Rettberg* in *Ibid.* p. 111ss. Respecting Massa candida: *Prudent.* Hymn. 13. *Tillemont*, vol. IV. p. 175ss.

f) Note *a*. p. 57. *Bunsen*, Hippolytus, p. 418–527.

g) *Eus.* H. ecc. VI, 43.

h) *Conc. Carth.* in Statuto Ecc. Afric. c. 11. *Const. app.* VI, 17. comp. *Tertul.* de poenit. c. 13. de virgg. vel. c. 9. *Bunsen*, Hippol. p. 486.

On p. 59, after the first sentence in § 59: "The congregation were directed to obey the bishop as Christ, and the presbytery as the apostles. (*a*)"

After "interchangeably," middle of p. 59, insert: "traces of the resistance of the presbyteries to the new authority are discoverable in both centuries; and this," &c.

On p. 61, after the words, "her subsequent empire," insert: "Even a swindler and a fugitive slave snatched from suicide, was able, after seeking by violent means a martyr's death, to obtain complete control over Zephyrinus, a Bishop of Rome, but unacquainted with ecclesiastical laws, and to become his successor, *Callistus I.* (219—about 224). He was disposed to grant pardons for all kinds of sins, and gave offence to his opponents in the presbytery, by asserting that a bishop could never be deposed by a presbytery, nor be compelled to resign his office, though guilty of a deadly sin. (*b*)"

On p. 63, after "Luke": "but the laws of the Church were not yet agreed with regard to the exclusion of women at certain seasons from public worship, in accordance with the requirements of the Old Testament. (*c*)"—After "severest penances": "Adultery was the only ground on which marriage could become void; death alone could sunder the nuptial bond, and a second marriage was called a decent adultery. (*d*)"

The following is added at the close of § 63: "But the sacrifice of all earthly joys, which the whole Church looked upon as indispensable to its true ideal of religion, found ample compensation in the belief in a millennial kingdom, founded upon a perverted notion of the Messiah revealed by tradition, and the Revelations of John. (*e*) This kingdom, which the returning Christ would establish after the subversion of the Roman empire, and the brief dominion of the Antichrist whom they regarded as the returning matricide, was to be earthly, according to its essential nature, but its images of sensuous pleasure were also symbols of religious bliss. The faithful who died before the fulfilment of these hopes, were consoled with the prospect that they should be raised again to participate in the glories of this kingdom. Such was the faith of the whole Church, (*f*) until the common ecclesiastical doctrine became suspicious on account of the extravagances of a party (§ 67), and it was opposed by the school which contended that none but spiritual blessings were of any importance (§ 85). And yet this old and popular faith of the Church was never surrendered to individual enthusiasts, until, instead of the vainly expected and sudden overthrow of heathenism by a miraculous advent of Christ, the Church experienced for a long period the historical power of Christianity, and the clergy at least beheld the dawn of the earthly kingdom. (*g*)"

a) *Ignat.* ad Trall. c. 13. ad Smyrn. c. 8.

b) (*Orig.*) Philosophumena s. Haeres. Refut. ed. Miller, l. IX. p. 284ss.

c) In favor of them: *Dionys. Alex.* Ep. canon. (*Routh*, Reliq. sacr. vol. II. p. 392.) Against them: *Constit. app.* VI, 27s.

d) *Athenag.* Deprecat. c. 28. On the other side still, *Hermae* Pastor II, mand. 4, 4.

e) *Rev.* 20. *Iren.* V, 33. 3.

f) *Papias: Eus.* H. ecc. III, 39. *Justin.* c. Tryph. c. 80. *Iren.* V, 32s.

g) (*Corradi*) Krit. Gesch. d. Chiliasm. (Frkf. u. Lpz. 1781ss.) Zür. 1794. 4 vols. *Münscher*, hist. Entwurf. d. L. v. tausendj. Reich in d. 3 ersten Jhh. (Henke's Mag. vol. VI. Pt. 2.)

Beginning of § 66: "Candidates for admission to the Church (κατηχούμενοι), from the number of whom all persons connected with any employment in the heathen temples or the theatres were excluded, (*a*)"—After "protracted to the end of life," insert: "Near the end of the third century, fixed forms of penance were devised, as steps by which offenders might return to the full communion of the Church."

Before the last sentence in § 66, insert: "though many rigid persons established the conviction in some congregations, that the Church could admit of no penance or pardon for particular sins, or at least for their repetition. Among these were included those sins which were called mortal. (*b*)"

On p. 67, the title of § 68 is altered so as to read: "The Novatian and Meletian Schisms"; and before the last sentence in the section: "About the same time a schism was created in Egypt in consequence of the ambition of *Meletius*, Bishop of Lycopolis. This man had been a confessor in the time of the Dioclesian persecution, and now raised the watchword that the penances to be imposed upon those who had fallen ought not to be determined until a period of tranquillity. He interfered with the hitherto undefined prerogatives of the Metropolitan of Alexandria, by consecrating, in the place of many living priests, a large number of others whose salaries could not be obtained without the establishment of an opposition Church. The bishops of this new Church were recognized at Nicaea as the future successors of those of the legitimate party; but as they took part, to a considerable extent, with the defeated party in the council, they shared also in its subversion. Some remnants of them, however, were found as late as the fifth century."

References for § 69:

"*Neander*, ü. Veranlass. u. Beschaffenh. d. ält. Passahstreitigkeiten. (KHist. Arch. 1823. Pt. 2.) *Rettberg*, die Paschastreit. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1832. vol. II. Pt. 2.) *Gieseler*, in d. Stud. u. Krit. 1833. H. 4.—*Schwegler*, Montan. p. 191ss. *Baur*, kan. Evv. p. 334ss.—*K. L. Weitzel*, die Passahfeier d. ersten Jhh. Pforzh. 1848. (On the other side: *Baur*, in d. Th. Jahrbb. 1848. H. 2. *Hilgenfeld*, Ibid. 1849. H. 2.) *Ibid.* z. Passahfeier d. alt. K. (Stud. u. Krit. 1848. H. 4.)"

The sentences (p. 68, line 6) on the Paschal Controversy are altered thus: "In Asia Minor, the saving Passover (π. σωτήριον, σταυρώσιμον) was kept with a love-feast, as a festival of rejoicing for the accomplishment of the work of redemption, at the close of the great fast on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan. In other parts of the Church, the Resurrection of our Lord (π. ἀναστάσιμον) was celebrated on the Sunday after the full moon in the spring, and the preceding week of the fast was observed as a representation of the Passion-week. When *Polycarp* visited Rome (about 160), this difference in reckoning was discussed, though without injury to Christian unity. But the Roman bishop, *Victor*, attempted to excommunicate the Asiatic congregations as heretics (196), for their course in this matter. Public opinion was in favor of the Roman usage with respect to this festival, but it could not sustain the violent measures of the Roman bishop against those who differed from him only upon a ritual observance. *Polycrates*, in behalf of the Asiatic bishops, appealed, as Polycarp had done, to the example of John, who had observed the

a) *Constitt. app.* VIII, 32. Comp. *Bunsen*, Hippolyt. vol. I. p. 492.

b) *Herm.* Pastor II. mand. 4, 1. *Tertul.* de pudic. c. 12. *Conc. Illiberit.* c. 1s. 7. etc.

Passover in their way among them and their ancestors. (*a*) But in Laodicea and the country around it, the churches continued to eat the paschal lamb in the Jewish manner, as a type of Christ's sacrifice. A remonstrance against this was presented (about 170) from Alexandria, from Rome, and even from Asia Minor, on the ground that it was inconsistent with the whole representation of John in his gospel, in which Christ was never said to have partaken of the paschal supper according to the law, because he was himself the true Lamb of God. (*b*) The Roman usage finally prevailed in the third century, and even then those who contended, though in ignorance, that this festival should be kept according to the Jewish law, were spoken of in Rome among the heretics. (*c*) But there were still some deviations, in different parts of the Church, from the general usage of reckoning the Easter Sunday from the course of the moon. (*d*) The fifty days," &c.

Near the close of § 70, instead of the "cock and anchor:" "and the palm; symbols taken principally from the Old Testament, but of typical import. From the use of these in their houses, Christians were led to use them in ornamenting their tombs; and as works of art in fresco or mosaic, they were gradually introduced from the catacombs into the churches. But even," &c.

Instead of the first sentence of § 71: "On the basis of the apostolic worship, and under the influence of obscure recollections of the services of the temple on Zion, a solemn form of worship was gradually introduced, though some peculiarities prevailed in the different metropolitan districts which prevented entire uniformity in its details. (*e*) Prophetic and apostolic writings, in the most extensive sense of these words, and the acts of the martyrs, different according to local usage and interest, were read in the public assemblies. The homilies which followed were delivered principally by the bishop alone; they were in the East constructed and uttered in a rhetorical style, and they were therefore, even in the third century, extemporized by those whose peculiar talents fitted them for such an exercise. The songs in honor of Christ as a God, in which the oldest hymns that have reached us were used, had a resemblance to the Pindaric odes, and show an Alexandrian spirit. (*f*)"

In the same section, the bread and wine presented by believers are called "*oblationes*;" "the consecrated bread taken home by them, or sent to the absent, was eaten every morning before any thing else;" (*g*) "baptism was administered usually by immersion three times, to the sick by sprinkling (B. clinicorum), with reference to the death of our Lord, and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" "anointing (χρῖσμα), as well as impo-

a) *Eus.* H. ecc. V, 23–25. *Tertul.* de praescr. (Append.) c. 53. *Socrat.* H. ecc. V, 21.

b) *Eus.* H. ecc. IV, 26. *Chronicon pasch.* ed. Dindorf, vol. I. p. 12ss. (Melito, Bp. of Sardes, Clemens Alex., Apollinaris, Bp. of Hierapolis, Hippolytus.)

c) (*Orig.*) Haeres. Refut. p. 274ss.

d) *F. Piper*, Gesch. d. Osterfestes. Brl. 1845.

e) *Constitt. app.* VIII. Comp. the Alexandrian view according to *Tattam's* representation in *Bunsen*, Hippol. p. 494ss.

f) *Clem.* Paed. III, 12. (*Clem.* Hymn. in Salv. ed. *Piper*, Gött. 1835.) Uebers. b. *Münter*, Sinnb. u. Kunstvorst. p. 16s.

g) *Tertul.* ad uxor. II, 5. comp. *Bunsen*, Hippol. p. 504.

sition of hands, was the consummation of baptism; and *confirmation* (consignatio) became finally a distinct rite."

P. 71, instead of the sentence commencing with "Justin": "The memorabilia of the apostles, quoted by *Justin*, correspond essentially with the history given in the synoptic gospels. But some deviations from it cannot be fully explained by allowing that they were written from an independent recollection. They rather imply that he could not have made use of these synoptic gospels, but that he must have had besides them, or instead of them, such a revision as was in use among the Jewish Christians, like the Gospel of the Hebrews, or the Gospel of Peter. (*a*)"

After the ninth line on p. 73: "In these respects they entirely correspond with the Martyr-Acts of Ignatius. (*b*) The feelings of humility and of self-respect, as well as the desire to die, shown in them, were very possible in a character highly esteemed in the age in which the martyr lived, and the abuse of the soldiers, and his free intercourse with his friends, were consistent with the Roman laws on imprisonment. But not only have we indubitable evidence that the more extensive text has been revised, (*c*) and that other epistles have been added to the original seven, but even the shorter text discovered again in the seventeenth century, has not proved to be perfectly genuine. (*d*) The newly-discovered Syriac translation of three epistles, in the briefest and the rather less hierarchic text, produces the impression that it can be only an extract. (*e*) But if even the germ of these epistles should prove to be spurious, and not essentially the same with the fundamental ideas in the more extended work we now have, they would still be an important document of the middle of the second century. (*f*) The Epistle of *Polycarp* to the Philippians is a modest admonition to morality, was written with reference to the actual circumstances of their Church, makes several allusions to Paul, and is pervaded by the same spirit as the first epistle of John, and the pastoral epistles. The obvious reference to Ignatius is probably of a later origin. (*g*) *Papias*," &c.

The title of § 74 is changed into "Apocryphal Literature." References are:

a) Note *b*. p. 71. *Semisch*, d. app. Denkw. d. Just. Goth. 1848. *Hilgenfeld*, krit. Unters. ü. d. Evv. Just., d. Clem. Homilien. u. Marcion's. Hal. 1850.

b) (After the editt. of the Patres app.) Corpus Ignatianum by *Will. Cureton*, Lond. 1849. Ignatii quae feruntur Epp. cum ejusd. martyrio, coll. editt. graecis, versionibusq. syriaca, armen., lat. rec. *J. H. Petermann*, Lps. 1849. *M. J. Wocher*, d. Brr. d. h. Ign. übers. u. erklärt. Tub. 1829.

c) On the other hand only paradoxically: *K. Meier*, d. dopp. Rec. d. Brr. d. Ign. (Stud. u. Krit. 1838. H. 3.)

d) Against the genuineness: *J. Dallaeus*, *Baur*, *J. E. C. Schmidt*, (abridged in his KGesch.) and *Netz*, (as referred to in Note *a*. p. 73.) *Schwegler*, nachap. Zeita. vol. II. p. 159ss. (respecting a Pauline as a counterpoise to the Petrine Clementines in Rome after the middle of the 2d cent.) For the genuineness: *Pearson*, *Voss*, *Rothe*, *Huther*, and *Düsterdieck*, (as referred to in Note *a*. p. 73.)

e) Note *b*. p. 73. *C. E. J. Bunsen*, Ign. u. s. Zeit. 7 Sendsch. an Neander. Die 3 ächten u. 4 unächten Brr. d. Ign. Hmb. 1847. 4. On the other side: *Baur*, Die Ign. Brr. u. ihr neuester Kritiker. Tub. 1848.—*H. Denzinger*, ü. d. Aechth. d. bish. Textes d. Ign. Brr. Würzb. 1849. *G. Uhlhorn*, d. Verh. d. syr. Rec. d. Ign. Brr. z. d. kürtzern griech. (Zeitsch. f. hist. Th. 1851. H. 1.)

f) (*Polycarpi*, Ep. c. 13.) *Iren.* V, 28. *Orig.* in Luc. Hom. 6. (vol. III. p. 938.) *Eus.* H. ecc. III, 36.

g) Note *c*. p. 73. For the genuineness, with the exception of interpolations (but more vigorous than Dallaeus and Bunsen): *Ritschl*, altkath. K. p. 604ss.

"*Mosheim*, de causis suppositt. libror. inter Christt. (Dss. ad H. ecc. vol. I. p. 217ss.) *Lücke*, Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh. ed. 2. 1848. p. 66ss. *Reuss*, Gesch. d. H. Schriften N. T. ed. 2. Abth. I. p. 235ss."

Add to § 74: "Commencing with the written controversy with heathenism (§ 52), this kind of ecclesiastical literature was now developed in a controversy with the heretics, and penetrated deeply not only the sense of the Scriptures, but the spirit of the Church itself. It is divided into three schools, according to local traditions, but in consequence of the intercourse which then prevailed in the Church, these traditions were very extensively diffused."

Ref. § 75: *Schliemann* is to be corrected with respect to Ebionism, by,

"*Ritschl*, altkath. K. p. 102ss."

After "apostate" (line 17), p. 75: "According to Roman accounts, they trusted to the law for justification, as they believed that Christ was justified, and became the Messiah by completely fulfilling it. (*a*)

On Gnosticism (p. 76), after the reference to Ritter:

H. Rossel, Gesch. d. Untersuch. ü. d. Gnost. (Th. Schrr. eingef. v. Neander. Brl. 1847. vol. I. p. 179ss.")

In the first sentence of § 76 (p. 76), after "infinite": "and indeed respecting the origin and development of the divine existence"; and at the close of the same sentence: "which combined all the speculations and fancies of earlier and contemporaneous philosophies, and endeavored to penetrate all the mysteries of the divine, as well as of human history."

P. 77, *Saturninus* is said to have had "a special relation to Menander," and to have held, that "Satan was the original ruler over matter (ὕλη)"; that the seven planetary spirits, "with the view of founding a kingdom for themselves, wrested from Satan's kingdom the materials of the present universe," and that "the God of the Jews put himself at the head of the planetary spirits, and to assist them, raised up a series of prophets. But as their God could not prevail against the demoniac powers, one of the highest Aeons (νοῦς), as Christ in the semblance of a body, came to redeem the superior human race from the power of Satan, as well as of the planetary spirits. To effect this, he gave them the Gnosis and the Law, which directed them to abstain from every thing by which men became subject to matter. The followers," &c.

§ 78, on the Hellenistic Gnostics, commences thus: "1) The *Ophites* (Ναασσηνοί) constituted the transition from the Oriental to the Hellenistic Gnostics. They originated probably in Phrygia before the time of Christ, and called themselves simply Gnostics; but in Egypt they adopted Christian notions, though they always remained openly hostile to Judaism. They professed to believe that the Son of Man emanated from the Original Source (βυθός), in which the male and female powers were combined, and that the Mother of Life (πνεῦμα ἅγιον) sprung from him and his parent. From here connection with the former original types of humanity, *Christ* was born, [illegible] from the excess of light then sent forth, was produced *Sophia*, *i. e.*, the [illegible]

[illegible]ustr. ed. J.

a) (*Orig.*) Haeres. Refut. p. 257.

ciple of redemption and of creation. When Sophia, the imperfect and adventitious offspring of this connection, aspired to be like God, she plunged into chaos, and gave birth to *Jaldabaoth*, *i. e.*, the son of chaos. This being, that he might create a special kingdom for himself, brought forth the seven planetary spirits; and when these also aimed at independence, in great rage he threw himself into the slime from which the universe was formed, and the outward image of his wrath became quickened into the serpent-spirit (ὀφιόμορφος). To supply the planetary spirits with employment, he, with their assistance, formed man in his own image; and after Sophia had given inspiration to this work of his hands, he animated it with his own spirit to have dominion over divine things. But in this process he had parted with his highest powers, and now saw with terror that his creature was superior to himself. To prevent man from becoming conscious of these exalted powers, he commanded him not to eat of the tree of knowledge. Sophia, having been brought by the apostasy of her offspring to repentance for her fault, and to a consciousness of her divine nature, now endeavors to attract to herself and to purify the spiritual light-power in the world created by Jaldabaoth. Availing herself of the enmity of the serpent-spirit against its parent, she induces man to transgress the prohibition respecting the tree of knowledge. Hence, what is called a Fall in the books of the God of the Jews, was in fact a transition to a higher mental state. In great wrath the Creator of the world now throws men down to the lowest material world, and harasses them with all the pains and temptations incident to matter, but reserves a chosen people for his own special possession. Individual persons, endowed with high intellectual powers, are raised up by Sophia, but she vainly strives to free them from their bonds, until the Aeon Christ unites himself with the Messiah sent by the Creator of the world, and brings to men the saving knowledge of the true God. Jaldabaoth had his own Messiah crucified, that he might thus destroy the superior being connected with him, but who had previously departed. In the end, Sophia, with her pneumatic followers among men, will be led back to the blissful fellowship of God; and the God of the Jews, deprived of the light of all the pneumatic powers, will gradually sink into the abyss of annihilation. The serpent," &c.

"2) *Basilides* of Alexandria (120–130) completed, and at the same time transcended the Gnosticism which professed to be an esoteric doctrine preserved by Matthias. The Ineffable (τὸ ἄῤῥητον), the Deity who exists not merely for time (ὁ οὐκ ὢν θεός), has the germ of every thing in himself, and gives existence to every thing not by emanation (προβολή), but as Jehovah does to the light. In this germ of the universe (πανσπερμία τοῦ κόσμου) existed a threefold sonship (υἱότης τριμερής), which the Original Being produces by the attractive power of his beauty. The first mounts directly up to himself, and constitutes the happy world of spirit (πλήρωμα); the second forms the confines of this heaven, and is represented by the Holy Ghost (τὸ μεθόριον πνεῦμα); and the third remains in the original germ of the universe, and
III, 36. purification. From this last sprung the first and the second ruler of the
g) Noachon), each of whom, in accordance with the decree of the Original
than Dallaeu

Being, gave birth to a superior son. The first of these created for himself the upper, and the last the lower planetary heaven. From the germs of these was developed the lowest world with the race of man. Until the time of Moses, this was the kingdom of the lower Archon. But Moses made known to it the higher Archon, by whom the prophets were commissioned. The great Archon supposed himself to be God; but when through his Son he received the gospel from the Holy Ghost, he reverently submitted himself to its revelations. Hence, in due time, the son of Mary in this lower world was enlightened by the gospel, and his nature was purified from all worldly elements by the necessary process of his sufferings. Accordingly, these elements were left on earth; his physical part remained at his ascension in the planetary heaven, and his pneumatic part ascended to the pleroma as the type of all the redeemed. In the end, when all who are susceptible shall have attained their destiny, this lower world will be again covered with ignorance, and all things will be confirmed in the permanent state of existence for which they are naturally fitted. This Roman account, (*a*) founded upon the writings of Basilides and his son Isidore, and confirmed by the fact that they used the term faith to designate the reception of salvation, and yet maintained the necessity of the redemption of that which is divine from a nature originally alienated from God, seems to imply that the materials of the universe are independent. The revelation of the Original Being in 365 kingdoms of spirits, according to astronomical relations indicated by the mystic watch-word *Abraxas* (or ἀβρασάξ), may find a sufficient place in the doctrine of the threefold sonship, but in other accounts was looked upon as an emanation from the Original Being, or a gradual deterioration of his essence, until the seven angels of the lowest spiritual world, with the Archon, the God of the Jews, at their head, created the world from the materials which they found, and furnished their men with all kinds of worldly powers, and with such spiritual powers as they themselves possessed. To effect the deliverance of this spiritual power from its connection with matter, the first-born celestial power (νοῦς) united himself with Jesus at his baptism. Though this Jesus was a perfect man, he needed an atonement for himself, and it was he alone who suffered and died. In this manner, it is possible that even the *Basilideans* adopted the peculiarities of Gnosticism, and, especially in the West, carried the idea of freedom from the law so far that it amounted to moral indifference, ascribed to the Redeemer only the semblance of a body, and hence may have regarded a denial of him as of no importance. In this state of elevation above all positive religious forms, they maintained an existence until late in the fourth century."

"3) *Valentinus*," &c. The scheme of Valentine is said to be (p. 78) "a lofty religion of the spirit, founded on the religion of nature professed among the heathen."

After the word "events" (line 5, p. 79): "in an ascending scale of forms, possessing a material, psychical, and pneumatic nature, in accordance with this mingling of influences, and the variable moods of the Sophia."

a) Haer. Refut. p. 225–244.—Basil. philosophi gnostici sententiae ex Hippol. libro illustr. ed. *J. L. Jacobi*, Regiom. 1852.

After the word "century," tenth line from the foot of p. 79, continue the sentence: "divided into an Oriental and an Italian school. The former held that the body of the Saviour was pneumatic, because the Holy Ghost overshadowed Mary; the latter contended that it must have been psychical, since the higher principle did not come upon him until his baptism. According to the Roman account, (*a*) Heracleon and Ptolemaeus belonged to the latter school, and ascribed to external works no other importance than that of sensibly expressing our spiritual unity with Christ. The gospel of John has been very seriously and piously explained by Heracleon, who fully believed that it corresponded with his views, and sometimes his interpretation is simpler than that of Origen. (*b*) Ptolemaeus is said to have regarded the Aeons which Valentine," &c.

P. 80, after the first line: "Finally, *Marcus*, who boasted that he had given a proper direction to this school, has indeed enlarged the number of Aeons by poetical allegories and a literal application of Pythagorean numbers, and has described the universe as an utterance of the Ineffable, or a gradual decadence of the divine essence; but the gorgeous system of the Marcosian worship, with its twofold baptism, its change of wine into blood, and its attractions for women of eminent talents, gave occasion to scandal about philters, magic, and juggling. (*c*)"

4) "*Carpocrates*," &c. After, "The same was true of," (line 5, p. 81): insert: "the son of Joseph, who carried with him in a pure state through all earthly things, the recollections of what he had witnessed in a superior state, and overthrew the law of the mundane spirits."

Additional references to § 79:

"4) *Tertul.* adv. Hermogenem. Haeres. Refut. p. 273s. *Theodoret*, Haer. fabb. I, 19. comp. *Eus.* H. ecc. IV, 24.—*G. Boehmer*, Herm. Africanus. Sund. 1832."

The sentence (p. 81, last line) ending with "concealed," continues: "in a body not formed of earthly materials, but fitted for activity and suffering among men. (*d*)"

Note *d*, p. 79, reads:

"They are the principal topic of *Iren.* (I, 1ss. II, 1. Haer. Refut. 177–94.) and of *Tertul.* (adv. Valentinianos), but the representation which they give was even then that of Ptolemaeus. Some particulars in *Clement. Orig.* in Jo. tom. 13. *Epiph.* Haer. 31s. *Münter*, Odae gnosticae, thebaice et lat. Hafn. 1812. The Coptic MS. Sophia, preserved in the Brit. Museum as a trans. of the lost principal treatise of Valentine (lat. fec. *M. G. Schwarze*, ed. *Petermann*, Ber. 1851.) is an unimportant later production of the Marcosian party.—*H. Rössel*, d. System Val. (Th. Schrr. p. 250ss.)"

At the close of § 79, add: "4) *Hermogenes* of Carthage (about 200) came upon Gnostic ground, only when he taught that the Deity in creation acted upon the wild chaotic mass from which the world was made, and which was like himself, eternal, as it were with the power of beauty, and thus formed from it the natural world and mankind; and that even deformed and wicked

a) Refut. Haer. p. 195. *b*) Extracts in *Orig.* tom. in Ev. Jo. comp. *Epiph.* haer. 36.

c) *Iren.* I, 13–21. Haer. Refut. p. 200. (Scarcely any thing but Extracts from Iren.) *Epiph.* haer. 34.

d) The Roman account (Haer. Refut. p. 253s.) is confused, since the doctrine of a later Marcionite named *Prepon*, according to which the Redeemer himself, as the Mediator between the good and evil principle, was only righteous, is made to imply a change of views in Marcion himself. Comp. the correct derivation from Cerdon. (Ibid p. 259.)

things now enter into the universal system as a resisting remnant (ἄκοσμον), but will, after the development of all which is capable of improvement, sink back into chaotic nothingness. Tertullian vented his wrath against Hermogenes by an attack upon the imitative arts, and all liberal culture in the Church."

§ 80 is entitled "Gnostic Ebionites," &c.

About the middle of p. 84, the sentence beginning, "The Homilies," may read: "The Homilies were never the creed of the Roman Church, but were composed or revised in Rome about the middle of the second century, to reconcile the Jewish Christianity, which was not yet denounced, but was declining there, with" &c. (*a*)

P. 85, 8th line, after "baptism," read: "and in addition to this, highly commended circumcision to Jews by birth."

At the close of § 80, add: "At the commencement of the third century, a book of this sect was brought from Syria to Rome, which claimed to have come from the hand of a gigantic angel. It required circumcision, but offered pardon for even the most unnatural sins on a second baptism, and was rejected by the Roman Presbytery. (*b*) Origen knew of this party even in his day, and speaks of their selection from the law and the gospel, their book which fell from heaven, and of their new forgiveness of sins. (*c*)"

P. 85, last line, after "appreciated," read: "but the fantastic nature of their dogmas, their partial adoption of pagan notions, their high-wrought, or, sometimes on the contrary, variable system of morals, and the position which they endeavored to maintain in the Church, (*d*) or at least their ordinary connection with Catholic Christianity, render a judgment respecting them at the present day on various accounts, a matter of difficulty. (*e*)"

§ 83 is entitled—"I. The Asiatic-Roman School," and reads: "A Christian theology was produced especially in the controversy with the Gnostics, in which an attempt was made to adhere to the historical basis of Christianity as the common property of all, and to apprehend its practical relations in a scientific manner. While therefore philosophy was recognized, true Christianity was looked upon as consisting in the writings and traditions which had been preserved from the apostolic times, and those things which were intelligible to the common people. *Irenaeus* was the principal agent in introducing this school to the West. He was a disciple of Polycarp, and in consequence of the intercourse between Asia and the congregations recently established upon the Rhone he became a presbyter in Lyons. During his absence on a mission to the Roman bishop, Eleutherus, to effect an accommodation with the Montanists (177), he escaped the massacre under Marcus Aurelius. (*f*) The same year, however, he became the successor of Pothinus, the martyr-

a) According to the genuine epistle of Clement, the Pastor of Hermas, and the writings of Justin in opposition on the one hand, to *Schwegler*, nachap. Zeita. vol. I. p. 402ss. and on the other to *Dorner*, L. v. d. Person Chr. vol. I. p. 156. Comp. *Ritschl*, altkath. K. p. 253ss. *Hilgenfeld*, Evv. Justins. p. 220.

b) Haer. Refut. p. 292ss.

c) In *Eus.* H. ecc. VI, 38.

d) Comp. § 79. *Tertul.* c. Valent. c. 4.

e) E. g. *Vopiscus*, Vita Saturnini c. 2. Just. Apol. I. c. 26. *f*) *Eus.* H. ecc. V, 4.

bishop of ninety years of age, and soon restored the agitated congregation to its former prosperity. The only proof of his own martyrdom (about 202) consists in some remembrances or wishes which existed at a much later period in the Frankish Church. (*a*) The recollections of his youth went back nearly, if not quite, to apostolic times, (*b*) and he was therefore strenuously opposed to Gnostic speculations and all attempts to explore the abyss of Deity. (*c*) His confidence in the writings of John was no less than his familiarity with them, and we therefore find him using the most glowing imagery of Asiatic tradition, and maintaining that the Holy Spirit was still poured out upon the Church, (*d*) and that the millennial kingdom was near at hand. (*e*) He was practically inclined to nothing in Montanism but the moral earnestness which he found in it, and though he rebuked the assumptions of the Roman bishop, he was accustomed in the spirit of peace, and in opposition to those who would rend the glorious body of Christ on account of a mere difference in the mode of apprehending Christian truth, (*f*) to point the whole West to the Roman see (§ 62, nt. *e*, § 69, nt. *b*). His writings were to his people as if composed in a foreign land, and consequently were but little known among them; with respect to their peculiar meaning they soon became to a considerable extent foreign to the whole Church, and the principal part of them were therefore at an early period lost. (*g*) The Roman presbyter, *Caius*, in an eloquent dialogue with Proclus, the principal advocate of Montanism at Rome, presents us with a good representation of that system, and the arguments urged against it (202–18). (*h*) With the moderate feelings of a Roman conversant with the trophies of apostolic martyrdoms, this distinguished presbyter presumes to reject not only the Phrygian prophecies but the notion of an earthly millennial kingdom, the authorship of which he transfers from an apostle to a heretic. (*i*) *Hippolytus*, who calls himself a disciple of Irenaeus, has left some allegorical explanations principally of the Old Testament, and some works against heretics, which were regarded as very valuable. (*k*) The nature and style of these writings, as far as the titles and fragments we have, afford us the means of judgment, (*l*) the general acquaintance with them which the Syrian Church possessed, (*m*) and the veneration as a martyr which was given him at Antioch, indicate that he resided in Asia, but his statue found near Rome in the old Tiburtine street (1551) with a catalogue of his writings and the Easter-cycle engraved upon his cathedra, (*n*) and a

a) *Greg. Turon.* H. ecc. Franc. I, 29.

b) Ep. ad Florinum: *Eus.* H. ecc. V, 20. *c*) *Iren.* II, 28. 6.

d) *Ibid.* III, 11. 9. *e*) *Ibid.* V, 25–36. *f*) *Ibid.* IV, 33. 6.

g) Note *b*, p. 88. *L. Duncker*, d. h. Iren. Christol im Zusammenh. m. dessen theol. u. anthrop. Grundl. Gött. 1843.

h) *Eus.* H. ecc. II, 25. VI, 20.

i) This sense of Eus. H. ecc. II, 28. can no longer be disputed, since the account of Dionysius Alex. has been compared with it.

k) Phot. cod. 121. Eusebius (H. ecc. VI, 22 comp. 23.) thought that the period of his literary activity was only just before that of Origen, and from this Jerome (Catal. c. 61.) has inferred that he exerted a direct influence upon the latter.

l) S. Hipp. Opp. ed. *J. A. Fabricius*, Hamb. 1716-18. 2 vols. f. *Gallandii* Bibl. vol. II.

m) *Ebedjesu* in *Assemani* Bibl. or. vol. III P. 1.

n) Note *g*, p. 96. A horrible engraving of it is given in Fabric. vol. I. p. 36, but a better lithograph is before Bunsen's. [Hippolytus and his age, new ed. Lond. 1854. 2 vols. *W. E. Taylor*, Hippol. & the Chr. Church of the 3d cent. Lond. 1853. 18.]

Roman festival in which a great annual feast was observed by the people to his honor in the fourth century, imply that he must have resided in a Roman territory. Not only does the most ancient testimony favor this Western residence, but it would seem that the Portus Romanus mentioned as his see can be no other than the Roman harbor opposite Ostia. (*a*) As he was one of the most distinguished astronomers of his day he made the first calculation of Easter for the West. (*b*) As was naturally to be expected, the tradition from Irenaeus through the Roman clergy, if not a moral sympathy with the Montanistic tendency, produced in such a man a strong partiality for the Revelation by John, and for a kingdom of Christ at the second advent, though the time for it was placed far in the future. (*c*) The work against all heresies found in 1842 on Mount Athos (*d*), has been partially and arbitrarily abridged, and many passages in it have been in various ways corrupted. As the first book had long been known under the name of the Pholosophumena of Origen, the whole work was published under the same name, (*e*) but it bears unquestionable evidence of having been composed by some distinguished member of the Roman Presbytery under Zephyrinus and his successors. (*f*) The representation of the 32 heresies is to some extent literally borrowed from Irenaeus, with the omission merely of declamatory expressions, but it is also enlarged by accounts from original documents. The heresies themselves are traced to the philosophy of the Greeks, to the systems of magic, and to the ancient mysteries; they are assigned to these philosophical schools in a rather violent manner, and these schools are described so as to favor such a division. The whole is pervaded by moral seriousness in contrast with an easy submission to Callistus, the Roman bishop, who is described as the patron of all heretics (§ 62). The authorship of it must be referred to either Caius or Hippolytus, and as it contains nothing which reminds us of the polemics of the first; as the writer acknowledges himself the author of a work on the Universe, (*g*) which on the cathedra is ascribed to Hippolytus, and as no witnesses speak of a treatise against all heresies except by him, (*h*)

a) Peter, the Metropolitan of Alexandria about 306, in the Prooemium of the Chron. paschale p. 12: ἐπίσκοπος Πόρτου πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης. *E. J. Kimmel*, de Hipp. vita et scriptis. Jen. 1839. P. I. *L. F. W. Seinecke*, Leben u. Schrr. d. H. (Zeitsch f. hist. Th. 1842. II. 3.) On the other hand: since *Le Moyne* has written much in favor of Portus Rom. in Arabia, now Aden; *C. F. Havenell* (de Hipp. Gott. 1834. 4.) is in favor of *Bostra*, in consequence of a misunderstanding of ὡσαύτως in *Eus.* H. ecc. VI, 20. Comp. *Dorner*, Lehre v. d. Person Chr. I. p. 604ss.

b) Canon paschalis, a cycle of 16 years seven times repeated from the year 222, in the treatise Ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ Πάσχα.

c) On the Cathedra: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως. Perhaps also: Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστ. παράδοσις, belongs here. Περὶ Ἀντιχρίστου is preserved in: *Fabric.* vol. I. p. 4ss. In *Ebedjesu:* Κεφαλάια πρὸς Γαΐον.

d) In the context regularly: ὁ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχος.

e) *Origenis* Philosophumena s. omnium Haeresium Refutatio. E. cod. Parisino ed. *Emmanuel Miller*, Oxon. 1851. The 1st Book is from the works of Orig., the 2d & 3d are wanting, and the 10th is without the conclusion.

f) Prooem. p. 3. l. IX. p. 279. 285. 289.

g) p. 334: Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας. Photius alone mentions Caius as the writer, on the authority of a gloss uncertain to himself.

h) *Eus.* H. ecc. VI, 22. Προς ἁπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις, in like manner Jerome; on the cathedra it was perhaps intentionally omitted.

the question must be decided in his favor. (*a*) The earlier or even contemporaneous see of a neighboring bishop within the bounds of the Roman presbytery is consistent with, and explains the more recent ecclesiastical order. As Hippolytus on the one hand refers the Roman opponents of the essential divinity of Christ to the authority of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures, and replies to their objection that this doctrine was an innovation, by appealing to well-established Roman traditions; (*b*) so, on the other hand, he announced the mysteries of Christ's human Godhead in lofty parables, in opposition to those who exalted this divine nature until the pre-existent personality of Christ was destroyed. (*c*) Prudentius has sung (*d*) the martyrdom of an Hippolytus, whom he calls a much esteemed Novatian presbyter, and who, in prospect of death, returned to the Catholic Church, and says that after his execution near the mouth of the Tiber, his remains were conveyed to the Roman catacombs, and that afterwards a stately chapel was erected to him on the spot where his statue had been found. Hippolytus could hardly have lived to witness the Novatian schism, and the last historical notice of him mentions his transportation with the Roman bishop to Sardinia, where condemned persons were doomed to die (236); (*e*) but it is very possible that this member of the Roman clergy who was so learned in the Scriptures, and who was so unsparing in his treatment of a Roman bishop, asserted principles which were afterwards called Novatian, and was therefore regarded as belonging to that schism, and yet that his reputation in the congregation at Rome as an author and a martyr was justified by the legend of his return to the Church. *Julius Africanus* also appears to have had an Asiatic education, to have resided and been highly esteemed in the ancient Emmaus (Nicopolis), and to have been a friend of Origen, though more advanced in age (d. about 232). He attempted to harmonize the history of the world as given in the Scriptures, especially in its chronology, with the researches of Greek writers, and from his epistles he appears to have been a liberal critic of the sacred history, and yet to have defended its essential facts against the attacks of still bolder assailants. (*f*) In this tendency we perceive the germs of a new school of Scriptural learning."

The next section is entitled—"II. The Roman African School," and commences thus: "The only literature which the Latin Church possessed," &c.

a) *J. L. Jacobi* in the Deutsch. Zeitsch. f. chr. Wiss. 1851. N. 25ss. *E. C. J. Bunsen*, Hipp. u. s. Zeit. Lps. 1852. vol. I. On the other hand in favor of Caius: *Fessler* in the Tub. th. Quartalsch. 1852. p. 299ss. *Baur* in the th. Jahrbb. 1853. H. 1.

b) In the μικρὸς Λαβύρινθος (κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἱρέσεως Λόγοι) which the writer of the treatise on the Universe (nt. *g*, last p.) quotes as his own work, and from which the passages in *Eus.* H. ecc. V, 28. are probably taken. Comp. *Theod.* Haer. fabb. II, 5. *Niceph.* H. ecc. IV, 21. On the other hand: *Phot.* cod. 48. as the work of Caius.

c) Πρὸς Νοῆτον. (Fabric. vol. II. p. 5ss.) *d*) Peristeph. hym. 11.

e) In the Catalogus Liberianus of 321, and in the Liber pontificalis; see its newly discovered text in Bunsen, p. 156s. The fact that some one of the name of Hippolytus bore a message or epistles from Dionysius of Alex. is the only reason for supposing that his life was protracted longer.

f) χρονογραφιῶν πέντε σπουδάσματα (preserved only in Eusebius' chronicle). Ἐπιστ. περὶ τῆς κατὰ Σουσάνναν ἱστορίας, with an apologetical answer in Origen. Ἐπιστ. πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, Harmony of the Genealogies of Jesus. *Eus.* H. ecc. I, 7. VI, 31. *Hier.* Cat. c. 63. *Routh*, Reliq. sacr. vol. II.

After "Rome," 4th line from the foot of p. 88: "was amply educated in Greek general learning,"—and it is said: "his wit was sometimes very natural but sometimes far-fetched,"—and "he supplied the African Church with the watch-word that Christ calls himself the truth, not usage." (*a*)

The 11th line on p. 89 continues thus: "The Montanistic spirit is perceptible in them all, but in the earliest of them it holds up the simple noble nature of Christian morality in opposition merely to an effeminate form of civilization, gradually it proceeds to still severer demands, and shows an increasing consciousness of its pneumatic nature in opposition to those who were merely psychical Christians, (*b*) and finally it was especially hostile to the Romish Church, in proportion as the latter ceased to favor Montanism. For it was not so much Tertullian as the Roman bishop who changed his views (*c*) with reference to that system, and we need not be surprised that a liberality like that which sprung up under Zephyrinus, and an act of pardon like that which Callistus proclaimed for all who had been expelled for licentious conduct, should have made this church in the eyes of the stern disciplinarian worse than a den of robbers. (*d*) And yet the West continued so tolerant toward Montanism that a number of female martyrs adhering to that system have been canonized in the African Church, (*e*) and Tertullian, to whom the Paraclete was rather a restorer of apostolical order than an innovator, and religious ecstasy was rather a theory than a principle, became so prominent, that he was looked upon as the model for the Latin theology. This theology was then disinclined to any philosophical theories respecting divine things; it spoke of Athens and the Academy as irreconcilable with Jerusalem and the Church, and turned its whole attention to questions respecting the condition of the Church, and things essential to salvation. A congregation of *Tertullianists* in Carthage could have had nothing but a local importance, and reunited with the Catholic Church in the time of Augustine. (*f*) Thascius Caecilius *Cyprianus* may be regarded as the personal representative of the Catholic Church in his day. (*g*) Having enjoyed," &c.

After "assistance," p. 90, 8th line from the bottom: "and to encourage others to a similar course he extolled such acts as an expiation for all the sins of believers." (*h*)

Instead of the sentence beginning "Cyprian had now become," p. 91, line 7th, read: "Cyprian was now pledged to die a martyr's death," (*i*)—and at the close of § 84, p. 91, add: "Both leaders in the African Church died in the assurance that they would soon be raised again from the dead by the

a) De virgg. vel. c. 1.

b) De poenit. c. 7ss. comp. de pudic. c. 1. comp. 16. Ad uxor. I, 3. comp. de fuga in persecut.—De virgg. vel. c. 1s.

c) Note *e*, p. 89.

d) The edictum peremtorium *Tert.* de pud. c. 1. has now its complete explanation: (Orig.) Haer. Refut. l. IX. p. 290s.

e) Note *f*, p. 89. *f*) *Aug.* haer. 16.

g) Vita Cypr. per *Pontium*, ejus Diaconum (Cypr. Opp.) Among the Actis Martyrii are the two older beginning: Cum Cypr. and Imp. Valeriano.—*J. Pearson*, Annales Cyprianici, before Fell's edition. *F. W. Rettberg*, Cypr. nach s. Leben u. Wirken. Gott. 1831. *Rudelbach*, chr. Biographie. Lps. 1850. vol. I. 1.

h) De Opere et Eleemosynis (251.) *i*) De exhortat. martyrii (252).

voice of their returning Savior, but Tertullian's views were more ardent and fanciful, since his eye was fixed upon a kingdom of intellectual and spiritual blessings indeed, but a kingdom where every thing which believers lost or despised in the present life would be recompensed by terrestrial enjoyments." (*a*)

The next section is entitled "III. The School of Alexandria," and includes the two following sections.

After the third sentence of the section read: "*Athenagoras* the Apologist (p. 51), who ventured to invoke philosophy to the defence of the doctrine of the resurrection, (*b*) is regarded as the founder of this school."

The sentence near the middle of p. 92, commencing "His superior," &c., is altered thus:—"The *works* of Clement were alone capable of assisting his higher development, nothing but his position as a teacher took him to the school of Ammonius Saccas, and he never was concerned in transmitting the New-platonic traditions with a rank equal to that of Plotinus himself." (*c*)

The sentence ending with the word "traditions," p. 93, 4th line from bottom, continues thus: "and is conditioned by an exaltation above all mutable interests."

To the section closing on p. 95, add:—"His zeal in this respect was exceeded by *Hieracas*, whose contemporaries had not yet learned to regard such views as heretical. This founder of an ascetic association near Leontopolis, was the means of exciting a high degree of literary activity, the results of which have been entirely lost. He wrote in the Coptic popular language, and taught that the Fall of the soul was the direct result of its efforts to free itself from corporeality. He thought that the only distinction between the old and the new law consisted in the prohibition of marriage by the latter. To his allegorical explanations of the Scriptures belongs his incarnation of the Holy Ghost in Melchizedek. There was nothing repugnant or hopeless to the Alexandrian doctrine of freedom in his denial of salvation to children even when baptized." (*d*)

After the word "churches," line 10, p. 97: "1) *Gospels* of the Childhood, the Passion, and the Resurrection of Jesus. (*e*) 2) *Acts of the Apostles*, especially of Peter, and an account of the unknown fortunes of the twelve, filled with fanciful stories of their miracles. (*f*) 3) *The Clementine Homilies* contain the controversial discourses of Peter, especially with Simon Magus, which, in opposition to the many internal and external parties col-

a) *Tertul.* de orat. c. 5. Adv. Marc. III, 24. (De spe fidelium is lost.) Cypr. de exhort. mart. c. 1. De mortalit. c. 2. De unit. Ecc. c. 16.

b) Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν, ed. *Rechenberg*, Lps. 1685.

c) Only the former assertion follows from Origen's Epistle in *Eus.* H. ecc. VI, 19. and the other must rest upon the authority of Porphyry, (Vita Plotini c. 2ss.) who certainly knew this father in his youth, and upon that of Longinus, who may be styled another Origen among the heathen. Note *c*, p. 92. *R. T. Schmidt*, Orig. des Neu-Platonikers Schrift ὅτι μόνος ποιητὴς ὁ Βασιλεύς. (Stud. u. Krit. 1842. H. 1.)

d) *Epiph.* haer. 67.

e) *K. Hase*, Leben Jesu. § 11. Also, Evv. apocrypha ed. *C. Tischendorf*, Lps. 1853.

f) Note *c*, p. 97. Fragmm. Actuum S. Jo., ed. *Thilo*, Hal. 1847. Acta App. apocr. ex XXX. edd. graec. ed. *Tischendorf*, Lps. 1851.—Κήρυγμα, Πράξεις, Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου. *Eus.* H. ecc. III, 3. *Credner*, Beitrr. vol. I. p. 351ss.

lected at Rome about the middle of the second century, endeavored to reconcile the various tendencies in the Church on the basis of a peculiarly colored Jewish Christianity, and were mingled with the romance of Clement. (*a*) The continued embellishment of this story, but with a still further removal of the doctrine into the background, and with a greater approximation to the popular faith of the Catholics, is found in the *Recognitions* (ἀναγνώσεις), translated by Rufinus. (*b*) In the first half of this work, reference is made to another composition from Palestine, probably The Preaching of Peter (κηρυγμα), of which Peter was the hero. Of the two epistles to James prefixed to the Homilies, the first was written in the name of Peter, and the other in the name of Clement, but in compliance with Peter's last directions. It is not yet quite clear whether the Catholic Church attempted to make use of the historical portions of the fictitious Homilies by means of the Recognitions, (*c*) or whether the Homilies were formed from the Recognitions for party purposes, or whether both were not independently formed out of a still older work. (*d*) In their confused references to the consular and first bishop of Rome, both evidently claim to be the composition of Clement, who sprung from the imperial family, and after many unsuccessful philosophical inquiries after truth, found not only peace, but the lost members of his family in Peter's church. 4) Jewish imitations of earlier prophetic visions were sometimes used by Christians with their own interpretation, and sometimes were imitated by them, in many cases with a meaning hardly reconcilable with Christianity, and in others to complete the Messianic prophecies by facts from the life of Jesus. (*e*) Thus the Ascension of Isaiah mingles together Jewish-Christian and heretical elements in its two principal parts; the Beloved one descends from the seventh heaven to accomplish in human form his work on earth, and the prophet ascends that he may behold the future course of the Messiah's kingdom, until the final judgment and the glories of the divine Father, and dies under the saw, for and according to his own prophecy. (*f*) The *Testaments* of the *Twelve Patriarchs* contain the moral exhortations of the sons of Jacob on their dying beds to the Jewish nation. The work professes to have come from a period before the Mosaic law, and to contain prophecies of a Christ from the tribes of Levi and Judah, the High Priest and the King of an everlasting kingdom. (*g*) Its fundamental principles indicate that it was written by a native Jew of the second century,

a) Τὰ Κλημέντια, Κλήμεντος, τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδημιῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή. After the editt. by Cotelerius (Patres app.) and Gallandi: Clem. Romani quae feruntur Homiliae, recogn. *A. Schwegler*, Stuttg. 1847.

b) After the editt. by Cotelerius and Gallandi: S. Clem. Rom. Recognitiones Rufino interprete, cur. *E. G. Gersdorf*, Lps. 1838.

c) *D. v. Cölln.* Clementina in d. Hall. Encykl. vol. XVIII. p. 86ss. *A. Schliemann*, d. Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schrr. u. d. Ebionitism. Hamb. 1844. nt. *c*, p. 84.

d) *A. Hilgenfeld*, d. Clem. Recog. u. Homilien, nach Urspr. u. Inhalt. Jena. 1848. *Ritschl*, altkath. K. p. 153ss. (making the Kerygma against Basilides about 120, the Recognitions against Valentine about 140, and the Homilies against Marcion about 160.) Comp. *Hilgenf.* d. Evv. Just. p. 307ss. (who makes the Recogn. original only in substance.)

e) Note *d*, p. 97. *f*) *Ibid.* last part.

g) Ibid. *Fabr.* Cod. pseud. vol. I. p. 496ss.—*A. Kayser*, d. Test. d. 12 Patr. (Strassb. Beitrr. Jena. 1851. H. 3.)

but by one who humbly submitted to the counsel of Jehovah, and recognized in the last apostle of the tribe of Benjamin a chosen instrument of Providence. (*a*) 5) The lost prophecies ascribed to Hystaspes, an ancient Persian seer, gave the Asiatic Christians a native prophet of the Messiah. (*b*) 6) When the Hellenistic Jews appropriated to their own use the prophetic voice of nature, mythically personified among the heathen in the Sibyls, many Christian Sibyllists arose to express in this poetic form the confidence they felt in the ultimate victory of their cause, and their wrath toward evil men; and the Christian apologists appealed to these divinely inspired voices of paganism as witnesses among the heathen themselves of equal rank with the Scriptural prophecies. The eight books of the *Sibylline Oracles*, gradually collected after the second century, contain a heterogeneous mixture of heathen, Jewish, and Christian poems, the Christian commencing soon after the eruption of Vesuvius (79), and throwing out fresh shoots until some time in the fifth century. (*c*)"

§ 90 is entitled "The Son of God," and additional references for it are:

"*J. A. Dorner*, Entwicklugsgesch. d. L. v. d. Person Chr. vol. I. is on the first 4 centt. Stuttg' (1839). 1845. (*Hase*) Chr. Dogm. p. 201ss. 513ss."

In the sentence beginning "According to," the little regard for the Holy Ghost is qualified by the clause "except among the Montanists."

The sentence near the middle of p. 99, closing with the word "Tertullian," continues: "who reproached him with having performed two of the devil's works in Rome, viz., driving away the Paraclete, and crucifying the Father. But *Theodotus* the Tanner, who came about the same time from Byzantium to Rome, excused his denial of Christ by saying that he only denied a man, and he was driven from the Church by Victor. *Theodotus*, the money-broker, honored Melchizedek, a heavenly Redeemer, more than the earthly. *Noetus* of Smyrna, and probably a presbyter of Ephesus, was excluded from his church (about 200) as a Patripassian, notwithstanding his denial of the charge, and the charge itself is to be explained only on the ground that he held to the second kind of Monarchianism. But as Praxeas was favored by Victor, (*d*) the doctrine of Noetus, which was propagated in Rome by Cleomenes, was favored by the bishop Zephyrinus under the influence of Callistus, who regarded the Son as only a human manifestation of the Father by the divine Spirit in Christ, so that the Father as such did not suffer, except in connection with the Son. Callistus called those presbyters who resisted him Ditheists (δίθεοι), and they retorted against their bishop that the heresy of the Callistines originated with the principle of Heraclitus, according to which every thing may be its opposite. (*e*) The party of the first Theodotus was distinguished for secular learning, treated the Scriptures as merely human productions, and was powerful enough to elevate a confessor to the episcopal see. It was not long, however, before their bishop was

a) Test. Benjamin c. 11. *b*) Note *e*, p. 97.

c) Note *f*, p. 97. *C. Alexander*, Par. 1841. 2 vols. *Friedlieb*, Lps. 1852.—*Ibid.* de edd. Sibyll. mss. in usum nondum adhibitis. Vrat. 1847.

d) *Tertul.* adv. Prax. c. 53. *e*) (*Origen.* Haeres. Refutat. p. 279ss.)

attacked in the night by divine or episcopal emissaries, and compelled to abdicate at the feet of Zephyrinus, and *Artemon*, who maintained that the doctrine which the apostles had preached, and which had always prevailed in Rome, was that the Son of the Virgin was superior to all other men, merely on account of his righteousness, and that this had been corrupted first under Zephyrinus, was excommunicated. (*a*) Thus these three contradictory opinions were then (218–23) openly maintained at Rome, but the merely human view had been already condemned, and its opposite extreme was represented by a bishop whose reputation had been tarnished. In Arabia the bishops took decided ground against their colleague *Beryllus* of Bostra, who denied," &c.

The sixth sentence of § 92 reads: "All these wrote on the same standpoint as Eusebius, in the spirit of the dominant Church." It is said that "*Philostorgius* found and honored the Catholic Church in the vanquished party,"—that "*Evagrius* was mild in his general judgments, but in his particular application passionate for orthodoxy,"—and that "of the 5 last books of *Niceph. Callist.* nothing now remains but the table of contents."

To the references for Chap. I. p. 103, add:

"*E. Chastel*, Hist. de la destruction du paganisme dans l'empire d'orient. Par. 1850."

For § 93:

"*J. Burckhardt*, d. Zeit Const. d. Gr. Basel. 1853."

Near the middle of p. 103: "the consulting of oracles as well as the offering of sacrifices was prohibited, but ineffectually,"—and "the emperor stamped upon his coins not only the emblems of Christ but of Apollo."

For § 94 an additional reference is made to

"*F. Strauss*, der Romantiker a. d. Throne o. Julian d. Abtr. Manh. 1847."

And for § 98 to

"*Hefele* d. Akten d. ersten allg. Syn. zu Nic. (Th. Quartalsch. 1851. H. 1.) *Ibid.* Entsteh. u. Charakterist. d. Arian. (Ibid. H. 2.)"

To the second sentence of § 102 it is added, that Arius thought the Son of God "might also be adored as God."

Substitute for the word "question," after the middle of p. 112: "matter which threatened to thwart his two great aims, the unity of the Church, and of the empire."

It is said (p. 114) that Aetius and Eunomius "denied that Christ possessed any *underived* divine nature,"—in § 104, that Marcellus "declared that the Logos was the eternal wisdom of God, and manifested itself as the power which created the world, but did not become the only begotten Son of God until the Incarnation," &c.—and that his deposition was "at Constantinople."

In the first sentence of paragraph 3d, p. 115, instead of "a sensuous nature," read: "the mere incarnation of the Logos."

The sentences at the top of p. 117 are changed, and read: "The whole theological literature was under the direction of two schools; that of *Alex-*

a) *Eus.* H. ecc. V, 23.

andria, with the new tendency which it received during the ecclesiastical controversies, and that which had recently sprung up at *Antioch*. In the former prevailed an earnest effort to comprehend in one the finite and the infinite, an allegorical mode of interpretation, the general spirit of Origen, though" &c. From the Alexandrian school proceeded "none but the representatives of the theology which had then become *ascendant* in the Church." *Athanasius* (middle of p. 117) "was full of wrath against all who wished to rend the indivisible coat of Christ."—*Basil* the Great was "the admirer of Libanius as well as of St. Anthony."—*Synesius* (2d sentence in § 107) "was powerfully impressed by the principles of Christianity, but remained a faithful disciple of Hypatia."

For the first word of § 108, read "Many."

Add to the references for "III. The Pelagian Controversy."

"*Jo. Gefficken*, Hist. semipelagianismi antiquiss. (till 434.) Gott. 1826. 4. *J. G. Voigt*, De theoria Augustiniana, Semipel. et Synergist. Goett. 1829. *Lentzen*, de Pelagianor. doctr. principiis. Colon. 1833. *J. L. Jacobi*, d. L. d. Pel. Lps. 1842."

To those for § 110:

"*Poujoulat*, Hist. de S. Aug. Uebers. v. Hurter. Schaffh. 1845ss. 2 vols."

§§ 111 and 112 are arranged in one section, and entitled: "Augustinism and Semipelagianism."

Nestorius (p. 126, after "orthodoxy") "attacked the honor paid to a mother of God as a new paganism."

After "epistle" (4th line, p. 128): "Christ is *one* person, in his divinity eternally from the Father, in his humanity from the virgin mother of God, with *two* natures, inseparable but without confusion," &c.

§§ 121 and 122 are united and entitled: "The Roman Empire."

Before the last sentence of § 122: "For although in the East the emperor himself was looked upon as invested with a kind of sacerdotal character, the people regarded it" &c.

After the first sentence of § 123: "It took from slavery its confidence in its own equity, and every act of manumission was encouraged by the Church as a work of piety: but, on the other hand, those who refused to acknowledge the owners of slaves as Christians were rejected, slaves were admonished to render obedience for God's sake, and masters to regard their slaves as brethren redeemed by the same price as themselves." (*a*)

After "protection" (line 8, p. 138): "Laws were enacted to sustain the sacredness of marriage, but the old Roman penal laws against coelibacy were abolished even in the time of Constantine."

The sentences at the foot of p. 139 should read: "Institutions of benevolence of every kind to mitigate the miseries of a gradually decaying social condition originated in the Church. (*b*) Its wealth contributed to its power

a) *Greg.* M. Ep. VI, 12. *Chrysost.* ad Philem. (vol. II. p. 773.) *Hier.* ad Marcel. Ep. 20.—*Conc. Gangr.* can. 3.—*Neander*, Denkw. vol. II. p. 159ss. [Memorials of Chr. Life, transl. by *Ryland*, Lond. 1852. p. 305.] *Moehler*, Aufheb. d. Sklav. durch d. Christenth. in d. ersten 15 Jhh. (Tub. Quartalsch. 1834. H. 1.)

b) *E. Chastel*, Etudes hist. sur l'influence de la charité durant les premiers siecles chrét. Par. 1853.

and freedom. The management of its funds was under the superintendence of the bishop through a steward (*οἰκονόμος*), the distribution—" &c.

The application of the 2d sentence in § 126, should be limited to "the East."

The sentence beginning in the 6th line from the foot of p. 140 should commence: "In the fourth century female presbyters disappear, (*a*) and the ordination of deaconesses," &c.

The sentence before the last on p. 142 should read: "On account of these divisions the council of Sardica (347) committed to Julius, Bishop of Rome, a judicial cognizance of the reception of appeals in the case of bishops. But when this decree was presented to the African Church as a regulation coming from the Nicæan Synod, it refused obedience, and threatened every one who should appeal to any ecclesiastical authority beyond the sea." (*b*)

Before "Synods" in line 2d, p. 143, insert "first."

In the last sentence on p. 145, Gregory is said to have improved Church music "by simplifying its style, and by his school."

After "charms" in the last line of p. 147: "the Church contended continually against superstitions derived from paganism, but unconscious of their origin." (*c*)

Before "The Church," line 10th, p. 148: "The Christian duty of beneficence which was even then performed with a munificent generosity, was enforced by preachers on communistic principles, appealing to the avarice of men." (*d*) After "Spirit," a few sentences beyond: "and even the old idea of the millennial kingdom had to yield to the interpretation, that it meant only the spiritual influence of the gospel." (*e*)

The 2d sentence of § 134 reads: "The necessity of some fellowship brought the hermits together in a community of neighboring huts (*λαύρα*)." Instead of "Amun in the desert of Nitra" in the next sentence, insert: "Macarius in the Sketic desert." (*f*)

The date near the foot of p. 150 should be "422."

"Add to the sentence ending on line 7, p. 152: "and in the African Church offerings for the dead were laid upon their graves," (*g*)—and to the last sentence of the same section: "seeking edification from the vestiges of past ages." (*h*)

Add to the references for § 139:

"*A. Z. Zestermann*, die antiken u. chr. Basiliken. Lps. 1847. *J. Kreuser*, d. chr. KBau, s. Gesch. Symbolik, Bildnerei. Bonn. 1851. 2 vols.—*F. Kugler*, HB. d. Gesch. d. Malerei s. Constantin. 2 ed. Brl. 1847. vol. I. p. 1–107."

a) *Conc. Laodic.* can. 11.

b) *Conc. Afric.* Ep. ad. Bonif. (*Constant.* p. 1013s.) *Conc. Milevit*, can. 22. (*Codex canon. Eccl. Afric.* c. 28.

c) *Syn. Trull.* c. 61. 62. 65. Comp. *Chastel*, Destruct. du Paganisme. p. 309ss.

d) *Chrysost.* Hom. in Act. II. 24. (Opp. vol. IX. p. 93.)

e) *Aug.* De civ. Dei XX. 4ss.

f) *Macarii* Aegyptii Epp., Homiliarum loci, preces, ed. *H. J. Floss*, Col. 1850. Comp. *Tischendorf*, Reise in d. Or. vol. I. p. 119s.

g) *Aug.* Confess. VI, 2.

h) Already *Eus.* VI. 11.—Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, a. 333.—*J. H. Heidegger*, de peregrinationib. rel. Tur. 1670. *Robinson*, Palestine, vol. II. p. 208ss.

The last clause of the 2d sentence in this section is limited to "the Western Church."

Before the last clause of the 3d sentence, insert: "the central portion elevated about the height of the windows above the side aisles," &c.

Before the last clause of the 5th sentence insert: "where monuments were usually erected," &c.

A few sentences after, "the Roman temple-form," should read: "built in the form of the Rotunda for temples and baths."

After "*Salvator*," line 2, p. 156: "surrounded with emblems of the salvation of man, and in the midst of the apostles, whose countenances were serious and dignified, and whose persons were in the ancient Roman costume. In the seventh century, however, this style ceased to be popular, for then a general decline took place in all the arts, and the Byzantine style which originated in Constantinople, and showed a sympathy with this corruption, prevailed with its inherited skilfulness, but its complete want of nature."

After "chosen" in line 7th, p. 156, the sentence continues: "and Christian and pagan symbols were mingled together, especially in the reliefs of the sarcophagi." (*a*)

After the 1st sentence of § 142: "At its foundation lay also the question which had then become so prominent, whether the whole influence of the priesthood was derived from the personal character of its members, or from the general grace communicated through their order."

The first sentence of § 143: "*Audius* (Udo) broke off from the Church in Mesopotamia because it would not listen to the exhortations to repentance which the zealous layman gave it," &c.

After the last sentence in § 143: "A class of persons who arrogantly called themselves *Apostolicals* (also Ἀποστακτικοί), from their little corner in Asia Minor claimed to be the only true Church, and held out no hope to those who possessed property or lived in marriage. They agreed substantially with the tendency which proceeded from *Eustathius*, the honored Bishop of *Sebaste*, according to which there was no special merit in martyrdom, which proudly or restlessly separated from the great Church, and were finally cut off from it at the Synod of *Gangra* (between 362 and 370)."

An additional reference for § 144:

"*Epiph.* haer. 52. *August.* haer. 31."

After the 1st sentence of § 144: "Their worship reminds one of the *Adamites*, who were followers of a pupil of Carpocrates, and were first mentioned during the last part of the fourth century, under the imputation, by common report, of wishing in their grotto churches to bring back a state of paradisiac innocence, by means of a paradisiac style of dress. They therefore rejected all relations founded upon distinctions of sex. The condemnation of the Priscillianists was obtained at the synod." &c.

After "letters" in 2d line of § 147: "and in the modern legislation."

In the middle of p. 164: "Thor is the god of thunder who overcomes

a) *Piper*, Gesch. d. Osterfestes. (Berl. 1845.) vol. I. p. 88. 77ss.

winter and all the powers of nature hostile to man, and is the hero who is especially the friend of the people."

After "unmolested," line 4th, p. 166: "The conquerors revered a saint like *Severinus* (d. about 481) of unknown origin, who, without official dignity, but claiming to act by the divine command, with an extensive spiritual influence, ameliorated the miseries of the national migrations in the countries along the Danube. The German—" &c.

After "sect," in the last sentence of § 153: "some sought martyrdom by reviling Mohammed, others despaired of Christ," &c.

INDEX.

A
Aargau, Convents in, 646.
Abel Ministry, 573, 653.
Abelard, 241. 333.
Abderrhaman, 168.
Abgarus, 35.
Abraham a St. Clara, 520s.
Abraxas, 78, 695.
Absalon of Roeskilde, 249.
Abubekr, 110.
Abyssinia, 108.
Acacius, 114. 128.
Academy, Platonic, 17, 328.
Achamoth, 79.
Acta Apostolorum, 97.
Adelbert of Bremen, 214; of Mentz, 185, 199; of Prague, 250.
Adamites, 708.
Adiaphoristic Controv., 397, 405, 409.
Adoptionists, 180.
Advent, 154; Second, 40, 94.
Advocatia, 216.
Aegidius of Viterbo, 284.
Aelia Capitolina, 42.
Aelianus, 47.
Aeneas Sylvius, 280s.
Aeons, 76ss.
Aerius, 159.
Aetius, 114, 705.
Affre, Archbishop, 628.
African Churches, 62, 616.
Agabus, 38.
Agapae, 41, 153.
Agatho, 132.
Agenda Controv., 567s.
Agnes, St., 152.
Agobard of Lyons, 233.
Agonistici, Circumcelliones, 158.
Agricola, 397, 403.
Agrippa, 25.
Ἀκέφαλοι, 128.
Albanians, 356.
Albericus, 188.
Albert of Brandenburg, 375; of Mentz, 363, 372, 392; of Riga, 251; of Strasbourg, 264.
Albert Durer, 306. 445.
Albertinus Mussatus, 264.
Albertus Magnus, 320.
Albigensian War, 255s.
Albornoz, 274.
Alcuin, 179, 180.
Aleander, 371.
Alexander Severus, 46.
Alexander of Alexandria, 112; of Hales, 320; of Russia, 667, 681.
Alexander II., 192; III., 202s., 214, 216; V., 276; VI., 282, 353; VII., 512, 517; VIII., 518.
Alexandria, Bishopric, 61, 141.
Alexandrian Theology, 91ss.
Alexandrian and Antiochian schools, 117, 126, 706.
Alexiani, 318.
Alexias Comnenus, 262.
Alfadur, 165.
Alfred the Great, 234.
Algiers, 664.
Allegri Gregorio, 465.
Allemand of Arles, 280.
Alliance, Evang., 592; German, 605; German Diet, 574; Holy, 681s.
All Saints, 154.
All Souls, 224.
Alogi, 99.
Alombrados, 519s.
Altar, 69.
Altenburg, 365, 563.
Altenstein, Minister, 566.
Altorf, Socinians, 455.
Alvarus Pelagius, 343.
Alzog, 12.
Amalrich of Bena, 340.
Ambrosius, 118, 138, 153, 159.
America, 338, 475; North, 601ss. 664.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 102.
Ammonius Saccas, 48.
Ampulla Sacra, 166, 625.
Amsdorf, 380, 392, 406s.
Amyrald, 490.
Anabaptism, 70, 90.
Anabaptists, 431s. 610.
Ananus, 26.
Anastasius, 128, 132.
Anathematisms, 126.
Anderson, 418.
Andreae Jac., 409; J. Val., 449.
Andronicus, 354.
Angel Brethren, 508.
Angela of Brescia, 463.
Angelica of Port Royal, 517s.
Angelico of Fiesole, 305.
Angels, Worship of, 152.
Angelus Silesius, 520.
Anglican Church, 421s., 442, 497s., 598s.
Anglo-Saxons, 167, 172.
Anhalt, 413.
Anna Lee, 576.
Annegarn, 12.
Anomians, 114.
Ansegisus, 209.
Anselm Cantab., 198, 239; of Laon, Glosses, 243.
Ansgar, 245.
Anspach, Gen. Synod, 574.
Anthimus, 129.
Anthropomorphites, 121, 158.
Antidicomarianites, 152.
Antinomian Controv., 402s.
Antioch, Bishopric, 61.
Antiochian School, 117, 126.
Antitrinitarians, 432.
Antonelli, 623, 634.
Antoninus Pius, 45; of Florence, 264.
Antonius, Hermit, 64; of Padua, 298; Hospitallers of St., 228.
Antony Ulrich, 493.
Aphthartodocetae, 129.
Apocrypha, 71, 96, 614, 702ss.
Ἀποκατάστασις, 79, 94.
Apollinaris, 115, 116.
Apollonius, 45; of Tyana, 47.
Apollos, 32.
Apologists, 50ss., 335, 500.
Apology, Augsburg Conf., 383.
Apostles, 25, 38.
Apostolicals, 341s. 708.
Apostolic Brethren, 341s.; Canons, 57s.; Church, 24s.; Congregation, 617; Constitutions, 57s.; Fathers, 36s., 72s.; Vicars, 634.
Appeals to Gen. Councils, 291.
Appenzel, Reform, 386.
Appropriation, Principle, 650.
Apuleius, 47.
Aquarii, 64.
Arabians, 108s., 168, 235.
Aranda of Spain, 527.
Arcesilaus, 17.
Archbishops, 244s., see Metropolitans.
Archdeacons, 141, 215.
Architecture, Eccles., 155ss., 302, 675s.
Archpresbyters, 141.
Arelate Synod, 114.

Arianism, 111ss., 165.
Ariminum Synod, 114.
Aristides, Apologist, 50.
Aristotle, 16s., 236, 320.
Arius, 112, 119.
Armenians, 62, 108, 131, 260, 665.
Arminians, 415ss., 491, 610.
Arnauld, 517.
Arndt, 448.
Arnobius, 52.
Arnold, 8; of Brescia, 200; of Citeaux, 256.
Arnulf, Emperor, 187; of Rheims, 189.
Arsenius, 354s.
Artemon, 99, 705.
Arts in Middle Ages, 302.
Asa, Doctrine of the, 164.
Ascensio Jesaiae, 703.
Ascetics, 63.
Aschaffenburg Concordat, 281.
Asiatic-Roman School, 88, 697ss.
Asses, Festival of, 221.
Asylum, 138.
Athanarich, 165.
Athanasius, 113s., 115, 117.
Athenagoras, 51, 95, 702.
Athens, 116.
Athos, 354.
Attila, 144.
Audius, 158, 708.
Augsburg Confession, 383; Diet, 383.
Augusti, 10.
Augustine Eremites, 316.
Augustinism, 122ss., 380, 509.
Augustinus, 106, 122ss., 138, 158, 176; of Canterbury, 167.
Augustus of Saxony, 408.
Aurelianus, 46.
Auricular Confession, 148, 176, 223.
Austria, Catholic, 635, 640; Protestant, 417s., 493ss., 548, 606.
Avignon, 273, 274, 275, 525, 526, 531.

B

Baanes, 160.
Babylonian Exile, 272, 368.
Bach, J. Sebastian, 489.
Bacon, Roger, 326; of Verulam, 489.
Baden Conference, 646; Controversy, 644; Disputation, 387; Synod, 572.
Bahrdt, 537.
Bajus, 467.
Baldur, 165.
Baldwin, Flandr., 197, 207.
Balsamon, Theodore, 135.
Ban, 176, 311.
Baptism, 41, 70, 252, 691.
Baptisterium, 155; of Florence, 304.
Baptists, 431s., 603, 610.
Baradai, Jacob, 131.
Bar Cochba, 42.
Bardas, 258, 260.
Bardesanes, 83.
Barlaam, 354.
Barletta, Gabriel, 300.
Barnabas, 28, 36.
Baronius, 7.
Bartholomew's Night, 426s.
Bartolomeo Fra, 305.
Basedow, 545.
Basilica, 155, 303.
Basilides, 78, 694s., 694s.
Basiliscus, 128.
Basilius, 258; Magnus, 117, 149, 706.
Basle, Council, 279, 291, 350; Reformation, 387; Society at, 599.
Basnage, 10, 861.
Bassi, Matteo de, 462s.
Bauer, Bruno, 553.
Baur, 24, 594s.
Bautain, 655.
Bavaria, 375, 392, 527, 536, 572, 605s., 635, 642, 653.
Bayle, 361, 490s.
Beatification, 307.
Beatoun, Card., 424.
Beaumont, 519.
Becket, Thomas à, 203.
Bede Venerabilis, 161, 179.
Beethoven, 675.
Beghards, Beghines, 318.
Belgium, 633.
Bellarmine, 458, 468s.
Bells, 153.
Bena, Amalrich of, 340.
Benedict, Levita, 185, 209; of Nursia, 151; III., 186; VIII., 190; IX., 190; X., 192; XI., 272; XII., 274; XIII., 276, 513; XIV., 514, 519.
Bengel, 491.
Bequests to the Church, 139.
Berault-Berneastel, 683.
Berengarius, 237s.; II., 189.
Bernard of Clairvaux, 189, 200, 229, 240, 242.
Berne, Deception at, 301; Reformation, 387.
Bernini, 464.
Berno of Clugni, 226.
Berthier, 532.
Berthold of Calabria, 230; of Ratisbon, 300.
Berulle, Petrus de, 462.
Beryllus, 100, 705.
Bessarion, 356.
Bethmann-Hollweg, 590.
Beza, 402, 447.
Beziers, 256.
Bible Hours, 445; Prohibition, 243, 332, 670; Societies, 612ss., 667; Versions, 331s., 373.
Biblia Pauperum, 332.
Bickell, 562s.
Biel, 322.
Bilderdyk, 596.
Birgitte, 309, 317.
Bishop of Bishops, 61.
Bishops, 38, 59, 214, 293s.; Suffragan, 293; Protestant, 449s., 567s.; Three Great, 61s.
Blandrata, 434.
Blau, 654.
Blood Baptism, 70, 313.
Boccaccio, 327.
Bockelsen, 431.
Bodin, 522.
Boehme, Jacob, 448.
Boehmer, J. H., 492.
Boethius, 133.
Bogomiles, 262.
Bohemians, 248s., 347ss., 477.
Bohemian Brethren, 350s.
Boleslaus, 249.
Bolingbroke, 500.
Bologna University, 236.
Bonaventura, 297, 325.
Bonifacius (Winfred), 168, 173, 176, 179; VIII., 271, 286, 301.
Borgia, Cæsar, 282s., 284; Roderigo, 282.
Borromeo, Charles, 461.
Bossuet, 8, 360, 515, 520.
Bourbons, 426ss., 607s.
Bourdaloue, 516.
Bourignon, 519s.
Bouthillier de la Rance, 521.
Bradwardina, 323.
Brahminism, 473s.
Bramantes, 304.
Brazil, 633.
Bremen, 245, 413, 564.
Brentz, 389s., 391, 408.
Breslau Union, 569; German Catholics at, 657.
Bridaine, 516.
Britain, 53, 167, 173.
Brown, 423.
Brethren, Bohemian, Moravian, 350; of Christian Schools, 521; of the Free Spirit, 340; of the Common Life, 318.
Bruggler Sect, 509.
Brunellesco, 304.
Bruno, Carthusian, 227; Jord., 448.
Bucer, 390.
Buddeus, 491.
Buddhism, 473s.
Buffon, 523.
Bugenhagen, 380, 419.
Bulgarians, 256.
Bullinger, 361.
Buonaparte, 532.
Burchard of Worms, 210.
Burgundians, 165s.
Burial, 69.
Buttler, 510.
Byzantines, 258, 260s.

C

Caecilianus, 157.
Cainites, 80.
Cajetanus, 271; and Luther, 364.
Caius, Presbyter, 699.
Calas, John, 548.
Calasanza, 463.
Calcutta, Bishopric, 615.
Calderon, 464.
Caliphs, 110.
Calixtines, 350.
Calixtus of Helmstadt, 8, 486s.; II., 199; III., 281.
Callenberg, 511.
Callistus, 689, 704.
Calovius, 485, 486.
Calvin, 401ss. 447.
Calvinism, 412ss. 595s.; Saxon, 407.
Camaldoli, 227.
Cambray, League of, 284.
Cameel, Sultan, 266.
Camisards, 495.
Campanus, 433.
Campegius, 376.
Camus, 529.
Canon of the N. T., 71s., 447.
Canones Apostolici, 57.
Canonici, 177, 213s., 292s.
Canonissae Saeculares, 317s.
Canonization, 213, 307.
Canossa, 195.
Canute the Great, 246.
Capaccini, 682.
Capellus, 490.
Capito, 399.
Capuchins, 463.
Caracalla, 45.
Caracci, 464.
Carbeas, Paulician, 262.
Cardinals, 213s., 290.
Carlos, Don, 629s.
Carlstadt, 365s., 372, 380, 389.
Carmelites, 229s., 316.
Carneades, 17.
Carpocratians, 80s., 696.
Cartesius, 489.
Carthusians, 227s.
Carthage, Synod, 124.
Casas, Barth. de la, 338.
Cassander, 468.
Cassianus, 125.

Cassiodorus, 133, 151.
Castellio, 447.
Casuistry, 338s., 454s.
Catacombs, 69.
Cataphryges, 66.
Catechism of France, 534; of Heidelberg, 413; Luther's, 382; Romanus, 466.
Catechumens, 65.
Catharine de Bora, 380; de Medici, 427; of Russia, 666; of Siena, 308s.
Catharists, 251ss., 342.
Cathedrals, 141, 304, 674.
Catholic Church, 62, 146.
Catholicism, 63, 147, 151, 460, 652; and Protestantism, 468s., 486ss.
Catholicus, 62, 667.
Cellitae, 318.
Celsus, 49.
Censorship of Books, 283, 460s.
Centuriae Magdeb., 7.
Cerdon, 81.
Cerinthus, 34.
Cevennes, 495.
Chalcedon, 127.
Chaldean Christians, 127.
Chalmers, 597.
Chantal Francisca, 463.
Chapters, 214, 292; Controv. on Three, 130.
Charles Albert, 622.
Charles Alex. of Wurtemb., 493; the Great, 169, 173, 174, 179; Augustus, 540; the Gross, 187; the Bald, 187; of Anjou, 268, 270; Martel, 168, 172; Stuart I., 425; II., 497s.; IV. of Spain, 274; V., 370s., 414s., 429; VIII. of France, 282, 352; IX., 428; X., 625s.; IX. of Sweden, 418s.
Charter, German, 573; Imperial, 418.
Chateaubriand, 534.
Chazars, 256s.
Chemnitz, Martinus, 393s., 409, 410.
Cherbury, 499.
Chieregati, 374.
Children, Baptism of, 70, 224, 431.
Chiliasm, 40, 94, 298s., 707.
Chilperic, 173.
China, 108, 338, 474s., 521s., 616, 663s.
Choral, 446.
Chorepiscopi, 60, 214, 293.
Chosroes, 107.
Christian I. of Saxony, 410s.; of Mayence, 221.
Christians, 26.
Christiern II., 419; III., 419.
Christina of Spain, 630s.; of Sweden, 512.
Christmas, 154.
Christopher, 152.
Christo Sacrum, 671.
Christ Party at Corinth, 32.
Chrodegang of Mentz, 176.
Chrysocheres, Paulician, 262.
Chrysostom, 120s.
Chubb, 500.
Church, 1; Ideal of, 437s.; Elders of, 571; Architecture, 155s.; Alliance Evang., 590; Conference, 587; Singing, 153, 300s., 445s., 675s.; History, Idea of, 1; Province, 2; Value of, 3; Property, 216; Music, 465, 485, 675.
Cimabue, 305.
Circumcelliones, 158.
Cistercians, 228.
Civil Marriage, 624.
Clara of Assisi, 296.
Clarendon, Diet of, 203.
Claudius, Emperor, 37; of Turin, 233; of Wandsbeck, 542.
Clausen, 561.
Clausenburg, Diet of, 417.
Clemangis, 325, 344.
Clement of Alexandria, 91s.; of Rome, 36, 57; Droste, 639s.; Flavius, 37; II, 190; III., 196; IV., 268, 270; V., 272s., 311; VI., 274; VII., 275, 376, 390, 421, 450; VIII., 456, 466, 467; IX., 512, 518; X., 512; XI., 513, 518; XII., 514; XIII., 524; XIV., 525.
Clement, Dominican, 428.
Clementinae, 83s., 286, 702s., 697.
Clergy, 57, 140, 176, 193s., 201s., 314.
Clermont, Synod, 196, 197.
Clovis, 166.
Clugni, Congregation, 226.
Cocceius, 490.
Cochin China, 664.
Cochlaeus, 360.
Cock, De, 596.
Codex Dionys., Theod., and Justin, 135s.
Coelestine III., 205; V., 270.
Coelestius, 122, 124.
Coelibacy, 63, 148, 176, 193, 222, 314, 653, 706.
Coelicolae, 107.
Cola di Rienzo, 274s.
Coligny, 428.
Collegialism, 492, 572.
Collegiants, 432.
Collins, 499.
Collyridiani, 152.
Colombino, 317.
Colonna Sciarra, 272.
Columba, 167, 177.
Columbanus, 168.
Columbus, 338.
Commines, 264.
Commodus, 45.
Comneni, 261, 262, 355
Communism, 679, 707.
Conception, Immaculate, 224, 301.
Concord, Book of, 410; Form of, 409.
Concordat, Aschaffenburg, 281; New German, 635; French, 285, 533s., 625; Tuscan, 623; of Worms, 199.
Concordium of Wittenberg, 399.
Condillac, 523.
Confessio Augustana, 383; Helvetica, 416; Tetrapolitana, 390.
Confessions, Augustine's, 124s.
Confessors, 56, 90.
Confederation, 590; Swiss, 388s.
Confirmation, 70, 692.
Confucius, 474.
Confutatio Conf. Augsb., 383.
Congregatio de Auxiliis, 467.
Congregation Apost., 617.
Congregations, 445.
Congregationalists, 603.
Conrad III., 201; of Hochstede, 303; of Marburg, 294, 308.
Conradino, 268.
Consalvi, 533, 674.
Conscientiarians, 501.
Consistories, 441; Prussian, 586.
Consistory, Supreme, French, 608; Prussian, 578.
Constance, Council, 277s., 291, 348s.; Bishopric, 646.
Constans II., 132
Constantia of Sicily, 203, 206, 270.
Constantinople, Synod of, 115s., 130, 132, 156, 259, 355; Storming of, 207, 356.
Constantinus Magnus, 55, 103, 113, 152, 157; Donation of, 184; Copronymus, 156; Pogonatus, 132; Sylvanus, 159.
Constantius, 114; Chlorus, 55.
Constitution Unigenitus, 518; Civil, of French Clergy, 531.
Constitutiones Apostolicae, 57.
Contarini, 393.
Convent Life, 149s., 225s., 316s., 462s., 662s.
Convertites, 470, 672s.
Convocations, 442.
Convulsionaires, 519.
Copernicus, 489.
Copts, 131.
Coquerel, 609.
Coran, 109, 110.
Corday, Charlotte, 531.
Cordicolatras, 521.
Corinth, Parties in, 32.
Cornelius, 674; Rom. Bishop, 67.
Corpus Christi Festival, 301.
Corpus Evangelicorum, 492.
Corpus Juris Canonici, 286.
Correggio, 464.
Coscia, Cardinal, 513s.
Cöthen, Assembly at, 579.
Covenant, Scottish, 424.
Cramer, 9.
Cranmer, 422.
Crell, Nic., 411.
Crescens, 51.
Crescentius, 189.
Cresconius, 136.
Cromwell, 426.
Cross, Elevation of the, 154.
Crucifixes, 156.
Crusades, 196, 220; End of the, 269.
Crypto-Calvinism, 407.
Culdees, 167.
Cumberland Presbyterians, 604.
Cup, Withholding of the, 224s., 350.
Curialists, 289, 478.
Cyprianus, 43, 89ss., 701.
Cyran, Abbot of St., 517.
Cyrillus of Alexandria, 126, 132; (Constantinus), 248; of Jerusalem, 118; Lucaris, 480.
Cyrus, 131.
Czechen, 606.
Czerski, 657.

D

Dalberg, 536.
Damiani, 192, 221, 224, 312.
Damietta, 268.
Dancers, 313s., 446, 605.
Dandolo, 207.
Dannecker, 674.
Dannenmayr, 11.
Dante, 326s.
Danz, 10.
Darby, 611.
Darmstadt, 644.
David of Dinanto, 340.
Deaconesses, 39, 140, 707.
Deacons, 38, 58.
Death, for Heresy, 158, 430.
Decius, 46.
Decretals, False, 184; Gregorian, 286.
Deists, 498ss.
Demetrius of Alexandria, 92.

Democritus (Dippel), 501.
Denmark, 245, 246, 419s., 561s., 678.
Denuntiatio Evangelica, 215s.
Des Cartes, 489.
Desiderius, 196.
Deventer, 318, 330, 519.
Devil, 221, 440.
De Wette, 549.
Διασπορά, 21, 108, 505.
Diderot, 528.
Didymus, 118.
Dimitrij, 481.
Dio, Jo. di, 463.
Diocletianus, 54.
Diodorus, 118s.
Diognetus, 51.
Dionysius Alex., 95, 100; Areopagita, 132, 177; Exiguus, 135; Romanus, 100.
Dioscurus, 127, 144.
Diospolis, Synod of, 124.
Dippel, 501.
Disciplina Arcana, 70.
Dissenters, 497s., 509ss.
Dissidents, 420, 434, 494.
Divorces, 71.
Docetae, 35.
Dodwell, 500.
Dolcino, 342.
Dollinger, 12.
Dome, 303, 304, 674.
Dom Gerle, 529.
Dominicus Dominicans, 296ss.
Domitianus, 37.
Domitilla, 37.
Donatello, 304.
Donation of Constantine, 183s.; of Otho, 190; of Pipin, 178.
Donatists, 157s.
Donauworth, 476.
Dort, Synod of, 415s., 442, 596.
Dositheus, 27.
Droste, 657s.
Druids, 53.
Dubois, Cardinal, 518; Missionary, 664.
Duchoborzi, 666.
Duels, 231.
Dufresne, 664.
Dulon, 564.
Dunin of Posen, 639.
Duns Scotus, 321.
Dunstan, 221.
Dutch Reformed Church, 604.

E

Easter Chronicle, 102; Controversy, 68, 154; Laughter, 300.
East Indies, 108, 470ss., 510, 522, 615, 664.
Ebel of Koenigsberg, 560.
Ebionites, 74, 83s., 698.
Eckard, Dominican, 322.
Ecclesiastical Law, Docc. on, 56, 170s., 210, 286s., 343, 440s., 493s., 492, 571ss.; Docts. 590s.; Assemblies, 60, 146, 290s.; Discipline, 65, 147s., 175s., 222s., 311s., 439; Property, 139s., 171s., 216s., 443s.; Architecture, 155s.
Eck, 365s., 370, 387.
Edda, 163, 164.
Edelmann, 501.
Edessa, 53; School at, 127.
Edward I. of England, 271; III., 346; VI., 422.
Egede, Hans, 510s.
Eginhard, 161.
Eichhorn, Minister, 580; Pastor, 572.
Εκδεσις, 181.
Elders, 38, 58, 572s.
Eleutherus, 699.
Elias of Cortona, 298.
Eliot, 510.
Elipandus, 180.
Elizabeth of England, 422; of Brunswick, 495; Saint, 308.
Elkesaites, 85, 698.
Eller, Elias, 509.
Elvenich, 638, 640.
Elzevir Press, 465.
Emancipation of Jews, 675ss.; of Catholics in Ireland, 649s.; of Slaves, 677s.
Emblems, Sacred, 69, 691.
Emmerich Nun, 661.
Empire, 136, 174, 210, 533; Roman, 136; Rom. German, 174, 210; Latin, 207.
Ems, Punctation at, 528.
Encratites, 64, 83.
Encyclopædia, 528.
Enfantin, 680.
Engelhardt, 9.
England, 167s., 203s., 208, 421ss., 497s., 649ss.
Enlightenment, Age of, 537ss.
Eon, 258s.
Eperies, Massacre at, 494.
Ephesus, Synod, 127, 128.
Ephraem, 118.
Epictetus, 47.
Epicurus, 17.
Epiphanes, 80s.
Epiphanius of Constantia, 118.
Epiphany, 68.
Episcopacy, 59s.; Constantine's, 137; of Prot. Princes, 441.
Episcopal System, 59s., 289; Protestant, 441.
Episcopalians in U. S., 602.
Episcopi in Partibus Infidelium, 295.
Episcopius, 416.
Episcopus Universalis, 141.
Erasmus, 330s., 331, 345, 379s.
Erastians, 425.
Erdmansdorf, 606.
Eric, St., 250.
Erigena, 233, 234.
Ernest the Pious, 484.
Ernesti, 538.
Erwin of Steinbach, 303.
Espartero, 630.
Essenes, 22; Christian, 26.
Este, 457; Duchess of, 429.
Esthonians, 251, 668.
Ethelbert of Kent, 167.
Ethics, 147, 333.
Eucharistic Controv., 234s., 237, 389, 398s., 401s.
Euchites, 155, 262.
Eudo de Stella (Eon), 258s.
Eudoxia, 121s.
Eugenius III., 200; IV., 279.
Eunomians, 114, 705.
Eusebians, 113.
Eusebius of Caesarea, 14, 95, 102, 111, 117; of Emisa, 118; of Nicomedia, 113.
Eustathius, 159, 708.
Eutyches, 127.
Euthymius Zigabenus, 261.
Evagrius, 102, 705.
Evangelia Apocrypha, 692s.
Evangelical Alliance, 592; Church Alliance, 590; Conference, 587; Society, 595, 608; KZeitung, 555, 562, 579.
Evangelists, 38, 608.
Excommunication, 65, 176, 311, 584.
Exorcism, 70, 411.
Extravagantes, 286.
Eyck, Van, 306.

F

Faber, Stapulensis, 332; of Constance, 386.
Fabricius, 496.
Facultates Quinquennales, 460, 643.
Faith, Rule of, 72.
Falckenberg, 334.
Farel, 400.
Fasts, 67s., 154.
Fathers of the Faith, 625.
Faust, 310.
Faustus, 125.
Febronius, 528.
Felicissimus, 90.
Felix of Urgel, 180; of Valois, 230; II., 128; V., 280.
Fenelon, 515, 520.
Ferdinand I., 392, 417, 468; II., 477; VII., 629; the Catholic, 287.
Feretti, 620.
Feudal Law, 171; Monarchy, 182.
Feuerbach, 554.
Fichte, 543, 552.
Filioque, 116, 258.
Finns, 250.
Firmian of Salzburg, 493.
Firmilian of Caesarea, 91.
Fisher, 421.
Flacius, Illyricus, 7, 406, 447ss., 469.
Flagellants, 312.
Flavianus, 127.
Flechier, 516.
Fletcher, 506.
Fleury, A. H., 518; Claude, 8.
Florence, Synod of, 280, 355.
Fontainebleau Concordat, 535.
Fontevraud, Order of, 228.
Fools, Festival of, 218.
Formosus, 187.
Fortunatus, 90.
Fox, C. J., 599; George, 502.
France, Protestant, 426ss., 494s., 607s, comp. 627.
Francia, Dr., 632; Francesco, 306.
Francis I. of France, 285, 370; of Paris, 518s.; of Sales, 461.
Franciscans, 296s.
Franciscus of Assisi, 295s.; De Paula, 317.
Francke, A. H., 487s.
Frank, Sebastian, 456.
Frankfort, Synod of, 178, 180.
Franks, 166, 172.
Fransoni, 624.
Fratres de Communitate, 298; Minores, 296; Praedicatores, 296.
Fratricelli, 299.
Frederic I., 202, 204; II., 205s., 206, 265ss., 340; III., 280; the Great, 501, 538, 547; the Wise, 364s., 371, 375; I. of Denmark, 419; III. of the Palatinate, 412; V., 477; of Austria, 273; Augustus of Saxony, 492; William I., of Saxony, 411; II., 540; III., 540s., 566, 636, 675; IV., 576, 580, 582s., 639, 675.
Freemasons, 303, 634, 671.
Friars, Mendicant, 295.
Friends, 605.
Fritigern, 165.
Froissart, 264.
Fronto, 49.
Frumentius, 108.

Fry, Elizabeth, 503.
Fryth, 421.
Fulco of Neuilli, 207.
Fulda, 169.
Fulgentius Ferrandus, 136.
Funk, G., 404.
Galler of Kaisersberg, 300.
Galerius, 54.
Galilæans, 25.
Galilei, 460.
Gallican Church, 53, 173, 268, 287, 514ss., 425, 624.
Gallienus, 46.
Gallus, 46, 168.
Gamaliel, 22, 28.
Ganganelli, 525s.
Gangra Synod, 708.
Gasparin, 608.
Gassner, 527.
Gaston, 228.
Gebhard of Cologne, 476.
Geissel, Coadjutor, 689.
Gelasius II., 199.
Gellert, 541.
General Synods, 146, 290; Gen. Germ. Library, 539.
Geneva, 400, 595, 610.
Gennadius, 356.
Gentile Christianity, 31.
Gentilis, 433.
George of Saxony, 375s., 391.
Gerbert, 189, 236.
Gerhard, 412, 469; Groot, 318; Segarelli, 341.
Germ. Catholicism, 656; Church, 160ss., 635s.; Order of Knights, 232, 336s., 662; Theology, 322; Reformed Church, 604.
Germanic Church, 160ss., 635.
Gerson, 276, 277, 325s., 344.
Gessius, Florus, 37.
Geysa of Hungary, 250.
Gfrörer, 11.
Ghibellines, 206; Heretical, 340.
Ghiberti, 304.
Gichtel, 508.
Gieseler, 10.
Gifts of Grace, 40, 63.
Gioberti, 622, 624.
Giotto, 305.
Glass, Painting on, 303, 674.
Glosses, 287.
Gnosis, 76, 93s.
Gnosticism, 76s., 695ss., 697.
Gobat, 576.
Gobet, 435.
Goch, John of, 351.
God, Friends of, 344; Judgment of, 218.
Godfathers and Godmothers, 70.
Godfrey of Bouillon, 197; of Lorraine, 192; of Strasbourg, 244.
Goerres, 638, 654.
Goethe, 542.
Gomarus, 415.
Gorham, 600.
Gospel, Everlasting, 299.
Gothic Architecture, 302s.
Goths, 165.
Gottschalk, 235; Prince of the Wends, 249.
Grammont, Order of, 227.
Granvella, 393.
Gratianus, Emperor, 105s., 158; Decretals of, 209s.
Gravamina of the Germ. Nation, 372, 374.
Gray League, 387, 478, 479.
Gr't Britain, Reformation, 421ss., 595ss.
Greece, Ancient, 15ss.; Modern, 669s.
Greek Church, Schism, 259s.; Union, 355, 665, 667.
Greenland, 247, 510s.
Gregoire, 529s., 626.
Gregorius Illum., 62; Nazienzen, 115, 117; Nyssa, 117; Turonensis, 161; Thaumaturgus, 95; Festival of, 224.
Gregory the Great, 142, 145s., 167; IV., 184; V., 189; VI., 190; VII., 183, 191s., 193ss., 221, 238, 243; VIII., 199, 204; IX., 266; X., 269; XI., 275, 346; XII., 276; XIII., 428, 451s.; XV., 457s.; XVI., 619s., 630, 638, 668; V. of Constantinople, 669; VI., 670.
Gribaldo, 433s.
Griesbach, 592.
Groot, Gerhard, 318.
Grundtvig, 561.
Gualbert, 227.
Guelphs, 196, 206.
Guericke, 10, 569, 570, 579.
Günther, 655.
Gützlaff, 616.
Guicciardini, 265.
Guido of Spoleto, 187.
Guinefortis, Sainted Dog, 220.
Guise, Dukes of, 427.
Guizot, 672.
Gunpowder Plot, 425.
Gustavus Adolphus, 478; Societies, 588; Vasa, 418.
Guyon, 520.

H

Haco the Good, 246.
Hadrian, Emp., 45, 50; I., 174, 178; II., 187s.; IV., 201, 202, 373s.; VI., 373s., 450.
Hague, Societies at, 539; Synod, 597.
Hagen, 361.
Hagenbach, 361.
Hahn, 562, 570.
Hall, Suabian, 340.
Halle, 454, 488, 562.
Haller, Berthold, 386.
Hamann, 542.
Hamburg, 245, 563s., 610s., 636.
Hamel, 467.
Hamilton, Patrick, 424.
Handel, 485.
Hanno of Cologne, 192.
Hanover, 473, 496.
Hans Sachs, 374.
Harald Haarfager, 246; of Jutland, 245.
Harmonists, 558.
Harms, 561.
Hauge, 547.
Haydn, 675.
Haymo, 233.
Heart of Jesus, 521.
Heathenism, Germ., 162s., 169s., 175, 247; Greek Roman, 13, 46.
Heber, Reginald, 615.
Hebrews, Sect of, 509.
Heerbann, 171.
Hegel, 551, 579.
Hegesippus, 14.
Heimburg, 345.
Heine, 554.
Helena, St., 152, 674.
Heliogabalus, 45.
Hellenism, 21.
Helmstadt, 486.
Heloise, 242s.
Helsen, 656.
Helvetii Reform., 384, 399.
Helvetius, 528.
Hemming, 337.
Hemmerlin, 344.
Hengstenberg, 555s., 570
Henke, 9.
Henkel in Hesse, 463.
Henoticon, 115.
Henrion, 683.
Henry I. of Germany, 188; III., 190; IV., 192, 193, 198; V., 198; VI., 205; VII., 287; I. of England, 198; II., 208; VII., 287; VIII, 377, 421; III. of France, 428; IV., 428, 461; of Brunswick, 392; Lion, 249; Monk, 253; of Walpot, 232.
Heracleon, 696.
Heraclius, 107, 131.
Herder, 541.
Heresy, 74, 342.
Hermann of Cologne, 392, 396.
Hermas, 36.
Hermesians, 637s., 640.
Hermias, 51.
Hermits, 150.
Hermogenes, 696s.
Herod Agrippa, 25.
Herrad of Landsperg, 243.
Herrnhutters, 424.
Hess, 674.
Hesse, 381s., 440s., 562s.
Hesshusius, 408, 411.
Hesychasts, 355.
Heterodoxy, 539.
Hetzer, 433.
Hicks, Elias, 503, 603.
Hieracas, 702.
Hierarchy, 20, 57s, 137s., 182, 617s.
Hierocles, 50.
Hieronymus. See Jerome, 317.
Hieronymites, 317.
Hilarion, 149.
Hilarius, 118, 144; of Arelate, 144.
Hildebrand, 191ss., 238.
Hincmar of Laon, 187; of Rheims, 187, 233, 235.
Hippolytus, 95s., 698ss.
Hippo Regius, 123, 664.
Hirsau, 227.
Hirscher, 654.
Hobbes, 499.
Hochsteden, Conrad of, 303.
Hochstraten, 329.
Hoenigern, 569.
Hoffmann, 486.
Hohenlohe, 548; Alex., 662.
Hohenstaufen, 202, 267s.; Overthrow, 267.
Holbach, 523.
Holland, 596, 634.
Holstein, 561.
Holy Alliance, 284, 391, 681; Land, 152, 196, 670; Scriptures, 71, 111, 331s., 373, 446s., 465s., 592s.; Spirit, 115; League, 428.
Homberg, 382.
Ὁμοούσιος, 100, 102s.
Ὁμοιούσιος, 113.
Honorius I., 131; II., 192; III. 265, 296.
Hontheim, 528.
Hormisdas, 134.
Hortig, 12.
Hosius of Cordova, 112.
Hospitallers, 228, comp. 232.
Hottinger, 7, 361.
Huet, 515.
Hug, 654.

Hugo Capet, 189; de Payens, 282; Grotius, 415; of Provence, 188; of St. Victor, 240.
Huguenots, 427, 494s.
Humanism, 554.
Humanists, 327, 328, 417.
Hume, 500.
Humiliates, 231.
Hungary, 250, 417, 479, 493, 548, 606.
Hurter, 205, 434.
Huss, 347ss.
Hussites, 349s.
Hutten, Ulrich von, 329, 367.
Hutter, 413.
Hypatia, 106.
Hypsistarians, 107.
Hystaspes, 97, 698.

I

Ibas, 127, 128, 130.
Iceland, 247, 420.
Iconoclasm, 156s., 173.
Iglau, 350.
Ignatius, 45, 59, 72, 692; Patriarch, 258; de Loyola, 452s.
Ignorantius, 521.
Ilanz, Diet of, 387.
Illuminates, 527, 536.
Illyria, 142, 143.
Images, 156, 173; Tumult about, 156s., 178.
Imitative Arts of the M. A., 302; Protestant, 444s.; Later Cath., 464s.; most recent, 674s.
Impostors, Three, 267.
In Coena Domini Bull, 311, 458, 623.
Incorruptibility of Christ's Body, 129, 130.
Independents, 423s., 425s., 611.
Index Prohibitorum, 461.
Indulgences, 222s., 301, 312, 351, 363.
Infallibility of the Church, 147, 344; of the Pope, 212, 288.
Infant Baptism, 70, 152, 224, 491.
Ingeburge, 207.
Innocentius I., 121, 124, 143; II., 240; III., 205ss., 230, 231, 255; IV., 267; VI., 274; VIII., 282, 310; X., 511; XI., 512s., 518; XII., 513; XIII., 513.
Inquisition, 298ss., 414, 429, 460, 629.
Interdict, 228, 311.
Interim, 396s., 405; Leipsic, 397.
Investiture Controv., 198, 199.
Ireland, 167, 422, 649.
Irenæus, 88, 236, 699s.
Irene, 157.
Irminsul, 163.
Irnerius, 216.
Iroquois, 664.
Irving, 558s.
Isabella of Spain, 631.
Isenbiehl, 527.
Isidorus of Pelusium, 132; Hispalis, 134, 136, 178; Pseudo, 184; Gnostic, 695.
Islam, 110, 168, 385.
Itacius, 158.
Itala, 111.
Italy, 173s., 211s., 287, 535, 617s., 620s.; Protestantism in, 429s., 609.
Ivan Basilowitz, 481.
Ivo of Chartres, 210.

J

Jacob Baradai, 131
Jacobi, 543, 638s.
Jacobins, 296.
Jacobites, 131s., 261.
Jaenicke, 613.
Jagello, 337.
Jamblichus, 48.
James the Just, 25, 178; of Baden, 476; I. of England, 425; II., 498; de Voragine, 307.
Jansenism, 516.
Janssen, 509.
Japan, 473.
Javohey, Abbess, 678.
Jean Petit, 334.
Jena, 405, 540, 543.
Jeremias II., Patriarch, 480.
Jerome, 120, 124, 159; of Prague, 344s.
Jerusalem, Bishopric, 576; Conquest of, 37, 197; Patriarch of, 141.
Jesuates, 317.
Jesuits, 452ss., 524s., 617s., 625, 640s.
Jesus Christ, 24.
Jewish Christians, 26, 31, 74.
Jews, 20s., 86s. 42s., 335s.
Joachim of Flores, 298s.; of Brandenburg, 392.
Joanna Papissa, 186; of Naples, 275.
Joasaph II., Patriarch, 480.
Johannic Christians, 77.
John of Antioch, 126; Apostle, 33, 34; Baptist, 154; Festival of, 154; the Constant, 375; Faster, 135, 142; of England, 208; Damascenus, 134; of Jerusalem, 124; Prester, 337; of Laski, 407; Matha, 230; of Nepomuk, 477; of Salisbury, 241; of Vicenza, 300; of Philoponus, 133; Scholasticus, 56, 135; Zonaras, 260; Sigismund of Brandenburg, 413; Frederic the Magnanimous, 391, 397; VI., 484; III. of Sweden, 418; Knights of St., 232, 319, 662s.; VIII., Pope, 186, 259; X., 188; XI., 188; XII., 188s.; XXI., 186; XXII., 273, 299; XXIII., 278, 339.
Jonas of Orleans, 233.
Joris, 434.
Jornandes, 161.
Joseph II., 527, 548, 676.
Jovinianus, 159.
Jubilee Indulgences, 623; Year, 301s., 619.
Julia Mammaea, 46.
Julianists, 129.
Julianus Apostata, 104s.; Cardinal, 279, 345; of Eclanum, 124; Minorite, 619.
Julius II., 288s., 304, 385; III., 451, 455; Africanus, 95, 700; Severus, 42.
Jumpers, 546.
Jung Stilling, 542.
Jurisdiction Eccles., 188s., 215, 467.
Jus Spoliae, Regaliae, Stolae, 216.
Justification, 332, 467.
Justinianus I., 106, 129, 139.
Justinus I., 128; II., 130; Martyr, 43, 50s., 71, 692.
Justus Jonas, 380.

K

Kant, 543.
Katerkamp, 12.
Kaulbach, 674.
Keller in Lucerne, 646; Bishop, 640.
Kellner, 570.
Kepler, 411.
Kerz, 12.
Kettler, Conrad, 420.
Kiew, 257, 481.
Knights, Orders of, 231s., 318, 481; of St. John, 232, 318, 481.
Knox, 424.
Knutzen, 501.
Koenig, 485.
Kodde, 432.
Kohler, 509.
Koorland, 420.
Koran, 109, 110.
Kornthal, Cong. of, 557s.
Krudener, Mad. de, 595, 681.
Krummacher of Bremen, 564.
Kuhlmann, 508.
Kurtz, 594, 684.
Kuttenberg, Diet of, 350.

L

Labadie, 508.
Labarum, 103.
Lachmann, 592.
Lacordaire, 626.
Lactantius, 96.
Ladenburg, 583.
Lady Days, 154.
Laesare, 547.
Lainez, 453.
Laity, 57, 140s., 440s.
Lalande, 523.
Lama, 337.
Lamartine, 624s.
Lambert of Aschaffenburg, 182; of Avignon, 382; of Spoleto, 187.
Lamennais, 625, 626.
Lanfranck, 237.
Lange, 10.
Langlon, 208.
Laplace, 490.
Lapland, 337, 510.
Lapsi, 65s., 67, 90.
Las Casas, 338.
Lateran Synod, 132, 198, 199; II., 200, 208, 238, 284-285.
Latitudinarians, 491.
Laud, 426.
Laurentius, 61; Valla, 327, 331.
Lausanne Disp., 400.
La Valette, 525.
Lavater, 542.
Law and Gospel, 403, 409.
Lay Brethren, 225s.
Lazarists, 463.
League, Holy, 428.
Lee, Anna, 546.
Legacies, 140.
Legate, Nuncio, 213, 528.
Legend, Golden, 307.
Legends, 4.
Legio Fulminatrix, 45.
Legnano, Battle of, 203.
Lehnin, Hermann, 576.
Leibnitz, 489s., 496.
Leightoun, 498.
Leipsic Apost. Symbol, 565s.; Disp., 365, 562; Synod, 655.
Lent, 154.
Leo I., Emperor, 128; Isauricus, 156; Judæ, 386; the Great, 125, 143; III., 171; IV., 186; VIII., 189; IX., 191; X., 285s., 312, 364, 369, 450; XII., 619.
Leopold of Tuscany, 528s.
Less, 467.
Lessing, 541, 674.
Libanius, 106.
Libellatici, 56.
Liberal Catholics, 652, 653.
Liberius, 143.
Libertines, 401.

Licinius, 55, 103.
Light, Friends of, 579, 581.
Liguori, 521.
Limdberg, 562.
Lindner, 684.
Lindsey, 611.
Lippe, 566.
Literature, Revival of, 326s.
Lithuania, 337s.
Liturgy, 224.
Livonia, 250, 420, 668.
Locherer, 12.
Locke, 489.
Logos, 22, 34, 94, 98, 112.
Loke, 164s.
Lollards, 318.
Lombardus, Peter, 239.
Longobards, 166, 173.
Lord's Supper, 70, 153, 224s.; Bull of, 311, 458, 623.
Loretto, Holy House, 309s.
Lorsch, Annals of, 161.
Lothaire II., 187, 200.
Louis the Bavarian, 273; of Bavaria, 653, 674; the German, 187; the Pious, 184; Saint, 268s.; of Anjou, 275; VII., 201; XII., 284; XIV., 494, 512, 513, 514, 518; XV., 518; XVI., 435; XVIII., 624; Philippe, 626; Napoleon, 608, 629.
Louvain, 633.
Love-Feast, 41, 70, 153.
Lucerne, 334, 647.
Lücke, 593.
Luitprand, 182.
Lullus, 169, 334.
Luneville, Peace of, 533, 536.
Luther, 361s., 377s., 394s., 399s., 440, 446.
Lutherans, 361ss., 390s., 569, 604.
Lutheranism, 402ss., 569ss.
Lyndhurst, Lord, 650.
Lyons, Soc. of Faith at, 663; Synod at, 125, 267, 355.
Lyra, Nic. de, 331.

M

Mabillon, 515.
Macarius, 707.
Machiavelli, 328.
Macedonians, 115.
Macrena Mieslawski, 668.
Madagascar, 616s.
Madiai, 609.
Magdeburg, 565.
Magic, 48, 309.
Magna Charta, 208.
Maimbourg, 360.
Maimonides, 335.
Mainottes, 107, 256s., 356s.
Major, 405s.
Majorinus, 157.
Maistre, De, 625.
Malachias, 290.
Mandeville, 499.
Manfred of Sicily, 267s.
Manichæism, 86ss., 123; of Middle Ages, 252s.
Manuel, 386.
Marburg Colloquy, 390; Free Congg., 581.
Marca, Petrus de, 515.
Marcellinus, 61.
Marcellus, 114, 705; II., 451, 465.
Marcianus, 127.
Marcion, 71, 81s.
Marcus, 696; Aurelius, 45.
Margaretta Peter, 559.
Marheineke, 10, 360.
Mary, Worship of, 152, 218, 221, 224, 307, 521; the Catholic, 422; Stuart, 424.
Maria of Portugal, 631; Theresa, 526.
Marriage, 63, 70s., 139, 176, 225, 706; Double, 439s.; Mixed, 636s.
Mariana, 458.
Marienburg, 337.
Maronites, 132, 260, 482.
Marozia, 188.
Marquesas Islands, 615.
Marsilius Ficinus, 335.
Martin of Tours, 151, 177; I., 132; IV., 270; V., 278s.
Martyrs, 55s., 69, 154.
Masora, 331.
Mass, 146, 300.
Massalians, 107, 158.
Massillon, 516.
Master Song, 315, 446.
Matilda, Countess, 194, 196, 198.
Matteo de Bassi, 462s.
Matthew, Father, 650.
Matthew Paris, 264.
Matthias, Emperor, 418, 477.
Matthiesen, 431.
Maulbroun, Disp. at, 413.
Maur, Monks of St., 462, 481.
Maurice of Hesse, 413; of Saxony, 393, 395s., 396, 397; of Orange, 415s.
Mauritius, 688.
Maury, 530, 535.
Mauvillon, 537.
Maximilian I., 370; II., 417; of Bavaria, 477.
Maximinus, 55; the Thracian, 46.
Maximus, 158.
Mayence, 169, 280.
Mayer, Chancellor, 345.
Maynooth, 651.
Mazzini, 622.
Mechatharists, 665.
Mecklenburg Catholic, 643.
Mediolanum, Synod of, 114.
Meinhard, 250.
Melancthon, 366s., 373, 378, 383, 391, 393, 404s., 439s., 446s.
Melchizedekians, 99, 702.
Melchites, 131.
Meletius, 690.
Melito, 51, 71.
Menander, 27.
Mendaeans, 77
Mendelssohn, Felix. Moses, 675.
Mendicant Orders, 295s.
Mennas, 130.
Mennonites, 432, 610.
Menzel, 360 (Errata).
Mercy, Brethren and Sisters of, 463, 662.
Merle d'Aubigné, 861.
Merlin, 310.
Messias, Klopstock's, 541.
Methodists, 505, 595, 604.
Methodius, 95, 248, 256.
Metropolitans, 60s.
Michael, 177; Cerularius, 259; Palaeologus, 269, 354, 355; of Cesena, 299; Angelo, 304, 305.
Michaelis, 538.
Michelet, 628.
Miguel, Dom, 631.
Milner, 10.
Miltitz and Luther, 365
Milton, 498.
Minimi, 317.
Ministerium, 58.
Minnesingers, 244.
Minorites, 297ss., 318.
Minucius, Felix, 49, 51.
Mirabeau, 531.
Miserere, 465.
Missa, 138, 146; Marcelli, 465.
Missions, Inner, 591; Catholic, 663s.; Priests of the, 463, 625.
Missionary Societies, 612ss.
Moehler, 14, 655.
Mogilas, 481.
Mohammed, 108ss.; II., 356.
Molay, 319.
Molina, 467.
Molinos, 520.
Momiers, 595.
Monarchia Siciliae, 196.
Monarchians, 98s., 196, 704.
Monasticism, 149, 150, 225.
Monastic Life, 149, 150, 316, 462s., 481.
Mongols, 337s.
Monod, Fred., 608; Adolphe, 609.
Monophysites, 128, 130s.
Monothelites, 131.
Montalembert, 628.
Montanism, 66s., 89s., 701.
Monte Cassino, 151.
Montesquieu, 523.
Montesquiou, 530.
Montlosier, 626.
Moral Science, 147s., 333.
Moralities, 302.
Moravia, 248.
Moravian Brethren, 350, 605.
Morgan, 500.
Mormons, 612.
Morrison, 616.
Mosheim, 9.
Mozarabes, 168.
Mozart, 675.
Muckers, 559s.
Muhlberg, Battle of, 396.
Müller, Daniel, 508; Henry, 449.
Münster, Anabaptists of, 431s.
Münzer, Thomas, 378.
Muri, 647.
Murillo, 464.
Musa, 168.
Music Eccles., 153, 465, 675.
Myconius, 360.
Mysticism, 239s., 322ss., 344, 519, 555s., 661.

N

Näbe, 10.
Nantes, Edict of, 428, 494.
Naples, 529.
Napoleon, 532, 533, 548, 676.
Nassau, 413.
Natalis, Alexander, 8.
Natalia, 68.
Naturalism, 498ss.
National Churches, 292.
Naumburg Bishopric, 392; Princes' Diet at, 404.
Nazareans, 25, 74.
Nazoraeans, 74.
Neander, History, 10, 683; Bishop, 568.
Neri, Philip, 462.
Nero, 37.
Nerva, 38.
Nestorians, 126s., 338, 665.
Nestorius, 124, 338, 706.
Netherlands, Reform, 414; Recent State of, 596s.
Neuberg, Count Palatine, 476.
New Israelites, 547.
New Jerusglem, 506ss., 605.
Newman, 599s.
New Platonism, 47ss.
New Testament, 71, 592.
New Year's Day, 154.
Niebelungen, Lay of, 243.
Nicaea, Synod of, I., 112ss.; II., 157, 178.

Nicephoras Callist., 705.
Nicephorus, 102.
Nicetas Choniates, 261.
Nicolas of Clamengis, 325, 344; of Cusa, 345; of the Flue, 308; of Lyra, 331; Methone, 261; of Russia, 667s.; I., 185, 186, 258; II., 192; V., 281.
Nicolai, 539.
Nicolaitans, 35.
Nicon, Patriarch, 666.
Niedner, 11.
Nielsen Hauge, 547.
Nihus, 469.
Nismes, 428, 607.
Nitzsch, 586.
Noailles, Cardinal, 518.
Nobili, Jesuit, 472.
Nobility of the German Nation, 367.
Noetus, 100, 704.
Nogaret, 272.
Nogent, 242.
Nollbrethren, 318.
Nominalism, 239, 321s.
Nomocanon, 135, 260.
Nonconformists, 428s.
Nonintrusionists, 597s.
Norbert, Praemonstrant, 229s.
Nordhausen, 581.
Normal year, 479.
Normans, 246s.
North America, 417, 510, 601ss., 617, 664.
Norwegians, 246, 420.
Notarii, Paulicians, 160.
Notker Labeo, 236.
Novalis, 555.
Novatians, 67.
Nuremberg, Diet of, 373s., 376; Rel. Peace, 384.
Nuncios, 213, 459.

O

Oak, Synod of the, 121.
Oberlin, 546.
Obscure Men, Letters of, 329.
Occam, 321.
Occhino, 463.
O'Connell, 649, 650.
Odense, Diet of, 419.
Odin, 164.
Odilo, 226.
Odo, 226.
Œcolampadius, 386, 389.
Œcumenius, 261.
Œcumenical Councils, 146; Patriarchs, 142s.
Oetinger, 507, 539.
Officials, Episcopal, 292.
Officium of the Virgin, 224.
Olaf, St., or Olaus, St., 247; Schooskönig, 246; Trygvesen, 247.
Olavides, 527.
Oldenbarneveldt, 415.
Oldenburg, Church Gov., 575.
Old Testament, 71.
Olevianus, 413.
Olivetans, 317.
Olga, 257.
Olshausen, 570.
Oncken, Missionary, 610s.
Ophites, 80, 693s.
Orange, Synod of, 125.
Oratory, Priests of the, 462, 465.
Orders, 225, 295, 462ss., 662.
Organs, 153.
Origen, 52, 71, 92, 130, 703.
Original Sin, 122.
Orleans Regent, 518; Dynasty, 626ss.
Orosius, 106, 124.
Osiander, 403.
Osseni, 55.
Otho of Bamberg, 249; of Freysingen, 188; I., 189, 249; III., 189; IV., 206, 216.
Overbeck, 674.
Owen, 680.

P

Pachomius, 149.
Pack, Otho von, 381.
Paganism, 104.
Pagi, 8.
Painting, 69, 304s., 445, 464, 674.
Pajon, 490.
Palamas, 355.
Palatinate, 392; of Bavaria, 492, 528.
Palestrina, 465.
Palavicini, 360.
Pallium, 158, 173, 212.
Pamphilus, 95.
Pamphlia, 261.
Pantaenus, 91.
Pantheism, 551s., 554.
Pantheon, 152, 464.
Papacy, 61s., 142s., 183s., 195, 265ss., 288s., 450s., 511ss., 524ss., 617ss.
Paphnutius, 148.
Papias, 73.
Paracelsus, 448.
Paraguay, 475, 524, 632.
Paris Univ., 236, 276, 320; Synod of, 178, 340, 535.
Parma, 525.
Parson's Letter, 288.
Pasagii, 252s.
Pascal, 517.
Paschal Controv., 68, 154, 691.
Paschalis II., 197ss.
Paschasius Radbertus, 224, 234.
Passau, Treaty of, 398.
Pastors, 293.
Paterini, 252.
Patriarchs, 141; of Constantinople, 356s.
Patricius, 167, 190.
Patripassians, 98.
Patronage, 214.
Paulus, Apostle, 27s., 31s., 40; of Bernried, 193; Gerard, 484s.; of Samosata, 100; of Thebes, 64s.; the Simple, 150; II., 281s.; III., 390, 395, 450, 452, 454; IV., 451, 462; V., 457, 467; Warnefrid, 161, 179; of Heidelberg, 544.
Paulicians, 159s., 261.
Peace, Everlasting, 681s.; of God, 208, 217; of Linz, 479; of Westphalia, 479; of Vienna, 417s.; of St. Germain, 427.
Peasant's War, 377s.
Pedro, Dom, 631.
Pecl, 600.
Pelagian Controv., 122, 333, 467.
Pelagius, 122; Rom. Bishop, 130.
Pella, 37, 74.
Penances, 65, 175s., 222.
Penitential Convulsions, 487s.
Penitentials, 292s.
Penn, William, 502.
Pentecost, 24, 68.
Pepuziani, 66.
Peripatetics, 328.
Persians, 107.
Perugino, 306.
Pestalozzi, 545.
Petavius, 515.
Peter D'Ailly, 277, 344; of Amiens, 197; of Aragon, 207, 270; of Bruys, 253; of Castelnau, 256; de Murrhone, 270; de Vineis, 266, and Paul, Festival of, 154; the Great, 666.
Peters Church, 304.
Peterson, 418.
Petrarca, 327.
Petrus Alexandrinus, 65; Apostle, 26, 30, 31, 154; Fullo, 128; Lombardus, 224, 239; Mogilas, 481; Venerabilis, 229, 242; Waldus, 254.
Peucer, 408.
Pfaff of Tubingen, 492.
Pfefferkorn, 329.
Pfeffinger, 406.
Pflug, Julius von, 392, 393.
Phanaroea, 160.
Pharisees, 22.
Philalethes, 553, 581.
Philip I. of France, 194, 196, 198; Augustus, 204, 207; the Fair, 271, 319s.; of Hesse, 375, 382, 390, 391, 396, 398; of Suabia, 206; II. of Spain, 414, 429, 461.
Philippists, 404.
Philippopolis, 262; Synod of, 114.
Philippus the Arabian, 46.
Philo, 21.
Philoponus, 133.
Philostorgius, 102, 705.
Philostratus, 47.
Phocas, 142.
Photinus of Sirmium, 114.
Photius, 253, 260; Heathen, 106s.
Phthartolatrians, 129.
Piarists, 463.
Picards, 341.
Picts, 167.
Pietism, 487, 491; Orthodox, 555.
Piligrin of Passau, 250.
Pilgrimages, 152, 213.
Pipin, 172, 173.
Pisa, Synod of, 276s., 284, 291.
Pistoia, Synod of, 528s.
Pius II., 281; IV., 451, 455; V., 451, 467; VI., 526, 531, 532; VII., 533, 617, 632, 646; VIII., 619, 635, 637; IX., 620ss., 638; Unions, 641.
Planck, 360.
Plastic Arts, 304.
Plato, 16.
Platonism, 47, 93, 328.
Plays, Sacred, 302.
Pleroma, 78, 694.
Pletho, 355.
Plinius, 44.
Plotinus, 48.
Plutarch, 47.
Plymouth Brethren, 611.
Poeschl, 661.
Poissy Conference, 427.
Poland, 249, 420, 421, 668.
Polentz, George, 375.
Polotzk, Synod of, 668.
Polycarp, 45, 73, 690, 692.
Polycrates, 690s.
Pomare II., 614.
Pombal, 524, 631.
Pomerania, 249.
Pomponazzo, 328.
Pontifex Maximus, 103.
Pontius, Abbot, 229.
Pornocracy, 188, 388.
Porphyrians, 113.
Porphyrius, 48, 50.
Portiuncula Indulgences, 298.
Port Royal, 516.
Portugal, 524, 527, 629.
Possevino, 481.

Pothinus, 697, 699.
Poussin, 464.
Prague Bishopric, 249; University, 326, 348.
Pragmatic Sanction, 268, 281, 284, 285.
Praxeas, 99, 704.
Preaching Friars, 296.
Predestinarians, 125, 235.
Predestination, 122, 225, 379, 401.
Premonstrants, 229.
Presbyteresses, 39, 707.
Presbyteries in Bavaria, 572s.
Presbyterians, 423, 498, 597, 604.
Presbyters, 39, 58, 140.
Presentia Passiva, 637.
Prester John, 337.
Prierias, 363.
Priesthood, 57, 136, 137, 138, 443s.
Priestley, 611.
Primasius of Adrymetum, 133.
Priscillianus, 158.
Probabilism, 334, 454, 517.
Proclus, 48.
Procopius, 133, 161, 350; Gazaeus, 133.
Professio Fidei Tridentina, 466.
Proli, 558.
Propaganda, 470.
Prophecy, Messianic, 20s.
Prophets, 38; Little, 495.
Proselytes, 23, 672.
Proselytism, 470, 672.
Protestant Friends, 578.
Protestation of Speyer, 381.
Protestantism, 437s.; Development of, 548ss.; and Catholicism, 468ss., 671ss.
Protesting Parties, 159, 251ss., 339s.
Provincial Synods, 60, 290s., 531.
Prudentius, 116, 700.
Prussia, 336, 375, 566ss., 576ss., 635s., 636s., 642.
Pseudo-Isidorus, 184.
Ptolemais, 269.
Ptolemaeus, 696; of Lucca, 265.
Public Worship, 153s., 177s., 223ss., 309ss., 444ss.
Pulcheria, 127.
Purgatory, 146.
Puritans, 362, 364, 422, 601.
Puseyism, 599s.

Q

Quadragesima, 68.
Quadratus, Apologist, 50.
Quakers, 502, 605.
Quartodecimani, 154.
Quelen, 626.
Quenstedt, 485.
Quesnel, 518.
Quietism, 519s.
Quinet, 628.
Quinisexta, 134.

R

Rabanus Maurus, 233, 234.
Rabbi Akiba, 42.
Rabbinism, 42s.
Radbod, King of Frisons, 163.
Radicalism, 563, 647s.
Rammohun Roy, 615s.
Ranke, 360s.
Raphael, 306.
Rapp, 558.
Ratherius, 236.
Rationalism, 500s., 507s., 544, 559s.
Ratisbon, Alliance of, 376; Diet, 393, 412, 477.
Ratramnus, 234, 235.
Raumer, 583.
Ravaillac, 428.
Rawicz, 658.
Raymond of Bezieres, 256; de Pennaforte, 286; de Sabunde, 325; du Puy, 282; of Thoulouse, 256.
Raynal, 523.
Raynaldus, 8.
Readers, 547.
Realists, 239, 321s.
Recognitions of Clement, 692, 703.
Redemptorists, 521.
Redeemer, Order of the, 317.
Reformation in Cath. Church, 276ss., 338, 343; Forerunners of the, 351; Protestant, 360; Introduction of, 336.
Reformed Church, 384s., 399s., 595s.; Presbyterian Church, 604.
Regalia, 216, 287.
Regenbrecht, 659.
Regino of Prum, 210.
Rehm, 10.
Reichlin-Meldegg, 12.
Reimarus, 537.
Reinhard, 545.
Reynardus, 243s., 315.
Religion, Prussian Edict of, 540.
Religious Peace of Augsburg, 398s.; of Nuremberg, 384.
Religiosi, 225.
Reliques, 151s., 220.
Remigius, 166, 235.
Remonstrants, 415.
Repeal Meetings, 650s.
Reservatum Ecclesiasticum, 399.
Reservation, 288.
Restitution, Edict of, 479.
Retractations, 123s.
Reuchlin, 329.
Reversales, 607.
Revivals in America, 601.
Revolution, Engl., 497s.; French, I., 529ss.; II., 625ss.
Reynard the Fox, 315.
Rhenish Bavaria, 568, 572s.
Rhenius, 613.
Rhense, Electoral Alliance of, 274, 287.
Ricci, Jesuit, 474s.
Richard Cœur de Lion, 204s.; Simon, 515; of St. Victor, 240.
Richelieu, 428.
Richer, 460.
Rienzo, Cola de, 274s.
Riga, 251, 420.
Robber Synod, 128, 144.
Robert Guiscard, 192, 195; of Arbrissel, 228; of Citeaux, 228; Stephens, 465.
Robespierre, 531.
Robinson, 423.
Rodrigues, Olinde, 679.
Röhr, 545, 561.
Rönnow of Röskilde, 419.
Roger of Sicily, 196, 200.
Rohrbacher, 683.
Roman Catholics in the U. S., 602.
Rome, Pagan, 17ss., 43s.; Bishopric of, 61, 142s.; Republic, 622ss.
Romantic School, 555, 674.
Romualdo, 227.
Roncalian Plains, Battle, 202.
Ronge, 656s.
Ronsdorf, 509.
Roothaan, 618.
Rosary, 300.
Roscellinus, 239.
Rosenkranz, 553.
Rosicrusians, 449.
Roskolnici, 666.
Rossi, Count, 622.
Roswitha, 235s.
Rothschild, 677.
Rousseau, 523.
Royaard, 11.
Royko, 11.
Rubens, 464.
Ruchat, 361.
Rudolph of Hapsburg, 269s.; of Suabia, 195; II., 417.
Rügen, 249.
Ruffo, Cardinal, 535.
Rufinus, 93, 120.
Rupert of Deutz, 243.
Rupp, 580, 584, 589.
Russell, Lord, 600, 650.
Russian Church, 257, 431s., 666.
Russia, Protestantism in, 579s., 668.
Ruttenstock, 12.
Ruysbroek, 323.
Ryswick, Peace of, 493.

S

Sabbatarians, 447, 610.
Sabellicus, 265.
Sabellius, 100.
Sacerdotium, 58.
Sacharelli, 8.
Sacraments, 224s., 369, 389.
Sacramentarian Controv., 234s., 237, 389s., 399s., 401.
Sacrificati, 56.
Sacrilege, Law on, 625.
Sadducees, 22.
Sailer, 661.
Saints, Worship of, 151s., 228, 307s., 620.
St. Germain, Peace of, 427.
St. John, Knights of, 232, 319s.; Disciples of, 77.
St. Martin, 534.
St. Maurus, 462, 481.
St. Simon, 679.
Saladin, 204.
Sales, Francis of, 461.
Salisbury, John of, 241.
Salle, Baptist de la, 521.
Salvianus, 149.
Salzburg, Evangelicals of, 493.
Samaritans, 23, 26s.
Samosateniani, 100.
Sampsaeans, 85.
Samson, 385.
Sancho I., 207s.
Sandwich Islands, 614s.
San Graal, 244.
Sardica, Synod of, 113s., 142, 707.
Sarpi, 360, 457.
Saturninus, 77, 693.
Saumur Academy, 490.
Savonarola, 352s.
Saxony, 169, 635.
Saxon Reformation, 363s., 492s., 562, 578s.
Scanderbeg, 356.
Scapular of the Virgin, 230.
Schaff, 684.
Scheibel, 569s.
Schelling, 550s., 552.
Schiller, 542.
Schism, 275.
Schleiermacher, 11, 550.
Schmidt, J. E. Ch., 9.
Schneidemühl, 658.
Schoeffler, Abbe, 664.
Schoenherr, 560.
Scholasticism, 238s., 320s.
Scholz, 654.
Schroeck, 9.
Schulz, Court Preacher, 540.

Scriptures, see Holy Scriptures.
Schnderoff, 571.
Scharf, 381.
Schurmann, 508.
Schwenckfeld, 435.
Scuwerin, Count, 582.
Silesia, Lutheran, 569s.
Scotland, 167, 424, 497s., 597s.
Scottists, 321s., 332s., 467.
Scotus, Duns, 321; Erigena, 233s.
Seckendorf, 360.
Segarelli, 341.
Selnecker, 409.
Semiarians, 113s.
Semipelagians, 124s.
Semler, 9, 558.
Sendomir, Agreement at, 420.
Seniores, 58
Separatists of Wurtemberg, 557s.; of Prussia, 569s.
Septimius Severus, 45.
Serapeion, 106.
Sergius III., 188; Patriarch, 131; Tychicus, 261.
Sermons, 300, 445, 515s.
Servetus, 430, 433.
Servites, 317.
Sethites, 89.
Seven Sleepers, 46.
Severians, 129, 131.
Severinus, 709.
Severus Alexander, 46.
Severus, Gnostic, 83.
Sextus Decretalium Liber, 286.
Shaftesbury, 499, 610.
Shakers, 446, 605.
Silvour, 629.
Sibylline books, 97, 693, 704.
Siccardi, 628s.
Sicilian Monarchy, 266, 514; Vespers, 270.
Sickingen, 329, 367.
Sierra Leone, 616.
Sieyes, 580.
Sigbert of Gemblours, 182s.
Sigismund, Emperor, 277, 348; III., of Sweden, 418, 420.
Simeon Metaphrastes, 260s.; Stylites, 150s.
Simon Magus, 27, 84; de Montfort, 256; Stock, 230; of Tournay, 267.
Simonists, 679s.
Simony, 191, 221; comp. 288s.
Sintenis, 565.
Siricius, 149, 159.
Sirmium, Synod of, 114.
Sixtus IV., 282, 311; V., 456, 466.
Slavery, Abolition of, 677s.
Slaves, 257, 706.
Slavonic nations, 248s., 257.
Sleidanus, 360.
Smalcaldic Articles, 390s.; League, 388s.; War, 395s.
Smith, Missionary, 678; Mormon, 612.
Socialism, 679.
Socinians, 434s.
Socrates, 16; Scholasticus, 102.
Soissons, Synod of, 239, 242.
Sollicitudo omnium, Bull of, 617s.
Sonderbund, 648.
Sophronius, 110, 131.
Sorbonne, 426, 458.
Soter, 79.
South Africa, 616.
South America, 475, 522, 632.
Southcote, Joanna, 546s.
South Sea Islands, 614.
Sozomenus, 102.
Spain, 54, 168, 172, 287, 294, 429, 527, 595, 629ss.
Spalatinus, 369, 371s.
Spalding, 544.
Spee, Fred., 454.
Spener, 487.
Speyer, Diet of, 381.
Spinola, 496.
Spinoza, 489.
Spirituals, 298s.
Spittler, 9.
Sponsors, 70.
Ständlin, 10.
Stahl, 590.
Staroverzi, 656.
Stauptz, 362, 380.
Stedingers, 338s.
Steinbuhler, 527.
Stephanus, 25; of Tigerno, 227.
Stephen I., 91; II., 178; VII., 187; IX., 192; Botzkai, 417s.; of Hungary, 250; of Dresden, 560.
Stockholm, Society in, 539.
Stolberg, 11, 672.
Strasbourg, Synod, 608; Faculty, 609.
Strauss, 553.
Strigelius Victorinus, 406.
Suarez, 458.
Subordinationists, 98s., 704s.
Sulpicius Severus, 102.
Sunday, 41, 68, 154.
Superintendents, 444; General, 568.
Superior Consistories, French, 608; Prussian, 578; Eccles. Council of Prussia, 583.
Supernaturalism, 544.
Surplice Fees, 216.
Suso, Henry, 328s.
Sutri, Synod of, 190.
Sweden, 245, 246.
Swedenborg, 507.
Swedenborgians, 507s., 605.
Switzerland, 384ss.
Sword, Brethren of the, 251.
Sylvanus Constantinus, 159s.
Sylvester I., 143, 184; II., 190, 197; III., 190.
Symbolik, 671.
Symbols, Christian, 69, 691.
Symbolum Apostolium, 72; Athanasianum, 116.
Symeon, 45.
Symmachus, 105.
Syncretism, 486.
Συνειακτοι, 83.
Συνέκδημοι, 160.
Synergistic Controv., 405s.
Synesius, 119, 138, 706.
Synodal Constitution, 60s., 440ss., 572; Courts, 175, 222, 293.
Synod, Holy, 666, 670.
Syrian Gnostics, 77ss.

T

Taborites, 350.
Tafel, 507.
Tagliacozzo, Battle of, 268.
Tahiti, 614.
Talleyrand, 529.
Talmud, 43.
Tanchelin, 253.
Tancred, 205.
Tasso, Torquato, 464.
Tatianus, 51, 83.
Tauler, 322.
Taxation of the Church, 140, 216, 530.
Temperance Societies, 601.
Templars, 232, 318ss., 663.
Territorial System, 492, 572.
Tertiaries, 296.
Tertullianus, 52, 62, 88s. 697. 701, 702s.
Test Act, 498, 589.
Tetzel, 363, 365.
Thaddeus, 25
Thamerus, 436.
Theatines, 462.
Theiner, 653, 659.
Thekla, St., 97.
Theocracy, 20.
Theodora, Empress, 129, 157, 261; Roman, 188.
Theodoretus, 102, 127, 130, 132.
Theodorus Ascidas, 130; Balsamon, 125; Lector, 102; of Mopsuestia, 118, 130; of Tarsus, 179.
Theodosius I., 105, 115s., 138; II., 126.
Theodotus, 99, 704.
Theodulph of Orleans, 179.
Theopaschites, 128s.
Theophanes, Confessor, 102.
Theophilanthropists, 592, 627.
Theophilus of Alex., 121; of Antioch, 51.
Theophylactus, 261.
Theosophy, 447ss.
Θεοτόκος, 126, 152.
Therapeutae, 22.
Theresia, St., 461.
Thesaurus Supererog., 311.
Theses Lutheri, 363.
Thibet, 522.
Thiers, 628.
Thirty Years' War, 476s.
Thomas, 35; Aquinas, 321, 331, 333, 335; a Becket, 203; Christians, 127; à Kempis, 324 More, 421.
Thomasius, 487s., 491.
Thomists, 321s., 332, 467.
Thorn, Insurrection, 494; Discussion at, 420.
Thorwaldsen, 674.
Three Chapters' Controv., 130.
Thuisto, 162.
Thurificati, 56.
Tiberius, 37.
Tillemont, 8.
Tindal, 421, 499.
Tirkler, 334.
Tischendorf, 592.
Tithes, 139, 171s., 530, 600, 630.
Titian, 464.
Titus, Emperor, 37.
Toland, 499.
Tolbiacum, Battle of, 166.
Toledo, Synod of, 116.
Tolentino, Peace of, 532.
Toleration Eccles., 496s.; Edict, 548, 581.
Tolomei, 317.
Tongues, Speaking with, 24s., 558.
Tonsure, 153, 177.
Torgau, League of, 376s.
Torquemada, 294.
Tournay, 267, 324.
Tournon, 522.
Tours, Synod of, 238.
Tradition, 72, 111, 467.
Traditores, 56.
Trajan, 44.
Tranquebar Mission, 510.
Translatio prisca, 135.
Transubstantiation, 153, 224s., 238.
Transylvania, 417, 494, 665.
Trappists, 521.
Trent, Council of, 394, 454s.
Treves, Bishop of, 643; Coat pilgrimage of, 656.
Trinitarians, 280s.

Trinity, 98, 116.
Trinkedheim, 265.
Troubadours, 244.
Truce of God, 208, 217.
Trullan Synod, 134, 148, 156.
Tubingen, University, 322; School, Older, 545; New, 593s.
Turkey, 670.
Tunis, 268s.
Turos, 132.
Tyrannicide, 344, 442s., 458s.
Tyrol, 548, 606.
Tzschirner, 9, 549, 671s.

U

Uhlich, 578s., 582.
Ulphilas, 165.
Ulrich of Augsb., 213; of Würtemb., 391.
Ultramontanists, 652s.
Uniformity, Act of, 423.
Unigenitus, Bull of, 549.
Union, 468s., 526s.; Evang., 608s.; of the Ev. Church, 566s., 575; of the Cath. and Greek Churches, 481, 665.
Unitarians, 98s., 438s., 603, 611.
Universalia, 239.
Universalists, 605.
Universities, 236s. 326.
Upper Rhenish Prov., 473, 643.
Urban II., 196, 197; IV., 301; V., 275; VI., 275, 302; VIII., 458, 459, 516.
Urlsperger, 539.
Ursinus, 413.
Ursula, 56.
Ursulines, 463.
Utraquists, 350s., 477s.
Utrecht Jansenists, 519; Union of, 415.

V

Vairasse, 523.
Valais, 647.
Valens, 114.
Valentinianus II., 116; III., 139, 144.
Valentinus, Gnostic, 78s, 695.
Valerianus, 46.
Valhalla, 104.
Valla, 327, 331.
Vallombrosa, Order of, 227.
Valteline, 478.
Vandals, 165s.
Vasa, 418
Vasari, 303.
Vassals, 171.
Vaud, Canton of, 400, 598, 611.
Venema, 11.
Vergerius, 469.
Verschooren, 509.
Vespasianus, 87.
Veto Act, 597.
Victor I., 68, 99, 704; II., 191; III., 196, 202.
Vienna Concordat, 281; Congress, 605, 617; Peace of, 417; Theol. Faculty at, 606.
Vigilantius, 159.
Vigilius, 129s.
Vigils, 67.
Villani, 264.
Vilmergen, Battle of, 495.
Vincent de Paula, 468.
Vincentius Ferreri, 313; of Beauvais, 264; of Lirinum, 111.
Vinet, 598.
Viret, 400.
Virgilius, Magician, 310.
Vischer, 553s.; Peter, 304.
Visitants, Female, 468.
Visitation, Articles of, 411; Book of, 382.
Vitus', St., Dance, 313.
Vladimir, 257.
Vladislaus IV. of Poland, 420.
Voices, Calling, in Sweden, 559.
Voltaire, 523, 543.
Voss, J. H., 672.
Vulgate, 111, 466.

W

Walafrid Strabo, 243.
Waldenses, 254s., 342s., 610.
Wallachians, 665.
Walter, Hans, 446; of the Vogelweide, 244; of St. Victor, 241.
Wartburg, Luther at, 372s.
Wegscheider, 544, 562.
Weigel, 448.
Weimar Disput., 406; Eccles. Order, 574.
Weishaupt, 527.
Wellington, 649.
Wenceslaus, 248s. 348s.
Wends, 249.
Werkmeister, 654.
Wertheim Bible, 490.
Wesel, John of, 351s.
Wesley, 505s.
Wessel, 351.
Wessenberg, 636, 646.
Wessobrunner Prayer, 223.
Westeras, Diet of, 418.
West Indies, 475, 510.
Westphal, 407.
Westphalia, Peace of, 479.
Wettstein, 491.
Whitefield, 505s.
Wichern, 591.
Wieland, 542.
Wigand, 408, 411.
Wilberforce, 506.
Wildenspuch crucifixion, 559.
Wilhelmina, Bohemian, 342.
William of Champeaux, 240; of St. Amour, 297; of Hirsau, 227; of Occam, 321; of Orange, 498; the Conqueror, 194.
Wilson, Bishop, 615.
Winer, 593.
Winfred, 168.
Winkelmann, 672, 674.
Wiseman, 651s.
Wiselcenus, 579, 580.
Witches, 175; Trials of, 310s., 491.
Witgenstein, 509s.
Witiza, 172.
Wittenberg Univ., 326; Theses, 363; Fire signal, 369; Iconoclasm, 372s.; Surrender of, 396; Concordium, 399; Philippists of, 404s.; Lutheranism, 488.
Wizel, 468.
Wladimir, 257.
Wladislaus of Bohemia, 350.
Woellner, 540.
Wolf, 489s.; Peter, 11.
Wolfenbüttel Fragg., 537.
Wolfram of Eschenbach, 244.
Woltmann, 360.
Women, 39, 140, 680.
Woolston, 499.
Works, Necessity of, 405s., 409.
Worms, Concordat, 199; Diet at, 371s.; Synod at, 195.
Worship, see Public Worship.
Würtemberg, 391, 557, 573s., 640.
Wupperthal in Africa, 616.
Wycliffe, 346s.

X

Xavier, 452, 472.
Ximenes, 294, 331.

Y

Young Germany, 554.

Z

Zabians, 77.
Zacharias, Pope, 173.
Zelatores, 298.
Zeno Isaurieus, 128; Stoic, 17.
Zephyrinus, 701, 704, 705.
Zillerthal, 606.
Zinzendorf, 503s.
Ziska, 350.
Zittel, 572.
Zonaras, 261.
Zosimus, 103, 124.
Zulpich, Battle of, 166.
Zurich, 386, 553.
Zwickau Prophets, 372s. 431.
Zwingle, 384ss. 388s.

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